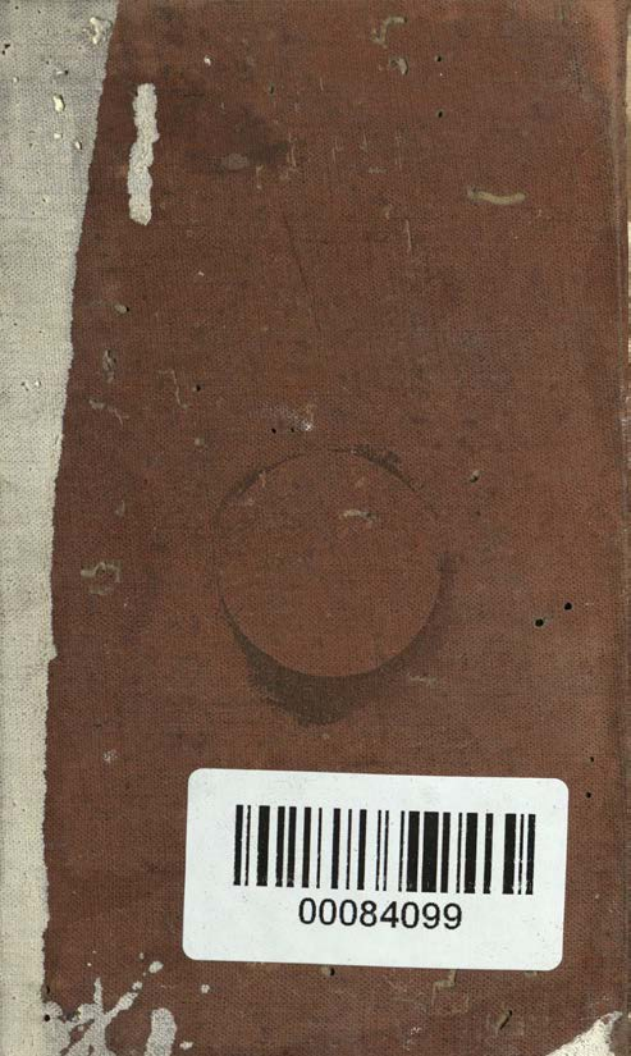
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Map of
(COLOMBIA.)
Engraved for
THE MODERN TRAVELLER.
English Miles
Longitude 70 West from the Greenwich

1477

THE MODERN TRAVELLER.

A

DESCRIPTION,

GEOGRAPHICAL, HISTORICAL, AND TOPOGRAPHICAL,

OF THE

84099

VARIOUS COUNTRIES OF THE GLOBE.

IN THIRTY VOLUMES.

By JOSIAH CONDER.

VOLUME THE TWENTY-SEVENTH.

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THE

MODERN TRAVELLER,

ETC. ETC.

COLOMBIA.

[A republic of South America, lying between lat. 11° 30′ N., and 6° 30′ S.: bounded, on the N., by the Caribbean Sea; on the E. by the Atlantic Ocean and Dutch Guiana; on the S. by Brazil and deserts which separate it from Peru; on the W. by Guatimala and the Pacific Ocean.]

THE well-chosen name of Colombia was assumed by the provinces formerly composing the vice-royalty of New Granada and the captain-generalship of Venezuela, on their incorporation into a Federal Republic in the year 1819. The country was discovered by Columbus; and thus, more than three hundred years after his death, tardy justice has been done to his memory, by giving his name to that portion of the New Continent on which he first landed. The admiral, Herrera informs us, was so much delighted with the beauty and fertility of these regions, that, with the warm enthusiasm of a discoverer, he imagined it to be the paradise described in Scripture, which the Almighty chose for the residence of man.* It was in the year 1498, in his third

* Robertson's America, book ii.

voyage, that this great navigator discovered the coast of Paria and Cumana in the captaincy of Caracas. In the following year, Alonso de Ojeda, who had accompanied Columbus in his second voyage, pursuing the same track, explored the coast as far as Cape de Vela. Having observed, near the lake of Maracaybo, the huts of an Indian village built upon piles, in order to raise them above the waters which overspread the plain, they called the place *Venezuela*, or little Venice; and the name was soon extended to the whole province, of which Coro became the capital. Venezuela was first colonised, however, by the German merchants to whom the conquered provinces were assigned by Charles the Fifth. On their abandoning it in 1550, the Spaniards again took possession of the country. The city of Caracas, which subsequently became the seat of government, was founded by Don Diego Losada, in 1567. It derives its name from the Indian nation who occupied the territory. Venezuela is the national name since adopted by the seven confederate provinces of the captain-generalship, the province of Venezuela being distinguished by the name of the metropolis.* The kingdom of New Granada was conquered by Sebastian de Benalcazar and Gonzalo Ximenes de Quesada, about the year 1536. The former, who commanded at that time in Quito, attacked it from the south, while the latter invaded it from Santa Marta. The Indian name of the territory was Cundinamarca. It was erected into a captaincy-general in 1547, and made a vice-royalty

* The captain-general of Caracas had the title of Captain-general of the Provinces of Venezuela and City of Caracas. Venezuela is now one of the ten departments of the Republic, including the provinces of Caracas and Varinas.

in 1718. That office was suppressed in 1724, but was finally re-established in 1740.

These two grand political divisions of Spanish America, though now united under one federal government, differ most essentially in their physical aspect, and must always be considered as, in fact, distinct countries. New Granada, which comprises the western provinces, is, for the most part, a mountainous region, consisting of the plateaus and valleys of the great Cordillera of the Andes, from Guayaquil to Merida, together with the plains of San Juan de los Llanos, and comprises every variety of climate. Venezuela comprises three distinct regions or zones; the mountains and cultivated lands which skirt the northern shore, the savannas or steppes which extend from the base of the mountain-chain to the banks of the Orinoco, and the region of interminable forests, into which the traveller can penetrate only by means of the rivers that traverse them. In these three distinct zones, the three stages of civilisation are found remarkably separate and distinct. The life of the wild hunter is pursued in the woods of the Orinoco; the pastoral life in the *llanos*, or savannas; the agricultural, in the high valleys and at the foot of the mountains on the coast. Missionary monks and a few soldiers occupy here, as throughout America, advanced posts on the southern frontiers. Industry, intelligence, and the mass of the population, are concentrated within the region bordering on the coast, which extends for above two hundred leagues along the Caribbean Sea, a sort of mediterranean, on the shores of which almost all the nations of Europe have founded colonies. Thus, though the captaincy-general of Caracas is considerably larger than

Peru,* containing nearly 48,000 square leagues (25 to a degree), the total population in 1800, was estimated by Baron Humboldt at not more than 900,000 souls, or about twenty inhabitants to a square league. Of these, the Indians are supposed to form a ninth; the Hispano-Americans, or Creoles, nearly a fourth; the European Spaniards, exclusive of troops sent out from the mother-country, not a sixtieth; and the slaves, a fifteenth.† M. Dupons estimates the total population of the seven united provinces in 1801, at not more than 728,000;‡ and Colonel Francis Hall,

* "Peru, since La Paz, Potosi, Charcas, and Santa Cruz de la Sierra have been separated from it, and joined to the vice-royalty of Buenos Ayres, contains only 30,000 square leagues."—HUMBOLDT'S *Pers. Nar.* vol. iii. p. 422. This appears, however, to be an erroneous estimate. The Author of "Letters from Colombia," (8vo. Lond. 1824,) cites some statistical calculations, contained in a letter addressed by Baron Humboldt to Bolivar, in which the extent in square leagues of *twenty* to a degree, is stated as follows:

Venezuela,	33,700
New Granada	58,250
Peru	42,150

And the Baron remarks, that the results differ from those inserted in the Pol. Essay on New Spain (vol. iv. 322). According to this estimate, Peru, instead of being little more than three-fifths of the extent of Venezuela, is nearly a third larger!

† In the province of Caracas, the slaves amounted to nearly 40,000, one-fifth of whom were mulattoes; in Maracaybo, to between 10 and 12,000; in Cumana and Barcelona, to less than 6,000; in the *llanos* of Calabosa, San Carlos, Guanare, and Barquecimeto, to between 4 and 5,000. M. Humboldt sets down the total at 60,000; to which add 100,000 Indians, 210,000 Creoles, 15,000 Europeans, and there will remain 455,000 for the castes and free negroes.

‡ Of these, he calculated that two-tenths were whites, four-tenths "descendants of freed men," *three-tenths slaves*, and the remainder (one-tenth) Indians.—*Travels in South America*, vol. i. p. 106. For the gross inaccuracy of this statement, as regards the

a British officer in the service of the Republic, carries the population of Venezuela in 1810 no higher than 825,000, since which period, he adds, "*above half the inhabitants of Venezuela are supposed to have perished.*" The fertile provinces of Guayana, Cumana, and Barcelona are almost abandoned, and the flourishing towns and villages of the plains are reduced to a grass-grown wretchedness, which scarcely leaves room to conjecture their former prosperity." The population of New Granada, this writer thinks, may be reckoned to have remained stationary, the natural increase of the last twelve years being balanced by the drains made to supply the waste of the Spanish and Republican armies. According to the calculation which he cites, made prior to 1810, it amounted to 2,430,000. Pombo, a Creole writer, who published in 1811 a Statistical Essay on New Granada, makes the population amount to 2,500,000: the numbers in each province agree with the document cited by Colonel Hall, but 70,000 are added for Neyva and Veragua, which the latter omits. This calculation is considered by M. Mollien as an exaggerated one, because, adding 900,000 for Venezuela, which he assumes to be the agreed number of the inhabitants of the seven eastern provinces, it would form an aggregate of 3,400,000 souls,—an estimate, he remarks, "little conformable to the census recently made by order of the present government." But the population of Venezuela, as we have seen, must not be taken higher than 6 or 700,000. The following is given by

proportion of slaves, M. Humboldt can account only by supposing that the French Traveller was misled by an error in the figures. Instead of 218,000, the whole black population of the captain-generalship should have been 54,000, or, in round numbers, 60,000, as stated above.

M. Mollien as a statement of the present population of New Granada:

Whites	250,000
Mestizoes	400,000
Indians	450,000
Mulattoes	550,000
Free negroes and slaves	94,600
	1,744,600

This agrees with M. Humboldt's calculation, who states the population in 1800, in round numbers, at 1,800,000, and the superficial extent of the vice-royalty at 64,520 square leagues, which gives not quite thirty inhabitants to the square league. In this statement, the province of Veragua is, we suspect, not taken into account. The minuter details furnished by Pombo and Col. Hall's authority, entitle their statements, however, to be received as a nearer approximation to the truth. Taking the medium, we may conclude that the population of New Granada does not fall short of two millions; and adding 650,000 for Venezuela, we may set down the aggregate at 2,650,000. This is, in fact, the estimate given by a recent English traveller, Captain Stuart Cochrane, apparently from official documents. The population of the whole Republic, he says, about two years ago, was 2,644,000 souls. Its extent of surface, it is difficult to ascertain with any degree of precision. Reckoning from the mouth of the Orinoco to the western extremity of the isthmus of Panama, the Republic occupies twenty-two degrees (1,320 miles) of longitude; while from Cape la Vela to the southern extremity of Quito, it extends over eighteen degrees (1,080 miles) of latitude; viz. eleven degrees and a half north of the equator, and six and a half southward of that line. The total number of square leagues in the vice-

royalty and captain-generalship, as given by Humboldt, is under 113,000; and, taking into account the whole of the territory now claimed by the Republic, including Veragua and the Atlantic coast northward up to Cape Gracias a Dios, the geographical extent can hardly fall short of from 118 to 120,000 square leagues,—a dominion equal to that of the Mexican Federacy. On this calculation, the proportion of inhabitants will be not quite 23 to the square league. Captain Cochrane states the actual extent of the Republic at 900,000 square miles, "being seven times the extent of the British Isles." It has, he says, 2,000 miles of coast on the Atlantic, and 1,200 on the Pacific Ocean.*

The following are the names of the provincial subdivisions, with their supposed population, in 1810:

NEW GRANADA.†

	Inhabitants.
1. Veragua	30,000
2. Panama and Porto Bello	50,000
3. Rio Hacha	20,000
4. Santa Marta	70,000
5. Carthagena	210,000
6. Antioquia	110,000
7. Mariquita	110,000
8. Cundinamarca (or Santa Fé)	190,000
9. Neyva	45,000
10. Pamplona	90,000

* In Mexico, the proportion of inhabitants on the whole territory, is 49 to the square league; in Guatimala, 46; in Peru, 33; in Buenos Ayres, 8; in all Spanish America, 28. This is Humboldt's estimate in 1800.—See Pol. Essay, vol. iv. p. 322; Pers. Narr. vol. iii. p. 430; Hall's Colombia, pp. 10, 15; Mollien's Travels in Colombia, pp. 352, 431; Cochrane's Travels in Colombia, vol. i. p. 514.

† In Alcedo's Dictionary, the new kingdom of Granada is described as being eighty leagues in length and somewhat less in

	Inhabitants.
11. Socorro	125,000
12. Tunja	200,000
13. Los Llanos (or Casanare)	20,000
14. Popayan	320,000
15. Choco (or Citara)	40,000
16. Quito	500,000
17. Quixos y Macas	40,000

width, and as divided into five military and seven civil governments, viz.

1. Panama	Military Governments.
2. Portobello	
3. Carthagena	
4. Santa Marta	
5. Maracaybo	
6. Antioquia	Civil Governments.
7. Choco	
8. Maraquita	
9. Giron	
10. Neiba (Neyva)	
11. Llanos de San Juan	
12. Veragua	

Besides these territorial divisions, Alcedo gives the names of sixteen provinces; but they are either erroneous or obsolete, and nothing can be made of them. These provinces are stated to be subdivided into 51 *corregimientos*, comprising 301 settlements, in which are 18,359 Indians. Panama and Porto Bello, however, he says, belong to the kingdom of *Tierra Firme*. In Bonnycastle's Spanish America, the vice-royalty is described as consisting of 16 provinces, viz. Jaen de Bracamoros, Quixos, Mayngs, Quito, *Tacames*, Popayan, Antioquia, Santa Fé, San Juan de los Llanos, *Merida*, Santa Marta, Carthagena, Choco; and the three provinces of *Darien*, Panama, and Veragua in *Tierra Firme*. In this enumeration, the names of eight provinces are omitted; viz. Rio Hacha, Mariquita, Tunja, *Neyva*, Pamplona, Socorro, Cuenca, and Guayaquil, which are described as subordinate districts. The last two, and the province of Loxa, are included by this writer in Quito, which formerly bore in Spain the official title of kingdom, though its president depended, alike in civil and military affairs, on the viceroy of Santa Fé. Even in Colonel Hall's enumeration of the provinces of the vice-royalty, Veragua and Neyva are omitted, Coro is inserted apparently in the place of Choco, and Macas is written Marnes.

	Inhabitants.	
18. Cuenca	200,000	
19. Loxa y Jaen	80,000	
20. Guayaquil	50,000	
		2,500,000

VENEZUELA.

21. Merida 22. Truxillo	120,000	
23. Caracas	460,000	
24. Varinas (or Barinas)	90,000	
25. Barcelona 26. Cumana (New Andalusia)	100,000	
27. Margarita	15,000	
		785,000
* 28. Guayana		40,000
		3,325,000
Deduct on New Granada	500,000	
..... on Venezuela and Guayana	175,000	
		675,000
Actual population		2,650,000

These provinces, by the recent political arrangements, are now distributed into ten departments.

1. Department of Orinoco.
   including (1) Province of Guayana.
   (2) ——— Cumana.
   (3) ——— Barcelona.
   (4) ——— Margarita.
2. Department of Venezuela.
   including (1) Province of Caracas.
   (2) ——— Varinas.
3. Department of Zulia, or Sulia.
   including (1) Province of Coro.
   (2) ——— Truxillo.
   (3) ——— Merida.
   (4) ——— Maracaybo.
4. Department of Magdalena.
   including (1) Province of Carthagena.
   (2) ——— Santa Marta.
   (3) ——— Rio Hacha.

5.* Department of Panama.
supposed to include (1) Province of Panama.
(2) ——— Veragua.
(3) Mosquito Coast.

6. Department of Boyaca.
including (1) Province of Tunja.
(2) ——— Socorro.
(3) ——— Pamplona.
(4) ——— Casanare.

7. Department of Cundinamarca.
including (1) Province of Bogota.
(2) ——— Antioquia.
(3) ——— Mariquita.
(4) ——— Neyva.

8.* Department of Cauca.
including (1) Province of Popayan.
(2) ——— Choco.

9.* Department of Quito.
supposed to include (1) Province of Quito.
(2) ——— Guayaquil.
(3) ——— Cuenca.
(4) ——— Loxa.

10. Department of ———
supposed to include (1) Province of Quixos. } formerly
(2) ——— Macas. } united.
(3) ——— Jaen.
(4) ——— Maynas.

* These departments we have ventured to fill up by conjecture. Captain Cochrane, after particularising the provinces contained in the other seven departments, enumerates the remaining ten as not yet classed in departments. From Colonel Hall's volume, however, we learn incidentally, that the Republic is now divided into *ten* departments; but he mentions specifically only the four maritime departments of Orinoco, Caracas, Zulia, and Magdalena, which occupy the whole extent of coast from the mouths of the Orinoco to the isthmus. This tract, he describes as in every respect the most eligible for the purposes of emigration. No notice is taken by any of the writers above cited of the district of Tologalpa, or the Mosquito coast, extending from Cape Gracias a Dios to the River Chagres, which has, since 1803, been annexed to Colombia. (See MOD. TRAV. *Merico*, vol. ii. p. 195.)

The ecclesiastical divisions differed materially under the colonial system from those of the civil and judicial administration. Santa Fé de Bogota and Caracas were each the seat of an archbishop, but the bishops of Panama, Mainas, Quito, and Cuenca, were suffragans of the archbishop of Lima, not of the archbishop of New Granada.* Santa Fé, Caracas, and Quito, were each the seat of a royal *audiencia*.† Those courts have now ceased to exist, and the ecclesiastical divisions will, no doubt, be rendered conformable to the political arrangements. The present constitution of Colombia was fixed by the congress of Cucuta in 1821. It proclaims the perpetual independence of the nation, the sovereignty of the people, the responsibility of magistrates, and equality of rights. It declares the legislative power to be vested in a senate and a house of representatives. The senate is composed of four senators for each department of the Republic, elected every eight years: its peculiar functions are those of a high court of justice in cases of impeachment by the house of representatives; its ordinary functions are the same as those of the latter, except that it cannot originate money-bills. The house of representatives consists of mem-

We have ventured to class it in the department of Panama. The other two departments are filled up from what appears a natural arrangement, subject to correction on better information. — See Cochrane's Travels in Colombia, vol. i. p. 515; Hall's Colombia, p. 100.

* The other bishopries are those of Popayan, Carthagena, Santa Marta, Merida, Guayana, and Antioquia. Quito is now to be formed into an archbishopric.

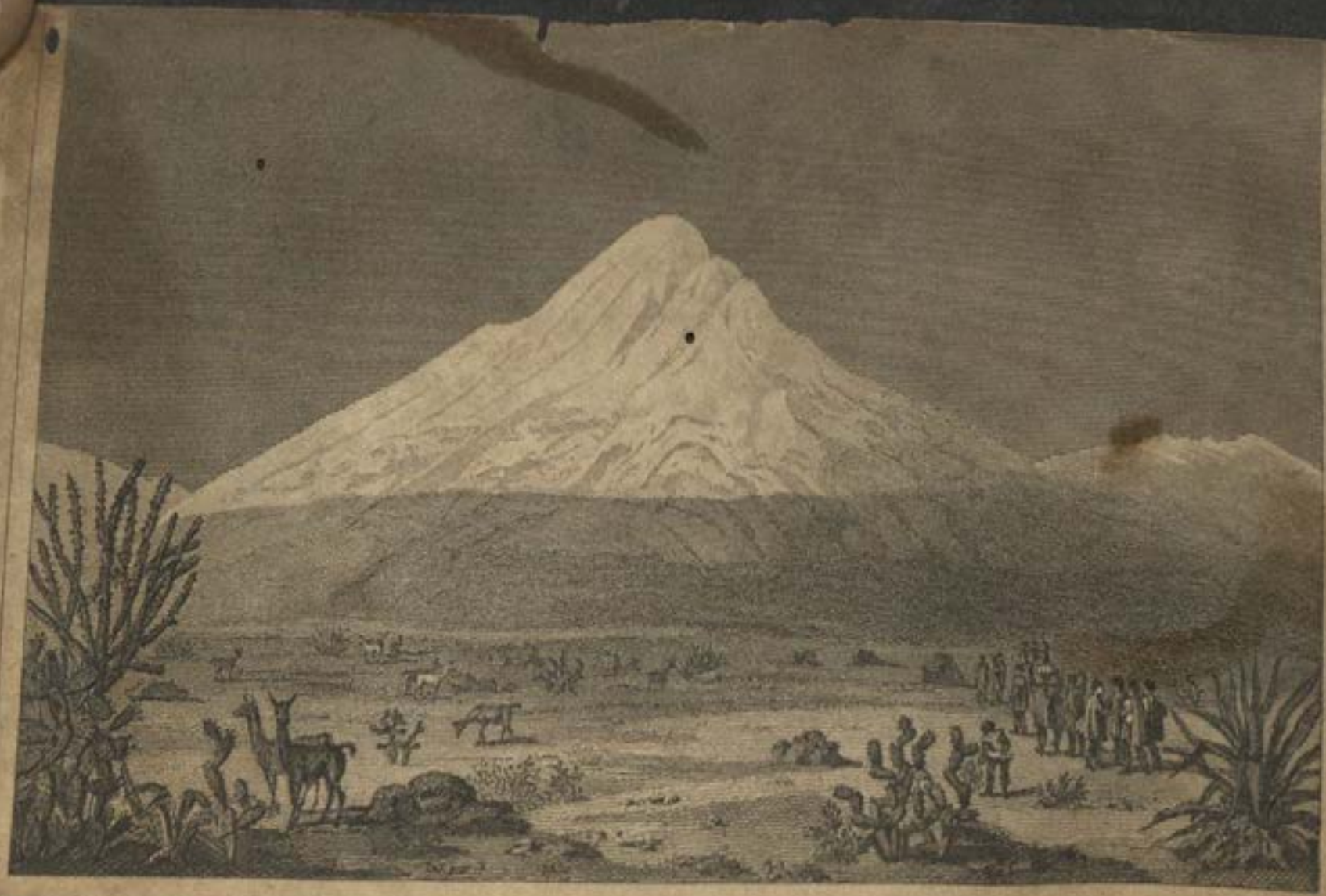
† There were twelve of these supreme courts of judicature, viz. those of Mexico, Guadalaxara, Guatimala, the Havannah, Caracas, Bogota, Quito, Lima, Cusco, Charças, Santiago (in Chili), and Buenos Ayres.

bers chosen by each province, in the proportion of one for every 30,000 inhabitants, who are elected for four years. "In every parish is held what is called a parochial assembly, composed of proprietors to the value of 100 dollars, or persons exercising some independent trade: these parochial assemblies elect the electors in the rate of ten for each representative, so that, taking the population of the Republic at 2,500,000, and supposing the whole representation graduated according to the law, the total number of electors will be about 700." The executive power is vested in the hands of a president, elected for four years, who is entrusted with the general administration of the government, the execution of the laws, the command of the army and navy, and the nomination to all civil and military employments. There is a council of government, composed of the vice-president of the Republic, a member of the high court of justice, whom he appoints, and the four secretaries of state for the home, foreign, war, and finance departments.* Further details will occur in the historical sketch which we reserve for the sequel. We now proceed to give, chiefly on the authority of Baron Humboldt, a general description of the

PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY.

THE great Cordillera of the Andes, which traverses the whole of South America, enters the province of Loxa in lat. 4° 30′ S., where its height is moderate, and the ridge forms one body. In lat. 2° 23′ S., it spreads into a groupe of mountains,

* Hall's Colombia, pp. 17, 18.



Engd on Steel

by H. Adlard

CHIMBORAZO AS SEEN FROM THE PLAIN OF TAPIA.

Published by J. Duncan, 37, Paternoster Row, July, 1826.

called *El Assuay*, some of which are nearly 15,000 feet in height. Between the two parallel ridges into which it now divides, lies the elevated longitudinal valley in which are built the towns of Rio Bamba, Hambato, Latacungo, and the city of Quito: the plain is not less than 9,000 feet above the level of the sea, but differs essentially from the table-land of Mexico, inasmuch as it is strictly a valley, shut in by the two branches of the stupendous mountain-chain, whereas, north of the isthmus, it is the ridge itself that constitutes the plateau. To the right of this valley, tower the summits of Capaurcu (16,380 feet), Tunguragua (16,720), Cotopaxi (17,950), and Guyambu (18,180): to the left, the still more majestic peak of Chimborazo (20,100), Tlenisa (16,302), and Petchincha (15,380), all covered with perpetual snow. Near Tulcan, the cordillera, after having been irregularly united in one lofty groupe, again divides into two parallel chains, forming the elevated valley of *Los Pastos*, bordered by volcanic pinnacles: those of Azufsal, Gambal, and Pasto, are still active. Beyond Pastos, it diverges into three ridges, the most western of which follows the coast of the Pacific Ocean, and, traversing the isthmus of Panama at a low elevation, extends into Mexico, gradually increasing in height, till it there expands into a vast district of table-land, from 6,000 to 8,500 feet above the sea-level. This western chain divides the valley of the river Cauca from the province of Choco and the coasts of the Pacific. Its elevation is less than 5,000 feet, and between the sources of the *Rio Atracto* and those of the *San Juan*, it sinks so low, that we can scarcely trace its course into the isthmus. The central chain divides the valley of the Cauca, on the eastern side, from that of the Mag-

dalena, traversing the province of Antioquia, and terminating near Mompox on the banks of the latter river. The whole of the province of Antioquia is surrounded by mountains impassable even by mules: the usual mode of travelling is in chairs attached to the backs of the Indian *cargueros*. The eastern chain, which is the most considerable and the loftiest of the three, divides the valley of the Magdalena from the plains of the *Rio Meta*. It is here that the numberless streams originate which unite to form the Meta and the Apure, and to swell the waters of the majestic Orinoco. It forms the table-land on which stands Bogota, the capital of the Republic, at an elevation of nearly 9,000 feet. After rising into the line of bleak mountains known as the *paramos** (heights) of Suma Paz, Chingota (Chingasa ?), Zoraca, and Chita, which enter the region of snow, it divides into two ridges at the *paramo* of Almoizadero, about lat. 6° 50′ N. One of these ridges divides the waters of the Magdalena from the great lake of Maracaybo, and majestically terminates in the *Sierra Nevada* (snowy mountains) of Santa Marta. The

* *Paramo*, rendered *desert* in the dictionaries, signifies, in the colonies, neither a desert nor a heath, but, like the Peruvian word *puna*, denotes a mountainous place covered with stunted trees, exposed to the winds, and in which a damp cold perpetually prevails. Under the torrid zone, the *paramos* are generally from 10,000 to 12,000 feet high. They are, in fact, the lower summits of the cordilleras. Snow often falls in them, but it remains only a few hours. In this respect they are distinguished from the *nevados*, which enter the limits of perpetual snow. The *paramos* are almost continually enveloped in a cold, thick fog; so that when a thick, small rain falls, accompanied with a depression of the temperature, they say at Bogota, or at Mexico, *Cae un paramito*. Hence has been formed the provincial word *emparamarse*, to be as cold as if one was on a paramo. — HUMBOLDT, *Pers. Narr.* vol. ii. p. 252.

second branch, after forming the *paramo* of Cacota de Velasco, and the elevated valley of Pamplona, takes a north-easterly direction at Cucuta, forming the *paramo* called *Mesa de Laura*, and the lofty valley of La Grita, the valley of Bayladores, and the *paramo* of Las Porquenas, the valleys of Estanques and Merida, where its summits rise into the region of perpetual snow, the cold valley and *paramo* of Mucachies, the *paramos* of Niquitao, Bocono, and Las Rosas, and the valleys of Mendosa, Bocono, Truxillo, Cavache, and others whose waters descend into the lake of Maracaybo, which this chain of mountains encloses on the south and east. Separating now into two ridges, one branch, following a northerly direction, forms the Mountains of Carora, and ramifies into various small chains between Coro and Maracaybo. The other branch, running to the north-east, forms the Altar mountains, and the heights of Barquesimeto and Nirgua, whence diverge the smaller chains which surround the Lake of Tacarigua, or Valencia: after passing Nirgua and San Felipe, it approaches the coast near Puerto Cabello, and continues to skirt the ocean to La Guayra, where it forms the elevated ridge called the *Silla de Caracas*; it thence continues, sometimes approaching and sometimes receding from the coast, till, after forming the Brigantine chain near Cumana, it finally terminates in the Gulf of Paria.*

From the *Sierra Nevada* of Merida, and the *paramos* of Niquitao, Bocono, and Las Rosas,† this eastern branch of the Cordillera decreases in height so rapidly,

* Hall's Colombia, pp. 2—9; Humboldt's Researches, vol. i. pp. 61, 67; Pers. Narr. vol. iii. p. 528.

† So called from the roses that grow wild there.

that, between the ninth and tenth parallels of north latitude, it forms only a chain of small mountains or hills, which, stretching to the north-east, separate the head waters of the Apure and the Orinoco from the numerous rivers that fall into the Lake of Maracaybo or the Caribbean Sea. On this dividing ridge, which is metalliferous,* are built the towns of Nirgua, San Felipe el Fuerte, Barquesimeto, and Tocuyo. The first three are in a very hot climate; and from the *Silla de Caracas* to Tocuyo, a distance of seventy leagues, the mountains are too low to allow of the growth of ericineous plants. Tocuyo enjoys a cool climate, and the ground rises towards the south. Among the rivers that descend in a north-easterly direction towards the coast of Puerto Cabello, the most remarkable are those of Tocuyo, Aroa, and Yaracuy. The valleys of all these rivers are extremely unhealthy. The chain of mountains that borders the Lake of Tacarigua towards the south, forms the northern shore of the vast basin of the *llanos* or savannas of Caracas. The mountains of Guigue and Tucutunemo separate the basin of the Aragua from those immense plains, which are a thousand feet lower than the valley, and present the appearance of an ocean of verdure. A second chain or groupe of mountains, less elevated, but of much larger extent than the cordillera of the northern coast, reaches from the mouths of the Guaviare and the Meta to the sources of the Orinoco, the Marony, and the Essequibo,

* It was in this groupe of the western mountains of Venezuela, that the Spaniards, in the year 1551, wrought the gold mine of San Felipe de Buria, which led to the foundation of the town of Barquesimeto. But these works, like many other mines successively opened, were soon abandoned.—Humboldt, *Pers. Narr.*, vol. iii. p. 523. The mines of Aroa, near San Felipe el Fuerte, still yield a small quantity of copper.

towards French and Dutch Guayana, between the parallels of 3° and 7°. This chain, Humboldt denominates the *Cordillera of Parime.* "It may be followed," he says, "for a length of 250 leagues, but is less a chain, than a collection of granitic mountains, separated by small plains, and not uniformly disposed in lines. This groupe narrows considerably between the sources of the Orinoco and the mountains of Demerara, in the *sierras* of Quimiropaca and Pacaraimo, which divide the waters of the Carony from those of the Parime or *Rio de Aguas Blancas.* This is the theatre of the expeditions undertaken in search of El Dorado and the great city of Manoa, the Tombuctoo of the New Continent. The Cordillera of Parime is not connected with the Andes of New Granada, being separated from them by a space eight leagues broad between Bogota and Pamplona. A third chain of mountains between the parallels of 16° and 18° S., unites the Andes of Peru to the mountains of Brazil. To this chain, which is distinguished as the Cordillera of Chiquitos, belong the famous *Campos dos Parecis*, which divide the head-waters of the Amazons from those of the Paraguay. These three transverse chains or groupes of mountains, stretching from west to east, within the limits of the torrid zone, are separated by tracts entirely level; the plains of Caracas or of the Lower Orinoco, the plains of the Amazons and Rio Negro, and the plains of La Plata.* The two basins placed at the extremities of South America, are savannas or steppes, pasturage without trees. The intermediate basin, which receives the equatorial rains during the whole year, is almost

* "I do not," says the learned Traveller, "use the word valley, because the Lower Orinoco and the Amazons, far from flowing in a valley, form but a little furrow in the midst of a vast plain."

entirely one vast forest, in which no other road is known than the rivers. That strength of vegetation which conceals the soil, renders also the uniformity of its level less perceptible; and the plains of Caracas and La Plata alone bear that name. The three basins just described are called, in the language of the colonists, the *Llanos* of Varinas and of Caracas, the *Bosques* or *Salvas* (forests) of the Amazons, and the *Pampas* of Buenos Ayres. The trees not only cover for the most part the plains of the Amazons, from the Cordillera of Chiquitos as far as that of Parime; they crown also these two chains of mountains, which rarely attain the height of the Pyrenees, except the westernmost part of the chain of Chiquitos between Cochabamba and Santa Cruz de la Sierra, where the summits are covered with snow.* On this account, the vast plains of the Amazons, the Madera, and the Rio Negro, are not so distinctly bounded as the *Llanos* of Caracas and the *Pampas* of Buenos Ayres. As the region of forests comprises at once the plains and the mountains, it extends from lat. 18° S.† to 7° and 8° N., and occupies an area of nearly 120,000 square leagues. This forest of South America (for, in fact, there is only one) is six times larger than France. It is known to Europeans only on the shores of some rivers by which it is traversed; and has its openings, the extent of which is in proportion to that of the forest." Among these, the learned Tra-

* This colossal groupe, however, the writer remarks, may rather be considered as belonging to the Andes of La Paz, of which it forms a promontory or spur in an eastern direction.

† "To the west, in consequence of the *Llanos* of Manso and the *Pampas* of Huancos, the forests do not extend generally beyond the parallels of 18° or 19° S.; but, towards the east, in Brazil, as well as in Paraguay, they advance as far as 25° S.

veller specifies the marshy savannas between the Upper Orinoco, the Conorichite, and the Cassiquiare, in the parallels of 3° and 4° S., and those, in the same parallel, between the sources of the Mao and the *Rio de Aguas Blancas*, south of the *Sierra de Pacaraimo*, near the frontiers of Dutch and French Guayana.

The "enormous wall of mountains" which borders the western coast, at an average distance of about 150 miles, is rich in the precious metals, "wherever the volcanic fire has not pierced through the eternal snows." Summits of trappish porphyry here attain the elevation of more than 20,000 feet above the sea-level; and the mean height of the Andes in Colombia and Peru, is 1850 toises or fathoms (above 11,000 feet). Their greatest altitude is nearly under the equator. Of the three transverse chains, none of the summits enter the limit of perpetual snow, and they have no active volcanoes. The mean height of the Cordillera of Parime, and of the littoral chain of Caracas, is not above 3,500 feet, although some summits rise upwards of 8,000 feet above the level of the sea. The highest is the *Silla de Caracas*, which attains the height of 8,400 feet, and forms an enormous and frightful precipice fronting the Caribbean Sea. The *Sierra Nevada* of Santa Marta rises to the elevation of 16,000 feet, and the *Nevado* of Merida to that of 15,000 feet; but Humboldt does not consider the *nevados* and *paramos* of Merida and Truxillo as belonging to the chain of Caracas, which begins only to the east of long. 71°: they are rather a prolongation of the Andes of New Granada.

The *Llanos* which form the basin of the Orinoco, communicate with that of the Amazons and the Rio Negro, by the opening already mentioned, between

the mountains of Parime and the Andes. This channel, or (as Humboldt terms it) *land-strait*, is the plain of the Rio Vichada and the Meta. The basin of the Amazons is, however, five times higher than the Llanos of Caracas and the Meta, or than the Pampas of Buenos Ayres; and between the parallels of 4° and 7°, where the Orinoco, which flows in a westerly direction from its source to the mouth of the Guaviare, forces its way through the rocks on the edge of the Cordillera of Parime, and takes a course from south to north, all the great cataracts are situated. When the river has reached the mouth of the Apure, in that very low ground where the slope towards the north is met by the counter-slope towards the south-east, it bends again, and flows eastward. The area of these *Llanos*, calculated from the Caqueta to the Apure, and from the Apure to the Delta of the Orinoco, is 17,000 square leagues of twenty to a degree. The part running from N. to S. is almost double that which stretches from E. to W., between the Lower Orinoco and the cordillera of the coast,* and which is four times narrower than the great desert of Africa. Like the latter, the *Llanos* bear different names in different parts. Those of Cumana, of Barcelona, and of Venezuela, include the following subdivisions: in Cumana, the *Llanos* of Maturin, Terecen, Amana, Guanipa, Jonoro, and Cari; in Barcelona, those of Aragua, Pariaguan, and Villa del Pao; in Caracas, those of Chaguaramas, Uritucu, Calabozo or Guarico,

* The Pampas on the N. and N.W. of Buenos Ayres, lying between that city and Cordova, Jujuy, and the Tucuman, are of nearly the same extent as the *Llanos of Caracas*; but S. of Buenos Ayres, they stretch to the length of eighteen degrees, and their extent is so vast, that palm-trees flourish at one extremity, while the other, equally low and level, is covered with perpetual frost. See MOD. TRAV., *Brazil*, vol. ii. pp. 303, 336.

La Portuguesa, San Carlos, and Araure. Where the steppes run toward the S. and S.S.W., from the latitude of 8°, between the meridians of 70° and 73°, we find, from north to south, the *Llanos* of Varinas, Casanare, the Meta, Guaviare, Caguan, and Caqueta. These also are subdivided into the *Llanos* of Guanare, Bocono, the Apure, Palmerito (near Quintero), Guardalito, and Arauca; the Meta, Apiay (near the port of Pachaquiaro), Vichada, Guaviare, Arriari, Inirida, Rio Hacha, and Caguan. The plains of Varinas present some feeble monuments of a nation that has disappeared, in the *Serillos de los Indios*, conical hillocks formed by the hands of men, and probably containing bones, which are found between Mijagual and the *Cano de la Hacha*. A fine road also is discovered near *Hato de la Calzada*, between Varinas and Canagua, five leagues in length, the work of the aborigines in remote times prior to the conquest. It is a causeway of earth, fifteen feet high, crossing a plain subject to inundation.

The *Llanos* and the *Pampas* are now filled with immense herds of cattle and horses; but, when Columbus arrived here, the horse and the cow had never been seen in the New World, and the pastoral life had no existence there. M. Humboldt indulges himself in speculating on the very different state in which the human race would have been found, had those animals been previously distributed over this portion of the globe. Nomade hordes, subsisting on milk and cheese, would have spread themselves over these vast regions, and, at the period of great droughts or inundations, would have fought for the possession of pastures. United by the common tie of manners, language, and worship, these nations would have risen to that state of semi-civilisation which is exhi-

bited by the pastoral nations of the Mongul and Tartar race. "America might then," he adds, "like the centre of Asia, have had its conquerors, who, ascending from the plains to the table-lands of the Cordilleras, would have subdued the civilised nations of Peru and New Granada, overturned the throne of the Incas and that of the *Zaque* of Cundinamarca, and substituted for a theocratic despotism, that despotism which results from the patriarchal government of a pastoral people. In the New World, the human race has not experienced these great moral and political changes, because the steppes, though more fertile than those of Asia, have remained without herds; because none of the animals that furnish milk in abundance, are natives of the plains of South America; and because, in the progressive development of American civilisation, the intermediate link is wanting, that connects the hunting with the agricultural nations."*

This general view of the physical aspect and provincial divisions of the territory, will serve as a sufficient introduction to the topographical details. Our business will now be, to follow the routes of the few travellers who have penetrated the equinoctial regions of America; and in pursuing this plan, we shall consider ourselves at liberty to take little further notice of the territorial boundaries, but shall adhere, for convenience' sake, to the grand twofold division of the country into the eastern and western portions so long distinguished by the names of New Granada and Venezuela or Caracas. We shall begin where Humboldt commences his personal narrative, and where Columbus first set his foot on the New Continent,—the north-eastern coast of Caracas.

* Pers. Narr. vol. iv. pp. 304—319; vol. iii. pp. 527—9.

VENEZUELA OR CARACAS.

THE period at which Baron Humboldt and his friend M. Bonpland commenced their travels in the New Continent, was the last year of the eighteenth century. Since then, these regions have been the theatre of one of the most sanguinary struggles that, perhaps, ever occurred in any political revolution, by which whole districts have been almost depopulated. "In the time of its greatest prosperity," remarks Col. Hall, "the country was comparatively a desert; but this desolation has been fearfully augmented during the revolutionary war." Internal dissensions, as Humboldt justly remarks, are the more to be dreaded in regions where civilisation is but slightly rooted, and where, from the influence of climate, the forests may soon regain their empire over cleared lands, if their culture be suspended. The account furnished by this learned Traveller, therefore, must be considered as portraying the state of the colony at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The same remark applies to the Travels of M. Dupons, formerly agent to the French Government at Caracas, where he resided during the years 1801, 2, 3, and 4. The Statistical Description of Venezuela drawn up by M. Lavaysse, a French colonist of Trinidad, comes down no later than 1807. Mr. Semple, an intelligent English traveller, has given a brief account of the state of Caracas in 1810. Since then, the only published travels that have reached us, descriptive of this country, are those of Captain Charles Stuart Cochrane, of the Royal Navy, who visited both Caracas and Bogota during the years 1823 and 4; but his work relates chiefly to the western portion of Colombia,

and he saw little of Venezuela. We shall therefore have to follow chiefly in the track of MM. Humboldt and Bonpland; and as their account dates prior to the Revolution, we have purposely reserved our historical sketch of the late events for the conclusion of the volume, as a more appropriate sequel than introduction.

CUMANA.

It was on the 16th of July, 1799, that the Travellers anchored opposite the mouth of the river Manzanares, on the banks of which the city of Cumana is built. "Our eyes were fixed," says the Writer, "on the groupes of cocoa-trees that border the river, and the trunks of which, more than sixty feet high, towered over the landscape. The plain was covered with tufts of cassias, capers, and those arborescent mimosas which, like the pine of Italy, extend their branches in the form of an umbrella. The pinnated leaves of palms were conspicuous on the azure of a sky, the clearness of which was unsullied by any trace of vapours. The sun was ascending rapidly towards the zenith. A dazzling light was spread through the air, along the whitish hills, strewed with cylindric cactuses, and over a sea ever calm, the shores of which were peopled with alcatras,* egrets, and flamingoes. The splendour of the day, the vivid colouring of the vegetation, the forms of the plants, the varied plumage of the birds, every thing announced the grand aspect of nature in the equinoctial regions."†

A vast plain, or salt marsh, called *El Salado*, consisting of whitish sand partially covered with low

* A species of brown pelican of the size of a swan.

† Pers. Nar. vol. ii. p. 183.

shrubs,* divides the suburb of the Guayqueria Indians from the sea-coast. The city of Cumana, the capital of the old government of New Andalusia, is a mile distant from the *embarcadere*, or battery of the *Bocca*, which is the landing-place. It stands at the foot of a volcanic mountain, part of a groupe stretching east and west from the summit of *Imposibile* to Port Mochima, which appears to have formed at some remote period an island in the Gulf of Cariaco. There is no doubt, Humboldt thinks, that that gulf has been produced by an irruption of the sea, and the whole of the sandy plain on which the city is built, was at one time submerged by the waters.† The river Manzanares encompasses the city on the south and west, separating it, on the south, from the suburbs of the Guayquerias. This city, the most ancient of all in *Tierra Firme*, was built by Gonzalo Ocampo in 1520.‡ It was at first called New Toledo. "Fifty years ago, it was only a miserable village, that received

* *Mangle prieto* (avicenna tomentosa), sesuvium, yellow gomphrena, and cactus, — shrubs found only on the sea-shore, and on the elevated plains of the Andes within the torrid zone.

† That the gulf owes its existence to a rent of the continent, is stated to be a generally received opinion among the inhabitants; and it is related, that at the time of the third voyage of Christopher Columbus, the natives mentioned it as a very recent event. "In 1530, the inhabitants were alarmed by new shocks on the coasts of Paria and Cumana. The lands were inundated by the sea, and the small fort built by James Castellon, was entirely destroyed. At the same time, an enormous opening was formed in the mountains of Cariaco, on the shores of the Gulf, when a great body of water, mixed with asphaltum, issued from the micaceous schist."—HUMBOLDT, vol. ii. p. 215.

‡ Ocampo's settlement was destroyed by the Indians, and the real founder of the colony, M. Lavaysse contends, was Governor Diego Castellon, who was sent out by the *audiencia* of San Domingo, in 1523, after the extermination of the colonists left by the admirable Las Casas a few years before.

annually two or three small vessels from Spain, which divided the trade of the country with the Dutch and English smugglers. When the edict of Charles III., dated Nov. 12, 1778, vulgarly called the free-trade law, which put an end to the monopoly of the Guipuscoa Company, revived the languishing agriculture and commerce, the population of this province more than doubled in twenty years, and the riches of the country augmented in a progression still more considerable. This province, its capital, and the other towns, are honourable monuments," continues M. Lavaysse, " of the prodigious influence of an enlightened, prudent, and disinterested governor on the prosperity of a colony. During nearly eleven years (from 1793 to 1804) that Don Vicente de Emparan was governor of the colony, the liberal protection which he granted to agriculture and commerce, had augmented, in 1805, the colonial produce to double what it was in 1799: every class of society was in good circumstances, and many persons had acquired considerable fortunes. The town had increased to triple its former size; houses elegantly built, with Italian roofs, had replaced hovels and huts; and a new quarter or suburb, that rivals the ancient town, took the venerated name of Emparan."* The number of inhabitants of every age and colour, in 1802, is stated by M. Dupons at 24,000, of whom a large proportion were white Creoles. When M. Lavaysse was there in 1807, it amounted to upwards of 28,000; and at the end of 1810, he says, it had risen to 30,000, " almost all industrious and laborious." M. Humboldt, however, considers this as an exaggerated calculation. In 1800, the local government estimated the population at less than 12,000; and in 1802,

* Statistical Account, &c. p. 94.

it could scarcely, he maintains, have exceeded 19,000. The births in 1798, were only 522; in the equinoctial regions of Mexico they are as 17 to 100; whereas, if the population in 1800 had been 26,000, the births would have been but as 1 to 43. M. Dupons states the total population of the provinces of Cumana and Barcelona at 80,000 souls. "The statements I read on the spot," says M. Lavaysse, in 1807, "declared this population to be 96,000 persons." The estimate cited by Col. Hall, rates the population of Cumana (including Barcelona) at 100,000 souls.

The town of Cumana contains two parish churches, (one of which was erected in 1803,) two convents, Franciscan and Dominican, and a theatre, constructed on the same plan as that of Caracas, but much smaller. Bull-baiting, cock-fighting, and rope-dancing are, however, the favourite amusements. "Four years ago," says M. Lavaysse, "there was no town-clock in Cumana. While M. Humboldt was in this town in 1800, he constructed a very fine sun-dial there. When a stranger passes by this dial, in company with a Cumanese, the latter never fails to say: 'We owe this sun-dial to the learned (*sabio*) Baron de Humboldt.' I remarked that they never pronounced the name of this illustrious traveller, without adding that epithet to it, and they speak of him with a mingled sentiment of admiration and regard. This town has no public establishment for the education of youth; it is, therefore, astonishing to find any knowledge among its inhabitants; yet, there is some information disseminated among many of the Creoles of Cumana. They are but seldom sent to Europe for their education; the most wealthy receive it at Caracas, and the greater number under schoolmasters, from whom they learn the Spanish grammar, arithmetic, the first ele-

ments of geometry, drawing, a little Latin, and music. I have remarked considerable talent, application, and good conduct in their youth, and less vivacity and vanity than among those of Caracas. Not being so rich as the latter, the Cumanese are brought up with principles of economy and industry; there are no idlers among them; in general, they are inclined to business. Some apply themselves to the mechanical arts; others, to commerce. They have also a great partiality for navigation and trading with the neighbouring colonies of other nations; and by their activity and prudence, they make considerable profits with small capitals. Their articles of exportation are cattle, smoked meat (*tassájo*), and salted fish, which commodities they have in great abundance. Two pounds of beef are sold at Cumana for twopence halfpenny, and twenty-two pounds of salt meat at from 3*s.* 4*d.* to 4*s.* 2*d.* Fish is never weighed there: some days, there is such a quantity caught by the fishermen, that they give ten, twelve, or fifteen pounds' weight for 5*d.* The poor go to the sea-side with maize, cakes, and eggs, and barter them for fish. Eggs are the small change in Cumana, Caracas, and other provinces of Venezuela, where copper coin is unknown, the smallest piece in circulation being a *medio-real* in silver, worth 2½*d.* If one goes into a shop to buy something worth less than 2½*d.*, they give as change two or three eggs; for a dozen of eggs there are worth only a *medio-real*. This is also the price of a measure of excellent milk, about a quart. A sheep is sold for a dollar, a fine turkey for 20*d.* or 2*s.*, a fowl for 5*d.*, a fat capon 7½*d.* to 10*d.*, a duck the same price. Game and wild fowl are frequently sold cheaper than butcher's meat; and all those articles are still cheaper in the small towns of the interior. I lived at the best and dearest hotel in

Cumana, at a dollar per day, including the expenses of my son and servant. They gave us for breakfast, cold meats, fish, chocolate, coffee, tea, and Spanish wine; an excellent dinner, with Spanish and French wines, coffee, and liqueurs; in the evening, chocolate. I was well lodged and lighted. I should have expended but half that sum if I had gone to board and lodge in a family. In short, there is not a country in the world where one may live cheaper than in the province of Cumana. An excellent dinner may be had there for 10*d.*, not including wine, which does not cost more than 5*d.* per bottle to those who buy a quantity of it. Poor people drink punch, which is at a very low rate, for it does not cost above 1*d.* per quart.

"The inhabitants of Cumana are very polite; it may even be said that they are excessively so. There is not so much luxury among them as at Caracas; their houses, however, are tolerably well furnished. They are very abstemious. Those dinners and festivals which form one of the charms of society in Europe, and which, in the British and French colonies, are repeated almost every day from the first of January to the last of December, are unknown to the inhabitants of Cumana and the other provinces of Venezuela.

"The retail trade of Cumana is almost entirely in the hands of the Catalans, Biscayans, and Canarians. These men are chiefly sailors, who have begun to open shop with a few dollars, and who, in a few years, acquire fortunes by their frugality and industry. If a man of that country lands without a farthing, the first Catalan he meets takes him to his house, gives him work, or recommends him to some of his countrymen. There are many countries in which one brother

would not do for another that which a Catalan is always inclined to do for his countrymen. It was the Catalans who taught the inhabitants to derive advantage from various local productions: for instance, from cocoa-nuts they make oil, an emulsion which is substituted for that of almonds, and very good orgeat. They make excellent cables of the bark of the *mahet* (*bombax*), and twine and cords of the aloe (*agave fœtida*)." *

The mode of catching ducks and other aquatic birds practised by the Indians of Cariaco, is not a little amusing to the stranger, though not peculiar to this part of the New World. The natives leave calabashes continually floating on the water, that the birds may be accustomed to the sight of them. "When they wish to catch any of these wild fowl, they go into the water with their heads covered each with a calabash, in which they make two holes for seeing through. They thus swim towards the birds, throwing a handful of maize on the water from time to time, of which the grains scatter on the surface. The birds approach to feed on the maize, and at that moment the swimmer seizes them by the feet, pulls them under water, and wrings their necks before they can make the least movement, or, by their noise, spread an alarm among the flock. The swimmer attaches those he has taken to his girdle, and he generally takes as many as are necessary for his family. Many have no other trade in the neighbourhood of some large towns, and daily take multitudes of these birds, which they sell at a low rate, though they are very good food." †

All the houses of Cumana are low and slightly

* Lavaysse, pp. 104—108. † Ibid. p. 112.

built, the frequent earthquakes to which the town is subject, compelling the inhabitants to sacrifice architectural beauty to personal security. The violent shocks felt in December 1797, threw down almost all the edifices of stone, and rendered uninhabitable those which were left standing. No steeple or dome attracts from afar the eye of the traveller, but only a few trunks of tamarind, cocoa, and date-trees, rise above the flat roofs of the houses. Earthquakes were very frequent during the sixteenth century; and, according to the traditions preserved at Cumana,* the sea often inundated the shores, rising from fifteen to twenty fathoms. The inhabitants fled to the *Cerro de San Antonio*, and to the hill on which the small Franciscan convent now stands; and "it is even thought," Humboldt adds, "that these frequent inundations induced the inhabitants to build that quarter of the town which is backed by the mountain, and stands on a part of its declivity." The elevation of the present town above the sea-level is only fifty-three feet.† The year 1766 was a fatal one to the colonists. A drought had prevailed for fifteen months; when, on the 21st of October in that year, the whole of the houses were overthrown in the space of a few minutes by horizontal oscillations of the earth, and the shocks were hourly repeated during fourteen months. The remembrance of that day was still perpetuated, at the beginning of the present century, by a solemn religious procession. "In several parts of the province, the earth opened and threw out

* No records exist at Cumana, owing to the continual devastations of the termites, or white ants, which go further back than a hundred and fifty years.

† Lavaysse, p. 103.

sulphureous waters. These irruptions were very frequent in a plain extending towards Casanay, two leagues to the east of the town of Cariaco, known by the name of the *tierra hueca* (hollow ground), because it appears entirely undermined by thermal springs. During the years 1766 and 7, the inhabitants of Cumana encamped in the streets, and they began to rebuild their houses when the earthquakes took place *only once a month!* What occurred at Quito, immediately after the great catastrophe of the 4th of February, 1797, took place on these coasts. While the ground was in a state of continual oscillation, the atmosphere seemed to dissolve into water. The rivers were swollen by these sudden torrents of rain; the year was extremely fertile; and the Indians, whose frail huts easily resist the strongest shocks, celebrated, from ideas of old superstition, with feasting and dances, the destruction of the world and the approaching epoch of its regeneration." *

Another remarkable earthquake took place in 1794, characterised by the same horizontal oscillations. But the fatal one of December 1797, was attended, for the first time at Cumana, by a vertical motion, or raising up of the ground. More than four-fifths of the city were then entirely destroyed. The shock was attended by a very loud subterraneous noise, resembling the explosion of a mine at a great depth. Happily, it was preceded by a slight undulating motion, which gave warning to the inhabitants to escape into the streets, and a small number only perished of those who had assembled in the churches. Half an hour before the catastrophe, also, a strong smell of sulphur was

* Humboldt, vol. ii. p. 217.

perceived near the hill of the Franciscan convent; and at this spot, the subterraneous noise, which seemed to proceed from S.E. to N.W., was heard the loudest. At the same time, flames issued from the earth on the banks of the Manzanares, near the *hospitio* of the Capuchins, and in the Gulf of Cariaco, near Mariguitar. This last phenomenon, Humboldt states, is of frequent occurrence in the calcareous mountains near Cumanacoa, in the valley of Bordones, the island of Margarita, and the *mesas* (flats) of Cari and Guanipa in the Llanos of Cumana.* "In these savannas, flakes of fire rise to a considerable height; they are seen for hours together in the driest places; and it is asserted, that, on examining the ground which furnishes the inflammable matter, no crevice is to be found. This fire, which resembles the Will-o'-the-wisp of our marshes, does not burn the grass; because, no doubt, the column of gas which developes itself, is mixed with azote and carbonic acid, and does not burn at its basis. The people, although less superstitious here than in Spain, call these reddish flames by the singular name of the *soul of the tyrant*, imagining that the spectre of Lopez Aguirre, harassed by remorse, wanders over these countries sullied by his crimes."† During his

* "At about a league and a half from the town of Cariaco, near the road to Carupano, is a lake, or rather marsh, of about half a league in length by nearly the same breadth, which is the resort of innumerable reptiles, toads, serpents, and crocodiles; it is there, also, according to the assertions of the inhabitants, that the tiger-cats go to quench their thirst. It was at ten o'clock at night that I first passed near this marsh; it exhaled a hydrogen-sulphurous odour extremely nauseous, and phosphoric fires appeared on its surface. I collected petroleum on the brink of this marsh."—LAVAYSSE, p. 113.

† When, at Cumana, or in the island of Margarita, the people speak of *El Tiranno* (the tyrant), it is always to denote the infamous

residence in Peru, M. Humboldt observed that, at the end of violent earthquakes, the herbs that cover the savannas of Tucuman acquired noxious properties; an epidemic disease took place among the cattle, and a great number of them appeared stupified or suffocated by the deleterious vapours exhaled from the ground. Prior to an earthquake, dogs, goats, and swine, are observed to give warning of the approaching danger by their restlessness and their cries, which may very possibly, as he suggests, be occasioned by some gaseous emanation from the earth which they perceive. Very slight oscillations, also, and a hollow sound which does not escape the practised ear of a resident, generally precede a violent shock: the cry of "*misericordia, tembla, tembla,*" is then raised, and a false alarm is very rarely given by a native. The old and commonly received opinion, that there exists a perceptible connexion between earthquakes and the previous state of the atmosphere, M. Humboldt considers as unfounded. Violent shocks have been found to take place equally in dry and in wet weather, when the coolest winds blow, or during a dead and suffocating calm. "From the great number of earthquakes," he says, "which I have witnessed, both north and south of the equator, on the continent, and in the basin of the seas, on the coasts and at 2,500 toises height, it appears to me

Lopez d'Aguirre, who; after having taken part, in 1560, in the revolt of Ferdinando de Guzman, against Pedro de Orsua, commander of an expedition in search of El Dorado, and murdered Guzman himself, seized and devastated the island of Margarita, where the port of Paraguache still bears the name of the Tyrant's Port. Mr. Southey has done his best to give interest to the frightful and disgusting story of this insane desperado's brief but atrocious career, in his "Expedition of Orsua."—fcap. 8vo. Lond. 1821.

that the oscillations are generally very independent of the previous state of the atmosphere." * Nor does it appear that the depression of the barometer is by any means a constant presage or effect of these stupendous phenomena. "We can scarcely doubt," remarks the same learned Writer, "that the earth, when opened and agitated by shocks, spreads occasionally gaseous emanations through the atmosphere, in places remote from the mouths of volcanoes not extinct. At Cumana, as already mentioned, flames and vapours mixed with sulphurous acid, spring up from the most arid soil. In other parts of the same province, the earth ejects water and petroleum. At Riobamba, a muddy and inflammable mass, called *moya*, issues from crevices that close again, and accumulates into elevated hills. At seven leagues from Lisbon, near Colares, during the terrible earthquake of Nov. 1, 1755, flames and a column of thick smoke were seen to issue from the flanks of the rocks of Alvidras, and, according to some witnesses, from the bosom of the sea. This smoke lasted several days, and it was the more abundant in proportion as the subterraneous noise which accompanied the shocks was louder. Elastic fluids thrown into the atmosphere, may act locally on the barometer, not by their mass, which is very small compared to the mass of the atmosphere, but because, at the moment of the great explosions, an ascending current is probably formed, which diminishes the pressure of the air. I am inclined

* It was observed, that previously to the earthquake which destroyed Aleppo in 1822, there was nothing remarkable in the weather or state of the atmosphere; and M. Volney's remark, that the earthquakes of Syria are almost wholly confined to the winter season after the autumnal rains, was shewn to be an erroneous assumption.—See MOD. TRAV. *Syria*, vol. i. p. 29.

to think, that, in the greater number of earthquakes, nothing escapes from the agitated earth; and that, where gaseous emanations and vapours take place, they oftener accompany, or follow, than precede the shocks. This last circumstance explains a fact which seems indubitable; I mean that mysterious influence, in equinoctial America, of earthquakes on the climate, and on the order of the dry and rainy seasons. If the earth generally acts on the air only at the moment of the shocks, we can conceive why it is so rare, that a sensible meteorological change becomes the presage of these great revolutions of nature.

"The hypothesis according to which, in the earthquakes of Cumana, elastic fluids tend to escape from the surface of the soil, seems confirmed by the observation of the dreadful noise which is heard during the shocks at the borders of the wells in the plain of *Charas*. Water and sand are sometimes thrown out twenty feet high. Similar phenomena have not escaped the observation of the ancients, who inhabited parts of Greece and Asia Minor abounding with caverns, crevices, and subterraneous rivers. Nature, in its uniform progress, every where suggests the same ideas of the causes of earthquakes, and the means by which man, forgetting the measure of his strength, pretends to diminish the effect of the subterraneous explosions. What a great Roman naturalist (Pliny) has said of the utility of wells and caverns, is repeated in the New World by the most ignorant Indians of Quito, when they shew travellers the *guaicos* or crevices of Pichincha.

"The subterraneous noise, so frequent during earthquakes, is generally not in the ratio of the strength of the shocks. At Cumana, it constantly precedes them, while at Quito, and, for a short time

past, at Caracas, and in the West India Islands, a noise like the discharge of a battery was heard a long time after the shocks had ceased. A third kind of phenomenon, the most remarkable of the whole, is the rolling of those subterraneous thunders which last several months, without being accompanied by the least oscillating motion of the ground."

Naturalists had supposed, that certain species of rocks are alone fitted to propagate the shocks; but M. Humboldt has shewn this opinion to be erroneous, by referring to the granites of Lima and Acapulco, the gneiss of Caracas, the mica-slate of the peninsula of Araya, the trappean porphyries of Quito and Popayan, and the secondary limestones of Spain and New Andalusia, as sharing equally in the convulsive movements of the globe. Yet, it appears that, in some instances, the superior strata have been found capable of resisting for a time the influence of the commotion. Thus, in the mines of Saxony, workmen have been known to hasten up, affrighted by oscillations which were not felt at the surface of the ground. At Cumana, before the great catastrophe of 1797, the earthquakes were felt only along the southern coast of the Gulf of Cariaco, which is a calcareous formation, as far as the town of that name; while the inhabitants of the peninsula of Araya, which is composed of mica-slate, found themselves in security. Since then, however, new communications appear to have been opened in the interior of the earth, and the promontory of Araya has become in its turn a particular centre of the shocks. The earth is sometimes strongly shaken at the village of Maniquarez, when, on the coast of Cumana, the inhabitants enjoy an undisturbed tranquillity.

The earthquakes of Cumana are connected with

those of the West India Islands; "and it has even been suspected," Humboldt says, "that they have some connexion with the volcanic phenomena of the Andes." The eruption of the volcano of Guadaloupe, on September 27, 1797, was followed, on the 4th of November, 1797, by a destructive earthquake in Quito, in which nearly 40,000 natives perished, and, on the 14th of December, by the great earthquake of Cumana. During eight months, the inhabitants of the eastern Antilles were alarmed by shocks. On the 30th of April, 1812, the volcano of St. Vincent's, which had not emitted flames since 1718, broke forth anew, and the eruption was preceded by repeated earthquakes during eleven months. The total ruin of the city of Caracas occurred on the 26th of March preceding, and violent oscillations were felt both on the coasts and in the islands. "Several facts," continues the learned Writer, "tend to prove, that the causes which produce earthquakes have a near connexion with those that act in volcanic eruptions. We learned at Pasto, that the column of black and thick smoke which, in 1797, issued for several months from the volcano near this shore, disappeared at the very hour when, sixty leagues to the south, the towns of Riobamba, Hambato, and Tacunga were overturned by an enormous shock. When, in the interior of a burning crater, we are seated near those hillocks formed by ejections of scoriæ and ashes, we feel the motion of the ground several seconds before each partial eruption takes place. We observed this phenomenon at Vesuvius in 1805, while the mountain threw out scoriæ at a white heat; we were witnesses of it in 1802, on the brink of the immense crater of Pichincha, from which, nevertheless, at that time, clouds of sulphureous acid vapours only issued.

"Every thing in earthquakes seems to indicate the action of elastic fluids seeking an outlet to spread themselves in the atmosphere. Often, on the coasts of the South Sea, the action is almost instantaneously communicated from Chili to the Gulf of Guayaquil, a distance of six hundred leagues; and, what is very remarkable, the shocks appear to be so much the stronger, as the country is more distant from burning volcanoes. The granitic mountains of Calabria, covered with very recent breccia, the calcareous chain of the Apennines, the country of Pignerol, the coasts of Portugal and Greece, those of Peru and Terra Firma, afford striking proofs of this assertion. The globe, it may be said, is agitated with greater force, in proportion as the surface has a smaller number of funnels communicating with the caverns of the interior. At Naples and at Messina, at the foot of Cotopaxi and of Tunguragua, earthquakes are dreaded only when vapours and flames do not issue from the crater. In the kingdom of Quito, the great catastrophe of Riobamba, which we have before mentioned, has led several well-informed persons to think, that this unfortunate country would be less often desolated, if the subterraneous fire should break the porphyritic dome of Chimborazo, and if this colossal mountain should become a burning volcano. At all times analogous facts have led to the same hypothesis. The Greeks, who, like ourselves, attributed the oscillations of the ground to the tension of elastic fluids, cited in favour of their opinion the total cessation of the shocks at the island of Eubœa, by the opening of a crevice in the Lelantine plain."

In Cumana, as well as in Chili and Peru, the shocks follow the course of the shore, and extend but little inland. This cannot arise merely from the

lowness of the ground on the coast, as the *Llanos* by no means participate in the agitation, although they are scarcely fifty or sixty feet above the level of the sea. M. Humboldt considers the circumstance as indicating the intimate connexion between the causes that produce earthquakes and volcanic eruptions. In like manner, it is the coasts of Syria and of Asia Minor which are liable to these tremendous visitations. At the period of the earthquake of Lisbon, on November 1, 1755, the ocean inundated, in Europe, the coasts of Sweden, England, and Spain; in America, the islands of Antigua, Barbadoes, and Martinique. At Barbadoes, where the tides rise only from twenty-four to twenty-eight inches, the water rose twenty feet in Carlisle Bay, and became "as black as ink." In the West Indies, and in several lakes of Switzerland, this extraordinary motion of the waters was observed six hours after the first shock was felt at Lisbon. At Cadiz, a mountain of water sixty feet high was seen eight miles distant at sea, which threw itself impetuously on the coast, and beat down a great number of edifices; like the wave eighty-four feet high, which, on the 9th of June, 1586, at the time of the great earthquake of Lima, entered the port of Callao. These phenomena, M. Humboldt adduces as proofs of subterranean communications at enormous distances. The interest of the subject will sufficiently justify the length of this digression.

Cumana stands in lat. 10° 27′ 52″ N., and long. 66° 30′ 2″ W. of Paris.* The climate is very hot. From the month of June to the end of October, the temperature usually rises to 90° or even 95° of

* According to Humboldt. M. Depons states it to be in lat. 10° 37′ 37″ N., and long. 66° 30′ W. of Paris. M. Lavaysse says, lat. 10° 37′ N., and long. 64° 10′ W.

Fahr. during the day, and seldom descends to 80° during the night. The sea-breeze, however, tempers the heat of the climate. From the beginning of November to the end of March, the heats are not so great: the thermometer is then between 82° and 84° in the daytime, and generally falls to 77° and even 75° in the night.* There is scarcely ever any rain in the plain in which Cumana is situated, though it frequently rains in the adjacent mountains. "In very heavy showers," says Humboldt, "we hear in the streets, *Que hielo! estoy emparamado*, How icy cold! I shiver as if I was on the top of the mountains;—though the thermometer, exposed to the rain, sinks only to 21·5° (centigrade thermometer)." The heats are somewhat less oppressive on the side towards the sea-shore than in the old town, where the calcareous soil and the proximity of the hill of Fort San Antonio, combine to raise the temperature in an extraordinary degree. In the suburb of the Guayquerias, the sea-breezes have free access, and the soil, being clayey, is thought to be less exposed on that account to the violent shocks of earthquakes. The suburbs are almost as populous as the ancient town. On the road to the *Plaga Chica*, north of the city, is that of *Los Serritos*; towards the S.E. is that of San Francisco; that of the Guayquerias is the most considerable. These natives are a tribe of civilised Indians, the finest race of men, next to the Caribs of Spanish Guayana, in this country. They originally belonged to the Guaraouno nation, of whom some traces still exist in the swampy lands bordering on the Orinoco; but for a century past, no native of either Cumana or

* Lavaysse, p. 163. M. Depons says, the thermometer of Réaumur rises in July to 23° in the day, and to 19° in the night; the maximum is 27°; the minimum 17°.

Margarita has spoken any language but the Castilian. The denomination of Guayquerias, like that of Peruvian, owes its origin to a mistake. "The companions of Christopher Columbus, coasting along the island of Margarita, where still, on the northern coast, resides the noblest portion of the Guayqueria nation, met a few natives who were harpooning fish. They asked them, in the Hayti language, their name; and the Indians, thinking that the question related to their harpoons, answered, *Guaike*, *guaike*, which signifies a pointed pole." They have been from the first the steady friends of the Spaniards, and have always been styled in official papers, the king's "dear, noble, and loyal Guayquerias." They differ very strikingly in physiognomy from the Chaymas and the Caribs, have apparently great muscular strength, and are of a complexion between brown and copper colour. They are chiefly fishermen.

On leaving the Indian suburb, and ascending the Manzanares towards the south, the traveller arrives at a grove of cactus, — "a delightful spot shaded by tamarinds, brasilettoes, bombax, and other plants remarkable for their leaves and flowers." The soil here affords rich pasturage, and there are dairy-houses, built with reeds, and separated from each other by clumps of trees, in which the milk is kept fresh in porous earthen vessels. "A prejudice prevalent in the countries of the north had long led me," says Humboldt, "to believe, that cows, under the torrid zone, do not yield rich milk; but my abode at Cumana convinced me that the ruminating animals of Europe become perfectly habituated to the most scorching climates, provided they find water and good nourishment. The milk is excellent in the provinces of New Andalusia (Cumana), Barcelona, and Venezuela (Ca-

racas); and the butter is better in the plains of the equinoctial zones than on the ridge of the Andes, where the Alpine plants, enjoying in no season a sufficiently high temperature, are less aromatic than on the Pyrenees, the mountains of Estremadura, and those of Greece." The waters of the Manzanares are limpid, and the banks are very pleasant, shaded by mimosas, erythrinas, and other trees of gigantic growth. The children pass great part of their lives in the water. "The whole of the inhabitants, even the women of the most opulent families, know how to swim; and in a country where man is so near the state of nature, one of the first questions asked on meeting in the morning is, whether the water is cooler than on the preceding evening. The mode of bathing is various. We every evening (continues Humboldt) visited a very respectable society in the suburb of the Guayquerias. In a fine moonlight night, chairs were placed in the water; the men and women were lightly clothed, as in some baths in the north of Europe, and the family and strangers, assembled in the river, passed some time in smoking segars, and in talking, according to the custom of the country, of the extreme dryness of the season, of the abundant rains in the neighbouring district, and particularly of the luxury of which the ladies of Cumana accuse those of Caracas and the Havannah. The company were under no apprehensions from the *bavas* or small crocodiles, which are now extremely scarce, and approach men without attacking them. These animals are three or four feet long. We never met with them in the Manzanares, but with a great number of dolphins (*toninas*), which sometimes ascend the river in the night, and frighten the bathers by spouting water."

The longitudinal valley traversed by the river, is

formed by the lofty mountains of the interior and the southern declivity of the *Cerro de San Antonio*. This plain, which is the only thoroughly wooded part in the environs, is called the Plain *des Charas* (corrupted from *chacras*, garden-cottages), on account of the numerous plantations along the river. A narrow path leads across the forest, from the hill of San Francisco to the *hospice* of the Capuchins, a very pleasant country-house, built by the Arragonese monks as an asylum for aged and infirm missionaries. Advancing towards the west, the trees of the forest become larger, and a few monkeys (*machi*) are met with, which are rare in the neighbourhood of Cumana. The Manzanares, like all the rivers of this province, has its source in that part of the *llanos* distinguished by the names of the *mesas* or plateaus of Jonoro, Amana, and Guanipe. Were irrigation introduced, the whole of this plain might be rendered productive. As it is, all the plains, especially those on the coast, wear a melancholy, dusty, and arid appearance, except where the windings of the river are distinguishable by the fresh and luxuriant vegetation on its borders. "The hill of Fort San Antonio, solitary, white, and bare, reflects a great mass of light and radiant heat: it is composed of breccia. In the distance, towards the south, a vast and gloomy curtain of mountains stretches along. These are the high calcareous Alps of New Andalusia, surmounted by sandstone and other more recent formations. Majestic forests clothe this cordillera, which are joined by a wooded vale to the open clayey lands and salt marshes in the immediate vicinity of Cumana. A few birds of considerable size contribute to give a particular character to these countries. On the sea-shore, and in the gulf, are seen flocks of fishing herons and *aloa-*

tras, a large species of pelican of a very unwieldy form, which swim, like the swan, raising their wings.* Nearer the habitations of men, thousands of *galinazos* (carrion vultures), the true jackals of the winged tribe, are ever busy in stripping the carcases of animals." "After violent showers, the dried plain exhibits an extraordinary phenomenon. The earth drenched with rain, and again heated by the rays of the sun, emits that musky odour which, under the torrid zone, is common to animals of very different classes,—to the jaguar, the small species of tiger-cat; the thick-nosed tapir, the galinazo vulture, the crocodile, the viper, and the rattle-snake. The gaseous emanations which are the vehicle of this odour, appear to be evolved in proportion only as the mould, containing the spoils of an innumerable quantity of reptiles, worms, and insects, begins to be impregnated with water. I have seen Indian children of the tribe of the Chaymas, draw out from the earth and eat millepedes or scolopendras eighteen inches long and

* "Nothing can be more agreeable," says M. Lavaysse, speaking of the innumerable marine birds that frequent the gulf, "than to see at sun-rise all those birds issuing by thousands from the mangrove-trees, where they pass the night, and disperse over the surface of the water to seek their food. When their hunger is satisfied, some repose on the mud and sand-banks; some swim on the water for mere diversion; while others cover the branches of all the neighbouring trees. I have seen a bank of sand above 300 yards in length, and the little banks or islands near it, entirely covered with these aquatic birds. Those I recognised were flamingoes of all ages and colours, pelicans, herons, boobies, five or six kinds of ducks, of which one is larger than that of India, several kinds of water-hens; and a bird as white and as large as a swan, but which has a long beak, red and pointed, longer and more delicate legs, and feet formed like those of the swan; it swims like that bird, but flies much better. I also saw many other birds which, I am sure, have never been described by any naturalist."—LAVAYSSE, p. 110.

seven lines broad. Whenever the soil is turned up, we are struck with the mass of organic substances which by turns are developed, transformed, and decomposed. Nature in these climates appears more active, more fruitful, we might even say, more prodigal of life.

"As the inhabitants of Cumana prefer the coolness of the sea-breeze to the appearance of vegetation, they are accustomed to no other walk than that of the open shore. The Spaniards, who are accused in general of having no predilection for trees or the warbling of birds, have transported their prejudices and their habits into the colonies. In Terra Firma, Mexico, and Peru, it is rare to see a native plant a tree merely with the view to procure himself shade; and if we except the environs of the great capitals, walks bordered with trees are almost unknown in these countries. On the shore, we enjoy, especially at sun-rise, a very beautiful prospect over an elevated groupe of calcareous mountains. Storms are formed in the centre of this cordillera; and we see from afar thick clouds resolve themselves into abundant rains, while, during seven or eight months, not a drop falls at Cumana. The Brigantine, which is the highest part of this chain, raises itself in a very picturesque manner behind Brito and Tataraqual. It takes its name from the form of a very deep valley on the northern declivity, which resembles the inside of a ship. The summit of this mountain is almost bare of vegetation, and flattened like that of Mowna-Roa in the Sandwich Islands. It is a perpendicular wall, or, to use a more expressive term of the Spanish navigators, a table (*mesa*). The governor of Cumana sent, in 1797, a band of determined men to explore this entirely desert country, and to open a direct road to New Barcelona

by the summit of the *Mesa*. It was reasonably expected, that this way would be shorter and less dangerous to the health of travellers than that which is pursued by the couriers along the coast; but every attempt to cross the chain of the Brigantine is fruitless. In this part of America, as in the Blue Mountains of New Holland, it is not so much the height of the cordilleras, as the form of the rocks, that presents obstacles difficult to surmount.

"The port of Cumana is a road capable of receiving all the navies of Europe. The whole of the Gulf of Cariaco, which is 35 miles long and 68 miles broad, affords excellent anchorage. The great ocean is not more calm and pacific on the coasts of Peru, than the Sea of the Antilles from Puerto Cabello, and especially from Cape Cordera to the Point of Paria. The hurricanes of the West Indies are never felt in these regions; and the vessels are without decks. The only danger in the port of Cumana, is the shoal of *Morro Roxo*, which is 900 fathoms broad from E. to W., and so steep, that you are upon it almost without warning."*

One of the excursions which M. Humboldt made during his residence at Cumana, was to the peninsula of Araya on the opposite side of the gulf. They embarked on the river Manzanares about two in the morning. "The night was delightfully cool. Swarms of phosphorescent insects glittered in the air. We

* Pers. Narr. vol. ii. p. 204—12. M. Lavaysse describes the gulf as twelve leagues long and from three to four in breadth throughout its extent. Even if Spanish leagues be meant, this is strangely at variance with Humboldt. He agrees with the latter in describing it as a magnificent port, where large ships may ride in safety from all weathers, offering in all parts good anchorage and natural wharfs. "Batteries of heavy mortars placed at each side of the entrance, could hinder the most formidable fleets from entering." p. 109.

know how common the glow-worm is in the south of Europe; but the picturesque effect it produces, cannot be compared to those innumerable, scattered, and moving lights that embellish the nights of the torrid zone, and seem to repeat on the earth, along the vast extent of the savannas, the spectacle of the starry vault of the sky. As we drew near some plantations, we saw bonfires kindled by the negroes: a light, undulating smoke rose to the tops of the palm-trees, and gave a reddish colour to the disk of the moon. It was on a Sunday night, and the slaves were dancing to the noisy and monotonous music of the guitar. We landed about eight in the morning at the Point of Araya, near the new salt-works. A solitary house stands in a plain destitute of vegetation, near a battery of three guns, which is the only defence of this coast, since the destruction of Fort San Diego. The inspector of the salt-works passes his life in a hammock, whence he issues his orders to the workmen: a king's boat (*la lancha del re*) brings him every week his provisions from Cumana. It is surprising, that a salt-work which formerly excited the jealousy of the English, the Dutch, and other maritime powers, has not given rise to a village or even a farm: a few huts only of poor Indian fishermen are found at the extremity of the Point of Araya.

"The abundance of salt contained in the peninsula of Araya, was already known to Alonzo Ninno, when, following the steps of Columbus, Ojeda, and Amerigo Vespucci, he visited these countries in 1499. Though, of all the people on the globe, the natives of America are those who consume the least salt, because they scarcely eat any thing but vegetables, it nevertheless appears, that the Guayquerias already dug into the clayey and muriatiferous soil of *Punta Arenas*. Even

the brine-pits, which are now called *new*, and which are situate at the extremity of Cape Araya, had been worked at very early periods. The Spaniards settled at first at Cubagua, and soon after on the coasts of Cumana, worked, from the beginning of the sixteenth century, the salt marshes which stretch away in the form of a mere to the north of Cerro de la Vela. As at that period the peninsula of Araya had no settled population, the Dutch availed themselves of the natural riches of a soil which appeared a property common to all nations. In our days, each colony has its own salt-works, and navigation is so much improved, that the merchants of Cadiz can send salt, at small expense, from Spain and Portugal to the southern hemisphere, a distance of 1,900 leagues, to cure meat at Monte Video and Buenos Ayres. These advantages were unknown at the time of the conquest; colonial industry had then made so little progress, that the salt of Araya was carried at great expense to the West India Islands, Carthagena, and Portobello. In 1605, the court of Madrid sent armed ships to Punta Araya, with orders to station themselves there, and expel the Dutch by force of arms. The Dutch, however, continued to carry on a contraband trade in salt till, in 1622, a fort was built near the salt-works, that afterward became celebrated under the name of the Castillo de Santiago, or of the Real Fuerza de Araya. The great salt marshes are laid down on the oldest Spanish maps, sometimes as a bay, and at other times as a mere. Laet, who wrote his *Orbis Novus* in 1633, and who had some excellent notions respecting these coasts, expressly states, that the mere was separated from the sea by an isthmus above the level of high water. In 1726, an extraordinary event destroyed the salt-works of Araya, and rendered the

fort, the construction of which had cost more than a million of piastres, useless. An impetuous hurricane took place, which was a very rare phenomenon in these regions, where the sea is in general as calm as the water in our large rivers. The waves overflowed the land to a great extent; and by the effect of this irruption of the ocean, the salt-lake was converted into a gulf several miles in length. Since this period, artificial reservoirs, or pits (*vasets*), have been formed, to the north of the range of hills which separates the castle from the northern coast of the peninsula.*

" The province of Caracas possesses fine salt-works at *Los Roques*: that which formerly existed at the small island of *Tortuga*, where the soil is strongly impregnated with muriat of soda, was destroyed by order of the Spanish government. A canal was made, by which the sea has free access to the salt-marshes. Foreign nations who have colonies in the West Indies, frequent this uninhabited island; and the court of Madrid, from views of suspicious policy, was apprehensive, that the salt-works of Tortuga would have given rise to settlements, by means of which an illicit trade would have been carried on with Tefra Firma.

" The royal administration of the salt-works of Araya dates only from the year 1792. Before that period, they were in the hands of Indian fishermen, who manufactured salt at their pleasure, and sold it,

* Of between 9 and 10,000 *fanegas* (each 400 lb. weight) furnished by Cumana and Barcelona in 1799, 3,000 only were produced by the salt-works of Araya: the rest was extracted from the sea-water at the *morro* of Barcelona, at Pozuelos, at Piritu, and in the *Golfo Triste*. In Mexico, the salt lake of *Penon Blanco* alone furnishes yearly more than 250,000 *fanegas* of unpurified salt.

paying the government the moderate sum of 300 piastres. The price of the *fanega* was then four reals; but the salt was extremely impure, grey, mixed with earthy particles, and surcharged with muriat and sulphat of magnesia. As the manufacture or labour of the salt-makers was also carried on in the most irregular manner, salt was often wanted for curing meat and fish; a circumstance that has a powerful influence in these countries on the progress of industry, as the lower class of people and the slaves live on fish and a small portion of *tasajo*. Since the province of Cumana has become dependent on the intendancy of Caracas, the sale of salt is under the excise; and the *fanega*, which the Guayqueries sold at half a piastre, costs a piastre and a half.* This augmentation of price is slightly compensated by a greater purity of the salt, and by the facility with which the fishermen and farmers can procure it in abundance during the whole year. The salt-works of Araya yielded the treasury, in 1799, a clear income of 8,000 piastres."

The Travellers passed the night in a hut which formed part of a groupe of small habitations on the border of the salt-lake, the remains of a considerable village. The ruins of a church are seen buried in the sand, and covered with brushwood. The castle of Araya was totally dismantled in 1765, to save the expense of the garrison. Standing singly on a bare and arid mountain, crowned with agave, columnar cactus, and thorny mimosa, the ruins resemble less the works of man, than a mass of rock ruptured by some phy-

* "The fanega is sold to those Indians and fishermen who do not pay the duties (*derechos reales*), at Punta Araya for six, at Cumana for eight reals. The prices to the other tribes are, at Araya ten, at Cumana twelve reals."

sical convulsion. The few inhabitants who still linger in this wild and barren spot, are fishermen. They appeared satisfied with their lot; and when asked why they had no gardens, their reply was, "Our garden is beyond the gulf: when we carry our fish to Cumana, we bring back plantains, cocoa-nuts, and cassava." This indolent mode of life is followed throughout the peninsula of Araya. The chief wealth of the inhabitants consists in goats of a very large and fine breed; they are of a brownish yellow colour, are entirely wild, and are marked, like the mules, to distinguish them. "If, in hunting, a colonist kills a goat which he does not consider as his own property, he carries it immediately to the neighbour to whom it belongs." In the uninhabited islet of Cubagua, deer of a small breed are so numerous, that an individual may kill three or four in a day. "The *venado* of Cubagua," Humboldt says, "belongs to one of those numerous species of small American deer which zoologists have confounded under the vague name of *cervus Mexicanus*.* It does not appear to be the same as the hind of the savannas of Cayenne, or the *guazuti* of Paraguay. Its colour is of a brownish red on the back, and white under the belly, and it is spotted like the axis. In the plains of Cari, we were shewn, as a very rare thing in these burning climates, a variety quite white: it was a female of the size of a roe-buck of Europe, and of a very elegant shape. White varieties are found in the New Continent even among the tigers."

Among the mulattoes whose huts surround the salt-lake, M. Humboldt found a white, by trade a shoemaker, who boasted of Castilian descent: he appears

* See Mod. Trav., Mexico, vol. ii. p. 96.

to have been a most original personage. "He received us," says our Traveller, "with the air of gravity and self-sufficiency which, in those climates, characterises almost all who are conscious of possessing some peculiar talent. He was employed in stretching the string of his bow, and sharpening his arrows to kill birds. His trade of a shoemaker could not be very lucrative in a country where the greater part of the inhabitants go barefoot; and he complained, that, on account of the dearness of European gunpowder, a man of his quality was reduced to employ the same weapons as the Indians. He was the sage of the plain; he understood the formation of the salt by the influence of the sun and the full moon, the symptoms of earthquakes, the marks by which mines of gold and silver are discovered, and the medicinal plants, which he divided, like all the other colonists from Chili to California, into *hot and cold*.* Having collected the traditions of the country, he gave us some curious accounts of the pearls of Cubagua, objects of luxury which he treated with the utmost contempt. To shew us how familiar to him were the sacred writings, he took a pride in quoting to us Job, who preferred wisdom to all the pearls of the Indies. His philosophy was circumscribed to the narrow circle of the wants of life. A very strong ass, able to carry a heavy load of plantains to the *embarcadero*, was the object of all his wishes. After a long discourse on the emptiness of human grandeur, he drew from a leathern pouch a few very small and opaque pearls, which he forced us to accept, enjoining us at the same time to note on our tablets, that a poor shoemaker of

* "Exciting or debilitating, sthenic or asthenic of Brown's system."

Araya, but a white man, and of noble Castilian race, had been enabled to give us what on the other side of the sea* was sought for as a very precious thing. I acquit myself rather late of the promise I made to this honest man; and I am happy to add, that his disinterestedness did not permit him to accept of the slightest retribution. The *Pearl Coast* presents, it is true, the same aspect of misery as the countries of *gold* and *diamonds*, Choco and Brazil; but misery is not there attended with that immoderate desire of gain which is excited by mineral riches."

The islands of Margarita, Cubagua, and Coche, Punta Araya, and the mouth of the *Rio de la Hacha*, were as celebrated in the sixteenth century for the pearls which abound all along this coast, as the Persian Gulf and the island Taprobane were among the ancients. The island of Coche alone yielded, at the beginning of the conquest, pearls to the amount of 1,500 marcs every month. At a time that the whole of the mines of America did not furnish two millions of piastres per annum, the value of the pearls sent to Europe amounted on an average to upwards of 800,000 piastres. "Pearls were so much the more sought after, as the luxury of Asia had been introduced into Europe by two opposite channels; that of Constantinople, where the Paleologi wore garments covered with strings of pearls; and that of Grenada, where the Moorish kings displayed at their court all the luxury of the East. The pearls of the East Indies were preferred to those of the West; but the number of the latter, which circulated in commerce, was not less considerable in the times that immediately fol-

* "*Por alla*, or, *del otro lado del charco* (properly, "beyond the great mere"), a figurative expression, by which the people in the Spanish colonies denote Europe."

lowed the discovery of America. In Italy, as well as in Spain, the islet of Cubagua became the object of numerous mercantile speculations. The pearl fishery diminished rapidly towards the end of the sixteenth century, and had long ceased in 1683. The industry of the Venetians, who imitated fine pearls with great exactness, and the frequent use of cut diamonds, rendered the fisheries of Cubagua less lucrative. At the same time, the oysters which yielded the pearls became scarcer, because their propagation had been checked by the imprudent destruction of the shells by thousands. At present, Spanish America furnishes no other pearls for trade, than those of the Gulf of Panama and the mouth of the *Rio de la Hacha*. On the shoals that surround Cabagua, Coche, and the island of Margarita, the fishery is as much neglected as on the coasts of California.*

"It is believed," adds M. Humboldt, "that after two centuries of repose, the pearl *aronde* has again greatly multiplied." In 1812, some attempts were made at Margarita to revive the pearl fishery. M. Lavaysse, indeed, states, that he saw an individual in 1807, who had procured about 400 pearls in the course of the preceding year. There seems reason to believe, however, that, from some cause or other, the oyster has degenerated, the pearls now found being much smaller and of less brilliancy than those obtained at the time of the conquest. The first Spaniards who landed in Terra Firma, found the savages decked with necklaces and bracelets of beautiful pearls. These treasures of the deep proved not less fatal to the natives than the gold of Brazil and the silver of Mexico. Indeed, the hardships endured by those who were

* See Mod. Trav., Mexico, vol. ii. p. 99.

compelled to labour in the mines, were not to be compared with the sufferings inflicted on the pearl-divers. Las Casas has described, "not without some exaggeration," says M. Humboldt, the cruelties exercised on the unhappy Indian and negro slaves employed in the pearl fishery. It is certain, however, that the waste of human life was most horrible.

Four hours' walk from the salt-water lake is the village of Maniquarez, celebrated for its potteries, which are entirely in the hands of the Indian women. Three centuries have been insufficient to introduce the potter's wheel on a coast which is not above thirty or forty days' sail from Spain. Being unacquainted with the use of ovens, they place twigs of cassia and other shrubs round the pots, and bake them in the open air. The clay, which is found in quarries half a league to the east of Maniquarez, is produced by the natural decomposition of a mica-slate reddened by oxide of iron.

Of all the productions on the coasts of Araya, that which the natives deem the most extraordinary, is the *piedra de los ojos* (stone of the eyes): according to their natural philosophy, it is both a stone and an animal. "It is found in the sand, where it is motionless; but, placed singly on a polished surface, for instance, on a pewter or earthen plate, it moves when excited by lemon-juice. Placed in the eye, the pretended animal turns on itself, and expels any other foreign substance that may have been accidentally introduced. At the new salt-works, and at the village of Maniquarez," continues Humboldt, "the 'stones of the eyes' were offered us by hundreds, and the natives were eager to shew us the experiment of the lemon-juice. They wished to put sand into our eyes, in order that we might ourselves try the efficacy of

the remedy. It was easy to perceive that these stones are thin and porous *opercula*, which have formed part of small univalve shells. Their diameter varies from one to four lines. One of their surfaces is plane, the other convex. These calcareous *opercula* effervesce with lemon-juice, and put themselves in motion as the carbonic acid is disengaged. By the effect of a similar re-action, loaves placed in an oven sometimes move in a horizontal plane; a phenomenon that has given rise to the popular notion of enchanted ovens. Introduced into the eye, the *piedras de los ojos* act like small pearls and different round grains employed by the American savages to increase the flowing of tears. These explanations were little to the taste of the inhabitants of Araya."

Proceeding along the southern coast to the east of Maniquarez, three strips of land are found running out into the sea very near each other, called *Punta de Solo*, *Punta de la Brea* (Tar Cape), and *Punta Guaratarito*. Near the second of these points, at eighty feet distance from the shore, a spring of naphtha rises, and covers the surface of the sea for a distance of more than a thousand feet. The smell spreads itself into the interior of the peninsula. This phenomenon is the more remarkable, as the bottom of the gulf is here formed of primitive mica-slate; whereas all the fountains of naphtha hitherto known originate in secondary formations, and have been supposed to be produced by the decomposition of vegetable and animal substances, or the burning of coal. It is observable also, that the same primitive rocks contain the subterraneous fires; that the smell of petroleum is frequently perceived on the brink of burning craters; and that the greater number of hot springs

in the American continent, issue from gneiss and micaceous schist. The largest reservoir of petroleum is that of the island of Trinidad.

FROM CUMANA TO THE MISSIONS OF THE CHAYMA INDIANS.

ANOTHER excursion made by the learned Travellers we are following, during their residence at Cumana, was to the missions of the Chayma Indians in the interior of the mountains. To the exertions of the religious orders by whom these institutions were founded, we must certainly attribute the introduction of a more humane system of civilisation, which put a stop to the effusion of blood, and laid the foundation of social communities in the recesses of the wilderness. But these same institutions have, in their result, proved hostile to the progress of civilisation. "The Indians have remained in a state little different from that in which they existed when their scattered dwellings were not as yet collected round the habitation of the missionary. Their number has considerably augmented, but the sphere of their ideas is not enlarged. They have progressively lost that vigour of character and that natural vivacity which, in every state of society, are the noble fruits of independence. In subjecting to invariable rules even the slightest actions of their domestic life, they have been rendered stupid by the effort to render them obedient. Their subsistence is in general more certain, and their habits more pacific; but, subject to the constraint and the dull monotony of the government of the missions, they discover by their gloomy and reserved looks, that they have not without regret sacrificed their liberty

to their repose. The monastic system, confined to the cloister, while it deprives the state of useful citizens, may sometimes contribute to calm the passions, to soothe incurable sorrows, and fit the mind for meditation; but, transplanted into the forests of the New World, and applied to the numerous relations of civil society, it has consequences so much the more fatal as its duration is prolonged. It enchains, from generation to generation, the intellectual faculties, interrupts the intercourse of nations, and is hostile to whatever elevates the mind or enlarges its conceptions." Such is the very just and striking picture which Humboldt draws, of the effects of the *hierocratic* government of the Romish missions, connected as it always has been with the fatal policy of accommodating Christianity to the prejudices and superstitions of its nominal converts. "From these united causes," he adds, "the natives who inhabit the missions, are kept in a state remote from all improvement, and which we should call stationary, did not societies follow the course of the human mind, and retrograde whenever they cease to go forward." *

The Travellers left Cumana on the 4th of September, 1799. The road, "or rather path," follows the right bank of the Manzanares. At the hospital of the *Divina Pastora*, it turns to the north-east, and lies for two leagues over a level tract bare of trees, along the southern side of hills which Humboldt supposes to have formed at one time an island. At the end of two hours, they arrived at the foot of the high chain stretching east and west from the Brigantine to the *Cerro de San Lorenzo*. Here every object begins to assume a more majestic and

* Pers. Narr. vol. iii. pp. 4—6.

picturesque character. New rocks appear, and the vegetation wears a different aspect. The soil, watered by springs, is furrowed by channels in every direction, and trees of gigantic loftiness, covered with *lianas*, rise from the ravines. Their bark, black and burnt by the double action of the light and the oxygen of the atmosphere, forms a contrast with the fresh verdure of the long, tough, shining leaves of the pothos and dracontium. The forms and grouping of the rocks reminded the Travellers, as they advanced, of the scenes of Switzerland and the Tyrol. The path insensibly ascends through the thick forests which clothe the acclivity. Here and there, some trace of cultivation presents itself, and solitary huts are met with, inhabited by mestizoes, placed in the midst of enclosures of bananas, papaw-trees, sugar-canes, and maize.* Owing to the fecundity of the soil and the astonishing productiveness of the alimentary plants which constitute the food of the natives in these tropical regions, a small spot of cultivated land suffices to supply the wants of several families.† The spontaneous vegetation, therefore, still predominates in quantity over the cultivated plants, and determines the aspect of the landscape. "Man," says Humboldt, "here appears, not the absolute master, changing at will the surface of the soil, but a transient guest, who quietly enjoys the gifts of nature." At the end of ten hours, the travellers halted at Quetepe, a small hamlet built near a delicious spring.

* These cultivated spots are found, Humboldt says, wherever the Alpine limestone is covered with a quartzose sandstone, containing thin strata of a blackish clay-slate, which detain the water, and produce a humidity of soil favourable to vegetation.

† An acre planted with plantains, produces nearly twenty times as much food as the same space sown with corn.

distant from Cumana in a straight line about three leagues and a half: the plain is about 190 toises above the level of the sea. The road to Cumanacoa now lies in a south-west direction over the groupe of mountains which separates the coast from the *Llanos*. This part of the chain is destitute of vegetation, and has steep declivities both towards the north and the south. It is called *El Imposible*, "because it is believed, that, in case of an enemy's landing, this ridge of mountains would afford an asylum to the inhabitants of Cumana. When Cumana, after the capture of Trinidad by the English in 1797, was threatened with an attack, many of the inhabitants fled to Cumanacoa, and deposited what they possessed of most value in sheds hastily constructed on the summit." Here M. Humboldt and his companion passed the night at a military post, consisting of a hospital built by the side of a powder magazine, occupied by eight men under a Spanish serjeant. The *Llaneros*, or inhabitants of the plains, send their produce, chiefly maize, hides, and cattle, to the port of Cumana by the road over the *Imposible*, which may be considered as the key of the Llanos. From the summit is obtained a fine and extensive view, including the flattened top of the Brigantine, the port of Cumana, the rocky peninsula of Araya, and the *Laguna del Obispo*, or *Laguna Grande*, a vast basin surrounded with mountains, which communicates with the Gulf of Cariaco by a narrow channel, capable of admitting the passage of only one vessel at a time. This port is an uninhabited place, but is annually frequented by vessels laden with mules for the West India Islands. The elevation of the guard-house is 258 toises above the sea.

The descent from the *Imposible* is very dangerous

for beasts of burden; the path is in general but fifteen inches broad, and bordered with precipices. In 1796, a fine road from the village of San Fernando was begun, and a third part of it finished; but, like almost all similar plans of improvement under the colonial system, it was made a job, and the people were rated for a road which had no existence, till the governor of Cumana put an end to the abuse. On the banks of the numerous mountain rivulets grow the *hurá*, the *cuspa* (a species of *cinchona*, or cascarilla-tree, the bark of which is an excellent febrifuge), and the silver-leaved cecropia, or trumpet-tree. At the end of the ravine through which the road descends from the *Imposible*, the traveller enters a thick forest, traversed by numerous small rivers easily fordable; and to the stranger newly arrived from Europe, the new aspect which nature assumes is striking and unexpected. "The objects which surround him," says M. Humboldt, "make him feel at every step, that he is not on the confines, but in the centre of the torrid zone: not in one of the West India Islands, but on a vast continent, where every thing is gigantic, the mountains, the rivers, and the mass of vegetation. If he feel strongly the beauty of picturesque scenery, he can scarcely define the various emotions which crowd upon his mind; he can scarcely distinguish what most excites his admiration, the deep silence of those solitudes, the individual beauty and contrast of forms, or that vigour and freshness of vegetable life which characterise the climate of the tropics. It might be said that the earth, overloaded with plants, does not allow them space enough to unfold themselves. The trunks of the trees are every where concealed under a thick carpet of verdure; and if we carefully transplanted the orchideæ, the pipers, and

the pothos, which a single courbaril, or American fig-tree, nourishes, we should cover a vast extent of ground. By this singular assemblage, the forests, as well as the flanks of the rocks and mountains, enlarge the domains of organic nature. The same lianas that creep on the ground, reach the tops of the trees, and pass from one to another at the height of more than a hundred feet. Thus, by a continual interlacing of parasite plants, the botanist is often led to confound the flowers, fruits, and leaves which belong to different species.

" We walked for some hours under the shade of these arcades, that scarcely admit a glimpse of the sky; which appeared to me of an indigo blue, so much the deeper as the green of the equinoctial plants is generally of a stronger hue, with somewhat of a brownish tint. A great fern-tree, very different from the polypodium arboreum of the West Indies, rose above masses of scattered rocks. In this place, we were struck for the first time with the sight of those nests, in the shape of bottles or small pockets, which are suspended to the branches of the lowest trees, and which attest the admirable industry of the orioles, that mingle their warblings with the hoarse cries of the parrots and the macaws. These last, so well known for their vivid colours, fly only in pairs, while the real parrots wander about in flocks of several hundreds. A man must have lived in those climates, particularly in the hot valleys of the Andes, to conceive how these birds sometimes drown with their voice the noise of the torrents which rush down, from rock to rock.

" We left the forests at the distance of somewhat more than a league from the village of San Fernando. A narrow path led, after many windings, into an

open, but extremely humid country. In the temperate zone, the cyperaceous and gramineous plants would have formed vast meadows; here the soil abounded in aquatic plants, with sagittate leaves, and especially in basil plants, among which we noticed the fine flowers of the costus, the thalia, and the heliconia. These succulent plants are from eight to ten feet high, and in Europe their assemblage would be considered as a little wood. The delightful view of meadows and of turf sprinkled with flowers, is almost entirely wanting in the low regions of the torrid zone, and is to be found only in the elevated plains of the Andes."

A road skirted with a very elegant species of bamboo (*bambusa guadua*), more than forty feet high, led to the village, or, as it is termed, *pueblo de mision*. It is situated in a narrow plain, shut in by steep calcareous rocks. The plan on which it is built, is the same that is common to almost all the villages and missions in the Spanish colonies. A great square in the centre contains the church, the dwelling of the *cura doctrinero*, or parish priest, and the humble edifice dignified with the title of the *casa del Rey*, which serves for a caravanserai. The streets, which are wide and very straight, diverging from this square, cross each other at right angles. The huts are slightly constructed of clay, strengthened by lianas; they are detached, but not surrounded with gardens. The uniformity of their construction, the grave and taciturn air of the inhabitants, and the extreme neatness that reigns throughout their habitations, reminded the Travellers of the establishments of the Moravian brethren. Every Indian family cultivates, at some distance from the village, besides its own garden, that of the community, in which the

adults of both sexes work for one hour in the morning and one in the evening. This common garden (*conuco de la comunidad*), in the missions nearer the coast, is generally either a sugar or an indigo plantation. According to an old regulation, a white not an ecclesiastic is not permitted to remain more than one night in an Indian village. M. Humboldt, however, had provided himself with a recommendation to the friars who governed the Chayma missions, from their syndic at Cumana. "The missionary of San Fernando was a capuchin, a native of Arragon, far advanced in years, but strong and healthy. His extreme corpulency, his hilarity, the interest he took in battles and sieges, ill accorded with the ideas we form in our northern countries of the melancholy reveries and the contemplative life of missionaries. Though extremely busy about a cow which was to be killed the next day, the old monk received us with kindness, and permitted us to hang up our hammocks in a gallery of his house. Seated, without doing any thing, the greater part of the day, in an arm-chair of red wood, he bitterly complained of what he called the indolence and ignorance of his countrymen. He asked a thousand questions on the real object of our journey, which appeared to him hazardous, and, at all events, useless. Here, as at Oroonoko, we were fatigued by that restless curiosity which the Europeans preserve in the forests of America respecting the wars and political convulsions of the Old World.

"Our missionary, however, seemed well satisfied with his situation. He treated the Indians with mildness; he beheld his mission prosper; and he praised with enthusiasm the waters, the bananas, and the dairy produce of the canton. The sight of our instruments, our books, and our dried plants, drew

from him a sarcastic smile; and he acknowledged, with the *naïveté* peculiar to those climates, that of all the enjoyments of life, without excepting sleep, none was comparable to the pleasure of eating good beef (*carne de vacca*); so true it is, that sensuality obtains an ascendancy where there is no occupation for the mind. Our host repeatedly urged us to pay a visit with him to his cow, which he had just purchased; and on the morrow at sunrise, he would not dispense with our seeing it killed after the fashion of the country, that is, by ham-stringing the animal, and then plunging a large knife into the vertebræ of the neck. This disgusting operation served to shew us the great address of the Chayma Indians, eight of whom, in less than twenty minutes, cut up the animal into small pieces. The price of the cow was only seven piastres; but this price seemed to be thought very considerable. The same day the missionary had paid eighteen piastres to a soldier of Cumana for having succeeded, after many fruitless attempts, in bleeding him in the foot. This fact, though seemingly very unimportant, is a striking proof how greatly, in uncultivated countries, the price of things differs from that of labour.

"The mission of San Fernando was founded toward the end of the seventeeth century, near the junction of the small rivers Manzanares and Lucasperez. A fire, which consumed the church and the huts of the Indians, induced the capuchins to place the village in its present fine situation. The number of families is now increased to one hundred: the missionary observed to us, that the custom of marrying at thirteen or fourteen years of age, contributes greatly to the rapid increase of population. He denied that old age was so premature among the Chaymas as is

commonly believed in Europe. - The government of these Indian parishes is very complicated: they have their governor, their major-alguazils, and their militia-commanders, who are all copper-coloured natives. The company of archers have their colours, and perform their exercises with the bow and arrow, in shooting at a mark: this is the *national guard* (militia) of the country. This military establishment under a purely monastic system, seemed to us very singular."

The road from San Fernando to Cumanacoa, passes through an open and humid valley interspersed with small plantations. The village of Arenas, which occurs in the route, is one of the missions founded by Arragonese capuchins; but it has ceased to be under their government, and the natives, though of the same race as those of San Fernando, are better clothed and more civilised: it is the residence of a regular priest. In this village there was living at the time of Humboldt's visit, a labourer named Francisco Lozano, who had suckled a child from his own breast. The following particulars are given of this remarkable physiological phenomenon. "The mother having fallen sick, the father, to quiet the infant, took it into his bed and pressed it to his bosom. Lozano, then thirty-two years of age, had never remarked till that day that he had milk: but the irritation of the nipple sucked by the child, caused the accumulation of that liquid. The milk was thick and very sweet. The father, astonished at the increased size of his breast, suckled his child two or three times a day during five months. He drew on himself the attention of his neighbours, but he never thought, as he probably would have done in Europe, of deriving any advantage from the curiosity he excited. We saw the cer-

tificate, which had been drawn up on the spot, to attest this remarkable fact, eye-witnesses of which are still living. They assured us that, during this suckling, the child had no other nourishment than the milk of his father. Lozano, who was not at Arenas during our journey to the missions, came to us at Cumana. He was accompanied by his son, who was thirteen or fourteen years of age. M. Bonpland examined with attention the father's breast, and found it wrinkled like those of women who had given suck. He observed, that the left breast in particular was much enlarged; which Lozano explained to us from the circumstance that the two breasts did not furnish milk in the same abundance. Don Vicente Emparan, governor of the province, sent a circumstantial account of this phenomenon to Cadiz.

"It is not a very uncommon circumstance," adds the learned Traveller, "to find, both among humankind and animals, males whose breasts contain milk;" and he cites from Aristotle the observation, that men who have a small quantity of milk, yield it in abundance when their breasts are sucked. An inhabitant of Syria is mentioned by a medical writer of the fifteenth century, who, to calm the uneasiness of his child after the death of its mother, pressed it to his bosom, on which the milk came in such abundance, that he took on himself the nourishment of the child. Other examples are related by different writers. It has even been mentioned by travellers, among the signs of the pretended weakness of the Americans, that the men have milk in their breasts, which is not more true of any Indian tribe than of any European race. Among the lower orders in Russia, the circumstance has been observed to be

much more frequent than among the more southern nations; and the Russians are not chargeable with effeminacy. The labourer of Arenas is not of the copper-coloured race of Chayma Indians, but a white, descended from Europeans.*

The town of Cumanacoa is situated in a naked plain, nearly circular, surrounded by lofty mountains, having a dull and melancholy aspect. The houses are low and slight, and, with the exception of three or four, all built of wood. It was founded in 1717 by Domingo Arias, and was at first called San Baltasar de las Arias, but the Indian name has prevailed. In 1753, the number of inhabitants did not exceed 600: in 1800, it amounted to 2,300, and recent travellers, Humboldt says, carry the population as high as 5,000 souls, but, he thinks, on an erroneous computation. The plain is not more than 104 toises above the level of the sea, and yet the temperature is surprisingly low, owing to the proximity of the forests and the prevalence of fogs. The thermometer, during M. Humboldt's stay, kept at from 14.8° to 16° of Reaumur, which, to a traveller coming from the coast, has the effect of cold. The port of Cumana is only seven nautical leagues from Cumanacoa; and yet, while it scarcely ever rains at the former place, the latter has seven months of wintry weather. Every night a thick fog covered the sky, and almost every day, about two o'clock in the afternoon, large, black, and low clouds dissolved in torrents of rain, which would continue for two or three hours, during which the thermometer would be depressed five or six

* A similar case is mentioned by Captain Franklin; that of a Chipewyan, who, having lost his wife in child-bed, suckled the infant, and succeeded in rearing him.—See FRANKLIN'S *Journey to the Polar Sea*, 4to. p. 157.

degrees. About five o'clock the rain generally ceased, and the sun re-appeared a short time before setting; but, at eight or nine o'clock, the town would be again enveloped in a thick stratum of vapours. These changes follow successively during whole months, and yet, not a breath of wind is felt. The soil is very fertile, owing to the extreme humidity of the atmosphere and the number of rivulets. The most valuable production of the district is tobacco, next to that of the Isle of Cuba and the Rio Negro, the most aromatic that is produced in Spanish America. Here, as in Mexico, it was a royal monopoly under the colonial administration; and the cultivation was nearly confined, in Caracas, to the valley of Cumanacoa, as, in Mexico, it was permitted only in the two districts of Orizaba and Cordoba.* The royal farm (*estanco real de tabaco*) was established here in 1779. "All the tobacco that is gathered must," says Humboldt, "be sold to government. Guards scour the country to destroy any plantations without the boundaries of the privileged districts, and inform against those inhabitants who dare smoke segars prepared by their own hands. These guards are for the most part Spaniards, and are almost as insolent as those we see employed in similar cases in Europe. This insolence has not a little contributed to foster the hatred between the colonies and the metropolis. The growth being now confined to the space of a few square leagues, the whole produce of the harvest is only 6,000 *arrobas*. Yet, the two provinces of Cumana and Barcelona consume 12,000. The deficiency is supplied by Spanish Guayana. If the culture were free, Cumana might furnish a great part of Europe."

* See Modern Traveller, Mexico, vol. ii. p. 84, *note*.

Next to tobacco, the most important article of cultivation is indigo, which often nearly equals that of Guatimala.

Every thing indicates, says the learned Traveller, that the valley of Cumanacoa is the bottom of an ancient lake. The mountains which then formed its shores, are all perpendicular towards the plains, and the only outlet for the waters was on the side of Aretas. In digging foundations, beds of round pebbles are found, mixed with small bivalve shells; and at the bottom of the ravine of San Juanillo, there were discovered, about fifty years ago, two enormous femoral bones, (it is supposed, of an extinct species of elephant,) which weighed more than thirty pounds. On approaching the southern bank of this basin, the Turumiquiri, an enormous wall of rocks, the remains of an ancient cliff, is seen rising in the midst of the forest. Further westward, at the *Cerro del Cuchivano*, the chain of mountains seems broken by the effects of an earthquake. There is a crevice, a hundred and fifty toises in width, surrounded with perpendicular rocks, and filled with trees, through which flows a torrent called the *Rio Juagua*. This crevice is called *Risco del Cuchivano;* it is highly picturesque, and is inhabited by jaguars (*felis onca*), who attain the size of six feet in length. Opposite the farm of Bermudez, two spacious caverns open into it, from which, at times, flames rush out, that may be seen at night from a great distance, illuminating the adjacent mountains. This phenomenon is observed chiefly during the rainy season. At the time of the great earthquake of Cumana, it was accompanied by a subterraneous, dull, and long-continued noise; but M. Humboldt considers it to be altogether unconnected with volcanic phenomena. He supposes it to

be a column of inflamed hydrogen, produced by the decomposition of water on coming in contact with the pyrites scattered through the schistous marl which composes the rocks, and which, as the smell indicates, is both pyritous and bituminous. Near these caverns, rock-crystals are found enchased in beds of alpine limestone. On the right bank of the river Juagua, is an excavation which the natives took for a gold mine, owing to the appearance of the sulphurous pyrites which are found crystallised and disseminated in the marl rock. They are of a very clear golden yellow, and as the torrent, which is crossed by the marly stratum, washes out metallic grains, the natives imagine, from the brillancy of the pyrites, that it bears down gold. But M. Humboldt ascertained, that they are not auriferous; they are only mixed with fibrous sulphuret of iron and nodules of fetid carbonate of lime. "How much time did we lose," he says, "during five years' travels, in visiting, at the pressing solicitations of our hosts, ravines of which the pyritous strata have for ages borne the pompous name of *Minas de Oro!* How often have we been grieved at seeing men of all classes, magistrates, village pastors, grave missionaries, grinding, with inexhaustible patience, hornblende or yellow mica, in order to extract gold from it by means of mercury! This rage for the discovery of mines is the more striking in a climate where the soil needs only to be slightly raked, to produce abundant harvests."

The principal place in the Chayma missions, is the convent and village of Caripe. The road taken by our Travellers, led over the mountains of Cocollar and Turumiquiri. After crossing, for three leagues, the plain of Cumanacoa, they began to climb the acclivity, and continued to ascend for more than four

hours, during which they crossed the Pututucuar, a rapid torrent, two-and-twenty times. The *hato del Cocollar*, a solitary farm on the summit, is 2,400 feet above the sea-level, and the nightly temperature is seven degrees colder than that of the coast. "Nothing can be compared," says Humboldt, "to the impression of majestic tranquillity, which the aspect of the firmament inspires in this solitary region. Following with the eye, at night-fall, those meadows that bound the horizon, that plain covered with verdure and gently undulated, we thought we saw from afar, as in the deserts of the Orinoco, the surface of the ocean supporting the starry vault of heaven. The tree under which we were seated, the luminous insects flying in the air, the constellations that shone towards the south,—every object seemed to tell us, that we were far from our native soil. If, amid this exotic nature, the bell of a cow or the roaring of a bull was heard from the depth of a valley, the remembrance of our country was suddenly awakened by the sound. They were like distant voices resounding from beyond the ocean, and with magical power transporting us from one hemisphere to the other."

The Cocollar mountains, of which the Turumiquiri forms the summit, belong to the same groupe as the Brigantine, and were formerly called *Sierra de los Tageres*. The round summit, covered with turf, is 707 toises above the ocean. A ridge of steep rocks extends toward the west, broken, at the distance of a mile, by an enormous crevice, or ravine, that descends toward the Gulf of Cariaco. At the point where the ridge should recommence, two calcareous peaks shoot up, the northernmost of which, the *Cucurucho de Turumiquiri*, is upwards of 1,050 toises high. From the round summit, chains of mountains

are seen extending to the ocean, in parallel lines from east to west, enclosing longitudinal valleys, which, being intersected by small ravines formed by the torrents, give to the mountains the appearance of rows of paps and cones. The ground is a gentle slope as far as the *Imposible:* further on, the precipices become bold. The form of this mass of mountains reminded Humboldt of the Jura chain. The valley of Cumanacoa is the only plain that presents itself. Towards the north, the peninsula of Araya forms a dark stripe on the sea, beyond which the black rocks of Cape Macanao, rising amid the waters like a strong bastion, bound the horizon.

After resting for three days at the farm of Cocollar, M. Humboldt prosecuted his journey; and after passing two ridges of mountains extremely steep, called *Los Yepes* and *Fantasma*, arrived at a beautiful valley five or six leagues in length, in which are situated the missions of San Antonio and Guanaguana. The former is celebrated on account of a small church with two towers, built of brick in a tolerable style, and ornamented with Doric columns, "the wonder of the country." The prefect of the Capuchins completed the building in two summers, though he employed only the Indians of the village. The mouldings, cornices, and frieze are executed in clay mixed with pounded brick. The governor of the province, however, disapproved of the luxury of such constructions in the missions, and the further embellishment of the church was suspended! Guanaguana had as yet no church, though it had existed on this spot about thirty years, the missionary wisely insisting, that the missionary's house was the first thing to be attended to, the church the second, and the clothing of the Indians the third. The latter, who much prefer to be unencumbered

with clothes, are in no hurry that their turn should come. The spacious abode of the *padre* had just been finished, and, to the surprise of the travellers, the terrace roof was ornamented with a great number of *chimneys* that looked like turrets. This was done, their host told them, to remind him, amid the heats of the torrid zone, of the winters of his native Arragon. The Indians cultivate cotton, partly for their own benefit, and partly for that of the church and the *padre*. But here, as every where else where the beneficence of nature lessens the stimulus to industry, so small a portion of land has been cleared for the cultivation of alimentary plants, that the inhabitants are exposed to a scarcity in seasons of drought. The preceding year, they had for three months been *al monte*; that is, wandering in the neighbouring forests, living on palm-cabbages, fern-roots, succulent plants, and wild fruits. They did not speak of this as a state of privation; the missionary alone had felt the inconvenience, the village having been deserted, and his flock, on their return from the forests, were not quite so docile as before. Near the village of Punzeca, the Travellers noticed small bags formed of a tissue of silk, suspended from the branches of the lowest trees, —the *seda silvestre* (wild silk) of the country: it is of a beautiful lustre, but very rough. A ridge or dyke of calcareous rock, called the *Cuchilla de Guanaguana*, separates the valley from that of Caripe. The road over it is difficult, the path only fourteen or fifteen inches broad, and the ridge along which it runs, is covered with a short turf extremely slippery; but, as the flanks of the mountain are not precipitous, though steep, the traveller, should his mule stumble, would only have a slide down the grass declivity to the depth of 7 or 800 feet. The highest point of the *Cuchilla*

is 548 toises above the sea, being 329 above the house of the *padre* at Guanaguana. Descending from the ridge by a winding path, the traveller enters on a tract covered with thick forest; and the geological aspect of the country changes from the Alpine formation to the Jura limestone. The calcareous strata, becoming thinner, form graduated steps, which stretch out like walls, cornices, and turrets. The valley of Caripe is 200 toises higher than that of Guanaguana, and the climate is of a delicious coolness: it is the only one of the high valleys of New Andalusia that is well inhabited. An alley of perseas leads to the Capuchin *hospicio*. It is difficult, Humboldt says, to imagine a more picturesque spot. "The convent is backed by an enormous wall of perpendicular rock, covered with thick vegetation. The stone, of resplendent whiteness, appears only here and there through the foliage. It recalled forcibly to my remembrance the valleys of Derbyshire, and the cavernous mountains of Muggendorf in Franconia. Instead of the beech and the maple of Europe, are seen the prouder forms of the *ceiba* and the *praga* and *irasse* palm-trees. Numberless springs gush out from the sides of the rocks which encircle the valley, the abrupt slopes of which present toward the south, profiles a thousand feet in height. These springs arise for the most part from a few narrow crevices. The humidity which they spread around, favours the growth of the great trees. Plantains and papaw-trees surround tufts of arborescent fern, and the natives, who love solitary places, form their *conucos* (plantations) along the sides of the crevices. The mixture of wild and cultivated plants gives the place a peculiar charm. The springs are distinguished from afar, on the naked flanks of the mountain, by the tufted masses of vege-

tation, which at first seem suspended from the rocks; and, descending the valley, follow the sinuosities of the torrent." The convent is founded on a spot anciently called Areocuar. Its height above the sea-level is nearly the same as that of the city of Caracas and of the inhabited part of the Blue Mountains of Jamaica. The mean temperatures of these three points is nearly the same. That of the valley of Caripe is about 18·5° of the centigrade thermometer, the temperature of September, in which month Humboldt was there, differing scarcely half a degree from that of the whole year: this is equal to that of June at Paris. The climate has been found particularly favourable to the cultivation of the coffee-plant. The *conuco* of the community, which presented the appearance of an extensive and beautiful garden, contained, besides many culinary plants, maize, and some sugar-canes, five thousand coffee-trees, which promised an abundant harvest. The natives are obliged to work in it every morning from six to ten, under the inspection of Indian alcaldes and alguazils. The produce is sold by the guardian, and the proceeds are distributed among the people. Humboldt found a numerous society here, consisting of some young monks, just arrived from Spain, who appear to have been sent here to be seasoned to the climate, and several infirm missionaries who had come to seek for health in the fresh and salubrious air of the mountains of Caripe. In the cell of the superior was a pretty good collection of books, among which, near the *Teatro Critico* of Feijo, and the *Lettres Edifiantes*, our Traveller was surprised to find the *Traité d'Electricité* of the Abbé Nollet; and the youngest of the monks last arrived, had brought with him, to study in his retirement, a Spanish translation of Chaptal's Chemistry. The

monks were not ignorant that their visiter was a native of a Protestant country, but they betrayed no signs of intolerance.

"What gives most celebrity to the valley of Caripe," says the learned Traveller, "is the great cavern of Guacharo. In a country where the love of the marvellous prevails, a cavern that gives birth to a river, and is inhabited by thousands of nocturnal birds, the fat of which is employed by the missionaries to dress food, is an everlasting subject of conversation. The cavern, which the natives call a *mine of fat*, is not in the valley itself, but at three short leagues' distance from the convent, toward the W.S.W. It opens into a lateral valley, which terminates at the *Sierra del Guacharo*. We set out toward the Sierra on the 18th of September, accompanied by the alcaids, or Indian magistrates, and the greater part of the monks of the convent. A narrow path led us at first during an hour and a half toward the south, across a fine plain, covered with a beautiful turf. We then turned toward the west, along a small river, which issues from the mouth of the cavern. We ascended during three quarters of an hour, walking sometimes in the water, which was shallow, sometimes between the torrent and a wall of rocks, on a soil extremely slippery and miry. The falling down of the earth, the scattered trunks of trees over which the mules could scarcely pass, the creeping plants that covered the ground, rendered this part of the road fatiguing.

"At the foot of the lofty mountain of Guacharo, we were only four hundred steps from the cavern, without yet perceiving the entrance. The torrent runs in a crevice, which has been hollowed out by the waters; and we went on under a cornice, the pro-

jection of which prevented us from seeing the sky. The path winds like the river: at the last turning we came suddenly before the immense opening of the grotto. The aspect of this spot is majestic even to the eye of a traveller accustomed to the picturesque scenes of the higher Alps. I had before this seen the caverns of the Peak of Derbyshire, where, extended in a boat, we traversed a subterranean river, under a vault two feet high. I had visited the beautiful grotto of Treshemienshiz, in the Carpathian mountains, the caverns of the Hartz, and those of Franconia, which are vast cemeteries of bones of tigers, hyenas, and bears, as large as our horses. Nature in every zone follows immutable laws in the distribution of rocks, in the exterior form of mountains, and even in those tumultuous changes which the exterior crust of our planet has undergone. So great a uniformity led me to believe, that the aspect of the cavern of Caripe would differ little from what I had observed in my preceding travels. The reality far exceeded my expectations. If the configuration of the grottoes, the splendour of the stalactites, and all the phenomena of inorganic nature, present striking analogies, the majesty of equinoctial vegetation gives at the same time an individual character to the aperture of the cavern.

"The Cueva del Guacharo is pierced in the vertical profile of a rock. The entrance is toward the south, and forms a vault eighty feet broad and seventy-two feet high. This elevation is but a fifth less than that of the colonnade of the Louvre. The rock that surmounts the grotto is covered with trees of gigantic height. The mammee-tree, and the genipa with large and shining leaves, raise their branches vertically toward the sky; while those of

the courbaril and the erythrina form, as they extend themselves, a thick vault of verdure. Plants of the family of pothos with succulent stems, oxalises, and orchideæ of a singular structure, rise in the driest clefts of the rocks; while creeping plants, waving in the winds, are interwoven in festoons before the opening of the cavern. We distinguished in these festoons a bignonia of a violet blue, the purple dolichos, and, for the first time, that magnificent solandra, the orange flower of which has a fleshy tube more than four inches long. The entrances of grottoes, like the view of cascades, derive their principal charm from the situation, more or less majestic, in which they are placed, and which in some sort determines the character of the landscape. What a contrast between the Cueva of Caripe, and those caverns of the North, crowned with oaks and gloomy larch-trees!

"But this luxury of vegetation embellishes not only the outside of the vault, it appears even in the vestibule of the grotto. We saw with astonishment plantain-leaved heliconias eighteen feet high, the praga palm-tree, and arborescent arums, follow the banks of the river, even to those subterranean places. The vegetation continues in the cave of Caripe, as in those deep crevices of the Andes, half excluded from the light of day; and does not disappear till, advancing in the interior, we reach thirty or forty paces from the entrance. We measured the way by means of a cord; and we went on about 430 feet without being obliged to light our torches. Daylight penetrates even into this region, because the grotto forms but one single channel, which keeps the same direction, from south-east to north-west. Where the light begins to fail, we heard from afar the

hoarse sounds of the nocturnal birds; sounds which, the natives think, belong exclusively to those subterraneous places."

The guacharo, which M. Lavaysse describes as a new species of caprimulgus, is of the size of a fowl, has the mouth of the goatsucker, but differs very specifically in the strength of its beak, which contains a double tooth, its force of voice, and its feet, which are without the membranes that unite the anterior phalanxes. Its plumage is of a dark-bluish gray, with small streaks and specks of black. Large heart-shaped white spots, bordered with black, mark the head, wings, and tail. Its eyes, which are blue and smaller than those of the goatsucker, are hurt by the blaze of day. The spread of the wings is three feet and a half. It is the only instance of a nocturnal bird among the genus *passères dentirostrati*, and almost the only frugiferous nocturnal bird that is known. The conformation of its feet indicates that it does not hunt like our owls. Like the nut-cracker (*corvus caryocatactes*) and alpine crow (*corvus pyrrhocorax*),* it feeds on very hard fruits, and is not known to pursue insects. It quits the cavern at night-fall, especially when the moon shines. "It is difficult," Humboldt says, "to form an idea of the horrible noise occasioned by thousands of these birds in the dark part of the cavern; it can only be compared to the croaking of our crows, which, in the pine forests of the north, live in society, and construct their nests upon trees, the tops of which touch each

* The alpine crow nestles, in like manner, in clefts of rocks, and is known under the name of the night crow. It builds its nest toward the top of Mount Libanus, in subterranean caverns, nearly like the guacharo, and has much the same horribly shrill voice.

other. The shrill and piercing cries of the guacharoes strike upon the vaults of the rocks, and are repeated by the echo in the depth of the cavern. The Indians shewed us the nests of these birds, by fixing torches to the end of a long pole. These nests were fifty or sixty feet high above our heads, in holes in the shape of funnels, with which the roof of the grotto is pierced like a sieve. The noise increased as we advanced, and the birds were affrighted by the light of the torches of copal. When this noise ceased a few minutes around us, we heard at a distance the plaintive cries of the birds roosting in other ramifications of the cavern. It seemed as if these bands answered each other alternately.

"The Indians enter into the Cueva del Guacharo once a year, near midsummer, armed with poles, by means of which they destroy the greater part of the nests. At this season several thousands of birds are killed; and the old ones, as if to defend their brood, hover over the heads of the Indians, uttering terrible cries. The young which fall to the ground are opened on the spot. Their peritoneum is found extremely loaded with fat, a layer of which forms a kind of cushion between the legs. At the period called at Caripe the oil harvest, the Indians build huts with palm-leaves near the entrance and in the porch of the cavern. There, with a fire of brush-wood, they melt in pots of clay the fat of the young birds just killed. It is half liquid, transparent, inodorous, and so pure that it may be kept more than a year without becoming rancid. At the convent of Caripe, no other oil is used in the kitchen; and we never observed that it gave the food a disagreeable taste or smell. The quantity collected little corresponds to the carnage made every year in the grotto by the Indians. It

appears that they do not obtain above 150 or 160 bottles of very pure *manteca* (lard); the rest, less transparent, is preserved in large earthen vessels.* At Caripe, the use of the oil of guacharoes is very ancient, and the missionaries have only regulated the method of extracting it. In conformity to their system, the Indians are obliged to furnish guacharo oil for the church lamp: the rest, we were assured, is purchased of them. The race of the guacharoes would long ago have been extinct, had not several circumstances contributed to its preservation. The natives, restrained by their superstitious ideas, have seldom the courage to penetrate far into the grotto. It appears, also, that birds of the same species dwell in neighbouring caverns, which are too narrow to be accessible to man. Perhaps the great cavern is repeopled by colonies that abandon the small grottoes; for the missionaries assured us, that hitherto no sensible diminution of the birds had been observed. Young guacharoes have been sent to the port of Cumana, and have lived there several days without taking any nourishment; the seeds offered to them not suiting their taste. When the crops and gizzards of the young birds are opened in the cavern, they are found to contain all sorts of hard and dry fruits, which furnish, under the singular name of guacharo seed (*semilla del guacharo*), a very celebrated remedy against intermittent fevers. The old birds carry these seeds to their young. They are carefully collected and sent to the sick at Cariaco, and other places of the low regions, where fevers are prevalent.

"We followed, as we continued our progress

* In Carolina, some thousands of barrels of pigeons' oil were formerly collected, obtained from the *columba migratoria*.

through the cavern, the banks of the small river which issues from it, and which is from twenty-eight to thirty feet wide. We walked on the banks as far as the hills, formed of calcareous incrustations, permitted us. When the torrent winds among very high masses of stalactites, we were often obliged to descend into its bed, which is only two feet in depth. We learned with surprise, that this subterraneous rivulet is the origin of the River Caripe, which, at a few leagues' distance, after having joined the small river of Santa Maria, is navigable for canoes. It enters into the River Areo under the name of *Canno de Terezen*. We found on the banks of the subterraneous rivulet, a great quantity of palm-tree wood, the remains of trunks, on which the Indians climb to reach the nests hanging to the roofs of the cavern. The rings formed by the vestiges of the old footstalks of the leaves, furnish, as it were, the steps of a ladder perpendicularly placed.

"The grotto of Caripe preserves the same direction, the same breadth, and its original height of sixty or seventy feet, to the distance of 472 metres, or 1,458 feet, accurately measured. I have never seen a cavern, in either continent, of so uniform and regular a construction. We had great difficulty in persuading the Indians to pass beyond the outer part of the grotto, the only part which they annually visit to collect the fat. The whole authority of *los padres* was necessary to induce them to advance as far as the spot where the soil rises abruptly at an inclination of sixty degrees, and where the torrent forms a small subterraneous cascade. The natives connect mystic ideas with this cave inhabited by nocturnal birds; they believe that the souls of their ancestors sojourn in the deep recesses of the cavern. 'Man,' say they, 'should avoid places which are enlightened

neither by the sun (*zis*), nor by the moon (*nuna*).' To go and join the guacharoes, is to rejoin their fathers, that is, to die. The magicians (*piaches*) and the poisoners (*imorons*) perform their nocturnal tricks at the entrance of the cavern, to conjure the chief of the evil spirits (*ivorokiamo*). Thus, in every climate, the first fictions of nations resemble each other, those especially which relate to two principles governing the world, the abode of souls after death, the happiness of the virtuous, and the punishment of the guilty. The most different and most barbarous languages present a certain number of images which are the same, because they have their source in the nature of our intellect and our sensations. Darkness is every where connected with the idea of death. The grotto of Caripe answers to the Tartarus of the Greeks; and the guacharoes which hover over the rivulet, uttering plaintive cries, remind us of the Stygian birds.

"At the point where the river forms the subterraneous cascade, a hill covered with vegetation, which is opposite the opening of the grotto, presents itself in a very picturesque manner. It appears at the extremity of a straight passage, 240 toises in length. The stalactites which descend from the vault, and which resemble columns suspended in the air, display themselves on a back-ground of verdure. The opening of the cavern appeared singularly contracted when we saw it about the middle of the day, illumined by the vivid light reflected at once from the sky, the plants, and the rocks. The distant light of day formed a somewhat magical contrast with the darkness that surrounded us in those vast caverns. We discharged our pieces at a venture wherever the cries of the nocturnal birds and the flapping of their

wings, led us to suspect that a great number of nests were crowded together. After several fruitless attempts, Mr. Bonpland succeeded in killing a couple of guacharoes, which, dazzled by the light of the torches, seemed to pursue us. This circumstance afforded me the means of drawing this bird, which hitherto had remained unknown to naturalists. We climbed, not without some difficulty, the small hill whence the subterraneous rivulet descends. We saw that the grotto was perceptibly contracted, retaining only forty feet in height; and that it continued stretching to the north-east without deviating from its first direction, which is parallel to that of the great valley of Caripe.

"In this part of the cavern, the rivulet deposes a blackish mould, very like the matter which, in the grotto of Muggendorf in Franconia, is called the *earth of sacrifice*. We could not discover whether this fine and spongy mould falls through the cracks which communicate with the surface of the ground above, or is washed down by the rain-water that penetrates into the cavern. It was a mixture of silex, alumine, and vegetable *detritus*. We walked in thick mud to a spot where we beheld with astonishment the progress of subterraneous vegetation. The seeds which the birds carry into the grotto to feed their young, spring up wherever they can fix in the mould that covers the calcareous incrustations. Blanched stalks, with some half-formed leaves, had risen to the height of two feet. It was impossible to ascertain the species of plants, the form, colour, and aspect of which had been changed by the absence of light. These traces of organisation amid darkness forcibly excited the curiosity of the natives, in general so stupid and difficult to be moved. They examined them in that

silent meditation inspired by a place they seemed to dread. It might be thought, that these subterraneous vegetables, pale and disfigured, appeared to them phantoms banished from the face of the earth. To me, the scene recalled one of the happiest periods of my early youth, a long abode in the mines of Freiburg, where I made experiments on the effects of blanching (*étiolement*), which are very different according as the air is pure or overcharged with hydrogen or azote.

"The missionaries, with all their authority, could not prevail on the Indians to penetrate further into the cavern. As the vault grew lower, the cries of the guacharoes became more shrill. We were obliged to yield to the pusillanimity of our guides, and trace back our steps. The appearance of the cavern was indeed very uniform. We find that a bishop of St. Thomas of Guyana had gone further than ourselves. He had measured nearly 2,500 feet from the mouth to the spot where he stopped, though the cavern reached further. The remembrance of this fact was preserved in the convent of Caripe, without the exact period being noted. The bishop had provided himself with great torches of white wax of Castile. We had torches composed only of the bark of trees and native resin. The thick smoke which issues from these torches in a narrow subterranean passage, hurts the eyes and obstructs the respiration.

"We followed the course of the torrent to go out of the cavern. Before our eyes were dazzled by the light of day, we saw, without the grotto, the water of the river sparkling amid the foliage of the trees that concealed it. It was like a picture placed in the distance, and to which the mouth of the cavern served as a frame. Having at length reached the entrance, and seated ourselves on the bank of the rivulet, we

rested after our fatigues. We were glad to be beyond the hoarse cries of the birds, and to leave a place where darkness does not offer even the charm of silence and tranquillity. We could scarcely persuade ourselves that the name of the grotto of Caripe had hitherto remained unknown in Europe. The guacharoes alone would have been sufficient to render it celebrated. These nocturnal birds have been no where yet discovered, except in the mountains of Caripe and Cumanacoa.

"The missionaries had prepared a repast at the entry of the cavern. Leaves of bananas and vijao, which have a silky lustre, served us as a table-cloth, according to the custom of the country. Nothing was wanting to our enjoyment, not even remembrances, which are so rare in those countries, where generations disappear without leaving a trace of their existence. Our hosts took pleasure in reminding us, that the first monks who came into those mountains to found the little village of Santa Maria, had lived during a month in the cavern, and there, on a stone, by the light of torches, had celebrated the mysteries of religion. This solitary retreat served as a refuge to the missionaries against the persecutions of a warlike chief of the Tuacopans, encamped on the banks of the River Caripe."

The origin of caverns is an interesting geological question. The learned Traveller is of opinion, that their formation must be referred to causes totally different. With regard, however, to the largest and most remarkable class, those which are found in the limestone and gypseous formations, the horizontal direction of the galleries, and their gentle and uniform slope, obviously indicate that they are the result of the action of water, gradually enlarging, by erosion,

clefts already existing, and carrying off the softer parts. In the primitive rocks, real grottoes are found only in the calcareous formations. On examining the internal structure of the stalactites, we find all the characters of a chemical precipitate. A small quantity of carbonic acid is proved to be sufficient to give to water, after long contact, the power of dissolving some portion of carbonate of lime. The Jura limestone, Humboldt remarks, to which the grottoes of the valley of Caripe belong, abounds so much with caverns in both hemispheres, that it has been called by some German geologists *hæhlenkalkstein*, cavern-limestone. It is this rock which so often interrupts the course of rivers, by ingulfing them into its bosom. The form of grottoes depends partly on the nature of the rocks, partly on the exterior agency which has produced them. "From what I have seen," says Humboldt, "in the mountains of Europe and the cordilleras of America, caverns may be divided, according to their interior structure, into three classes. Some have the form of large clefts, or crevices, like veins not filled with ore; such as the cavern of Rosenmuller in Franconia, Elden-hole in the Peak of Derbyshire, and the *sumideros* (sewers) of Chamacasapa, near Tasco and Tehuilotepec in Mexico.* Other caverns are open to the light at both ends; these are rocks really pierced through;—natural galleries, traversing a solitary mountain: such are the Hole-berg of Muggendorf, and the famous cavern of Danto in Mexico.† A third form, and the most common, exhibits a succession of cavities placed nearly on the same level, in the same direction, and communicating with each other by passages of greater

* See Mod. Trav. Mexico, vol. i. p. 357.

† See *ibid.* p. 355, and 357, *note.*

or less breadth."* What in the calcareous rocks is produced by the action of the waters, appears to be, in the volcanic rocks, the effect of gaseous emanations, acting in the direction in which they find the least resistance. Sometimes, fire acts like water in carrying off substances; as a cavern in the Isle of France is supposed by Captain Flinders to have originated in the melting of a mass of glance-iron by a volcanic eruption. The caverns in the mountains of gypsum often contain mephitic and deleterious gases. It is not, in this case, Humboldt says, the sulphate of lime that acts on the atmospheric air, but the clay slightly impregnated with carbon, and the fetid limestone, which are so often mingled with the gypsum. The caverns of the calcareous mountains are not liable to these decompositions of the atmospheric air, unless they contain animal remains. None have hitherto been discovered in that of Caripe. These general remarks are highly interesting, and will be found of no small use to future travellers. The cavern of Caripe is one of the most spacious that is known in limestone formations, being at least 2,800 feet in length. Some grottoes in Saxony, however, which are found in gypsum, are several leagues in length. The calcareous grottoes are more beautiful and richer in stalactites, in proportion as they are narrower and the circulation of air is less free. On this account, the cavern of Caripe is almost destitute of those incrustations, the imitative forms of which excite the curiosity of the vulgar. The light of day and the air of heaven are fatal to the spells of superstition.

On leaving Caripe, where the travellers remained

* See, for a description of the remarkable cavern of Mixco, Mod. Trav. Mexico, vol. ii. p. 253. See also, *ibid.* pp. 267, 268, and 300. Also, Syria and Asia Minor, vol. i. pp. 39, 58, 72, 309.

for some days, after crossing a ridge of hills to the north-east, they ascended through a vast savanna to the table-land of *Guardia de San Augustin*, the most elevated valley, probably, in Venezuela, yet totally uninhabited. From this high land, the road descends by a slope extremely steep and slippery, called by the monks, *Bawada del Purgatorio*, and soon enters a thick forest, known by the name of *Montana de Santa Maria*. Humboldt describes the descent as most tremendous, — a real *chemin des échelles* (road of ladders), through a sort of ravine, down which, in the rainy season, impetuous torrents tumble from rock to rock. "The steps are from two to three feet high, and the unfortunate beasts of burden, after having measured with their eye the space necessary to let their load pass between the trunks of the trees, leap from one rock to another. Afraid of missing their leap, we saw them stop a few minutes to examine the ground, and bring together their four feet like wild goats. If the animal does not reach the nearest block of stone, he sinks half his depth into the soft ochrey clay that fills up the interstices of the rock. When the blocks are wanting, enormous roots serve as supports to the feet of men and beasts. There are some of them twenty inches thick; and they often issue from the trunks of the trees much above the level of the soil. The Creoles have sufficient confidence in the address and happy instinct of the mules, to remain on their saddles during this long and dangerous descent. Fearing fatigue less than they did, and accustomed to travel slowly in order to gather plants and examine the nature of the rocks, we preferred going down on foot; and, indeed, the care which our timekeepers demanded, left us no liberty of choice.

"The forest that covers the steep flank of the

mountain of Santa Maria, is one of the thickest I ever saw. The trees are of a stupendous height and size. Under their bushy, deep green foliage, there reigns constantly a kind of half-daylight, a sort of obscurity, of which our forests of pines, oaks, and beech-trees, afford no example. It might be said, that, notwithstanding its elevated temperature, the air cannot dissolve the quantity of water exhaled from the surface of the soil, the foliage of the trees, and their trunks covered with an old drapery of orchideæ, peperomia, and other succulent plants. With the aromatic odour yielded by the flowers, the fruits, and even by the wood, is mingled that which we perceive in autumn in foggy seasons. Here, as in the forests of the Orinoco, fixing our eyes on the tops of the trees, we now discerned streams of vapour, whenever a solar ray penetrated and traversed the dense atmosphere."

Among the majestic trees of the forest, many of which are upwards of 120 feet in height, are seen the *curucay*, which yields a whitish resin, highly odoriferous, and much in request among the Indian sorcerers; the dragon's-blood-tree (*croton sanguiflurum*), the purplish-brown juice of which flows down a whitish bark; arborescent ferns upwards of thirty-five feet high; and various species of palm-tree. The road was an uninterrupted descent for seven hours. The forest terminates in a large savanna, composed of several smooth flats rising one above another, in the midst of which is the mission of Santa Cruz, where the Travellers halted for the night, overcome with fatigue, having travelled nearly eight hours without finding water. The next day, passing through another thick forest, they reached the mission of Catuaro. The day following, accompanied by the missionary in

person, they descended the mountains by another ladder road extremely rugged and slippery, to Cariaco.

The town of Cariaco stands in the midst of a vast plain filled with plantations, scattered huts, and groupes of cocoa-palms, at the distance of a mile and a half from the river of the same name. In the Spanish official papers, it bears the name of *San Felipe de Austria*. In former times, it has been repeatedly sacked by the Caribs, but of late years it has augmented rapidly in population and importance. The number of inhabitants in 1800, was upwards of 6,000, having doubled within ten years; and in 1807, it had risen, according to M. Lavaysse, to 7,000, while 4,000 more inhabited the rest of the district. The cotton which is cultivated here, is of a very fine quality; there are also sugar and coffee plantations, which, being found more profitable, have superseded the cultivation of the cocoa-tree. "In 1807, the governor, Manoel de Cagigal, endeavoured to prevent the distillation of rum, under the false pretence that it would injure the trade in brandies with Spain; but the true reason was, that the rum trade, one of the branches of the English smuggling, brought large profits to his Excellency."* Since the Island of Trinidad has become an English colony, the whole of the eastern extremity of this province, especially the coast of Paria, has changed its appearance, owing chiefly to the enterprise of foreign settlers. The population has especially increased at Carupano in the beautiful valley of Rio Caripe, at Guiria, and at the new town of *Punta de Piedra*, built opposite Spanish Harbour in the Isle of Trinidad. The latter place, which, in 1797, was only a hamlet of fishermen, is now the

* Lavaysse, p. 110.

chief place in the district, and, from its advantageous position near the mouths of the Guarapiche and Orinoco, as well as the prodigious fertility of the territory, is an important spot. Carupano, which is not even mentioned by M. Depons, is described by M. Lavaysse as a very healthy place, built in the opening of two charming valleys watered by two fine rivers. The port is defended by a battery placed on an eminence. With the neighbouring district, it contained in 1807 a population of 8,000 souls. "The inhabitants," says M. Lavaysse, "divide their time between the occupations of agriculture, trading concerns, and dancing: it is completely a dancing town. There is a considerable trade there in horses and mules. At the foot of the neighbouring hills, there are quarries of gypsum, so that most of the houses are ceiled. In going by land from Carupano to Guiria and the Punta de Piedra, the smiling valley of Rio Caribe is crossed, watered by numerous rivulets; it is the Tempe and Campagna of this country. The town and valley of Caribe (Caripe) have a population of 4,500 persons."*

"The isolated situation of these settlements," remarks M. Humboldt, "has favoured the trade with foreign colonies; and from the year 1797, a revolution has taken place in the ideas of the people, the consequences of which might have been long in proving fatal to the metropolis, had not the ministry continued to thwart all their interests and oppose all their wishes. We found at Cariaco, a great number of persons who, by a certain ease in their manners, enlargement of ideas, and, I must add, a marked predilection for the government of the United States, discovered that they held frequent intercourse with

* Lavaysse, pp. 114, 15.

foreigners. There, for the first time in these climates, we heard the names of Franklin and Washington pronounced with enthusiasm. The expressions of this enthusiasm were mingled with complaints relative to the actual state of New Andalusia, with the enumeration, often an exaggerated one, of its natural riches, and ardent and anxious wishes that happier times might arrive. This disposition of mind was striking to a traveller who had just witnessed the great agitations of Europe. It foreboded, as yet, nothing hostile and violent, no determinate direction. There was that degree of vagueness in the ideas and expressions, which characterises in nations, as in individuals, a state of half-cultivation, an immature display of civilisation." *

The movement towards independence which had nearly broken out at Caracas in 1798, had been preceded and followed by great agitation among the slaves at Coro, Maracaybo, and Cariaco. The vicar of Catuaro, who had insisted on conducting the Travellers to the coast, had for his errand, to offer his ghostly assistance to an unfortunate negro at Cariaco under sentence of death. On the road, he dilated on the necessity of the slave-trade, the innate wickedness of the blacks, and the benefit they derive from their state of slavery among Christians!! "The mildness of the Spanish legislation," remarks M. Humboldt, "compared with the Black Code of the greater part of the other nations that have possessions in either India, cannot be denied. But, such is the state of the negroes dispersed in places scarcely begun to be cultivated, that justice, far from efficaciously protecting them during their lives, cannot even punish acts of barbarity that have

* Humboldt, Pers. Nar. vol. iii. pp. 196, 7.

caused their death. If an inquiry be attempted, the death of the slave is attributed to the bad state of his health, to the influence of a warm and humid climate, to the wounds which he has received, but which, it is asserted, were neither deep nor dangerous. The civil authority is powerless with respect to whatever constitutes domestic slavery; and nothing is more illusory than the effect so much vaunted of those laws which prescribe the form of the whip, and the number of lashes which it is permitted to give *at a time*. Persons who have not lived in the colonies, or have inhabited only the West India Islands, believe in general, that the interest of the master in the preservation of his slaves, must render their condition so much the milder as their number is less considerable. Nevertheless, even at Cariaco, a few weeks before my arrival in the province, a planter, who had only eight negroes, killed six by beating them in the most barbarous manner. He thus voluntarily destroyed the greater part of his fortune. Two of his slaves expired on the spot. He embarked with four, who seemed more robust, for the Port of Cumana, but they died on the passage. This act of cruelty had been preceded in the same year by another, the circumstances of which are equally horrible. Such great crimes remain almost always unpunished: *the spirit that dictated the laws, is not that which presides over their execution.*"

M. Humboldt and his companion were prevented making any stay at Cariaco by the unhealthiness of the season. They found a great part of the inhabitants confined to their hammocks with intermittent fevers. These fevers in autumn assume a formidable character, and run into alarming dysenteries. The mortality at such seasons is less considerable, however,

we are told, than might be supposed. The epidemic weakens the constitution, and leaves a great degree of debility, but this does not often issue fatally. The extreme fertility of the surrounding plains, in connexion with their moisture, and the constant decomposition of vegetable matter which is going forward, accounts for the insalubrity of the air. But the situation of Carinco is in some respects peculiarly disadvantageous. To the north-west of the town, near the extremity of the gulf, is the great meer called the *Laguna de Campoma*, which receives the waters of the *Rio Azul*. This meer is, in dry weather, divided into three basins. From its stagnant waters, fetid exhalations continually arise, and the smell of sulphuretted hydrogen is mingled with that of putrid fishes and rotting plants.* When the north-west wind blows, which it frequently does after sunset, the effluvia which it bears cannot fail to be highly pernicious; and the learned Traveller states, that intermittent fevers are found degenerating into typhus, in proportion as we approach the *laguna*, which is the principal focus of the miasmata. Add to this, the sea-shore is covered with mangroves (*rhizophora*), avicennias, and other shrubs with bark of astringent properties, the roots and stocks of which being not always under water, but alternately wetted and exposed to the sun, give forth very noxious exhalations. Both to the east and west of the *Cerro del Maapire* (or *Cerro grande de Cariaco*), which divides the valleys of Carinco and San Bonifacio, low and marshy lands extend to the coast without interruption, and they are continually enlarging by

* This appears to be the marsh referred to by M. Lavaysse: see page 33, *note*.

gaining on the sea. While standing on the summit of this ridge, the mountain currents may be seen running on the east side to the Gulf of Paria, and, on the west, to the Gulf of Cariaco. Both those gulfs, which are supposed to owe their origin to the sinking of the earth and the rents caused by earthquakes, formerly occupied a much more considerable space. At present, at all events, the waters are retiring, and the changes on the shore are more particularly observable on the coast of Cumana. Near that town, the battery *de la Bocca*, which was built in 1791 on the very edge of the sea, was already, in 1799, far inland. At the mouth of the *Rio Neveri*, near the *morro* of Barcelona, the retreat of the waters is still more rapid.

The low land which extends eastward of the *Sierra de Meapira*, from Carupano, by the valley of San Bonifacio, toward the Gulf of Paria, is for the most part uncultivated and equally unhealthy. It is here that the best chocolate is produced. The plantations, which have diminished in the western provinces, giving way before the cultivation of cotton and the cane, have increased on the newly cleared and virgin soil of these pestilential regions, being found the more productive as the new and humid lands, still surrounded with forests, are in contact with an atmosphere damp and loaded with mephitic exhalations. "We there see," says Humboldt, "fathers of families attached to the old habits of the planters, prepare for themselves and their children a slow but secure fortune. A single slave is sufficient to help them in their toilsome labours. They clear the soil with their own hands, raise young cocoa-trees under the shade of the erythrinas or plantains, lop the grown trees, destroy the swarms of worms and insects that attack

the bark, leaves, and flowers, dig trenches, and resolve to lead a wretched life for seven or eight years till the cocoa-tree begins to bear. Thirty thousand trees secure a competency to a family for a generation and a half." * In the plain of San Bonifacio, there is a large lake, four or five leagues in diameter, called the *Laguna de Putacuao*, communicating with the river Areo: it is surrounded by a mountainous district known only to the natives.

It was not without sensations of regret that our Travellers quitted the shores of Cumana to prosecute their travels in the western provinces of Venezuela. "It was the first land," says the learned Writer, "that we had touched under a zone toward which my wishes had been turned from my earliest youth. There is something so great, so powerful, in the impression made by nature in the climate of the Indies, that, after an abode of a few months, we seemed to have lived there during a long succession of years. In Europe, the inhabitant of the North, or of the plains, feels an almost similar emotion, when he quits even after a short abode the shores of the Bay of Naples, the delicious country between Tivoli and the Lake of Nemi, or the wild and solemn scenery of the Higher Alps and the Pyrenees. Yet, every where under the temperate zone, the effects of the physiognomy of the vegetables afford little contrast. The

* Pers. Narr. vol. iii. p. 104. The learned Traveller styles the cocoa-tree, "the olive of the country." All along the southern side of the Gulf of Cariaco, a tract covered with beautiful vegetation, but almost entirely uncultivated, large plantations are seen bordering the shore. Their appearance is highly picturesque. Among the plants cultivated by man, the cocoa-palm, the sugar-cane, the banana, the mammee-apple, and the alligator pear, have alone the property of flourishing alike whether watered by fresh or by salt water.

firs and the oaks that crown the mountains of Sweden, have a certain family resemblance to those which vegetate in the fine climates of Greece and Italy. Between the tropics, on the contrary, in the lower regions of both Indies, every thing in nature appears new and marvellous. In the open plains, and amid the gloom of forests, almost all the remembrances of Europe are effaced; for it is the vegetation that determines the character of a landscape, and acts upon our imagination by its mass, the contrast of its forms, and the glow of its colours. In proportion as impressions are powerful and new, they weaken antecedent impressions, and their strength gives them the appearance of duration. I appeal to those who, more sensible of the beauties of nature than of the charms of social life, have long resided in the torrid zone. How dear, how memorable during life, is the land where they first disembarked! A vague desire to revisit that spot, roots itself in their minds to the most advanced age. Cumana and its dusty soil are still more frequently present to my imagination, than all the wonders of the Cordilleras. Beneath the fine sky of the south, the light and the magic of the aërial hues, embellish a land almost destitute of vegetation. The sun does not merely enlighten, it colours the objects, and wraps them in a thin vapour, which, without changing the transparency of the air, renders its tints more harmonious, softens the effects of the light, and diffuses over nature that calm which is reflected in our souls. To explain this vivid impression which the aspect of the scenery in the two Indias produces, even on coasts where there is little wood, it will be sufficient to recollect, that the beauty of the sky augments from Naples towards the equator, almost as much as from Provence toward the south of Italy.

"We passed at high water the bar which the little river Manzanares has formed at its mouth. The evening breeze gently swelled the waves of the Gulf of Cariaco. The moon had not risen, but that part of the milky way which extends from the feet of the Centaur toward the constellation of Sagittarius, seemed to pour a silvery light over the surface of the ocean. The white rock crowned by the Castle of San Antonio, appeared from time to time between the high tops of the cocoa-trees that border the shore. We soon recognised the coasts only by the scattered lights of the Guayqueria fishermen. In these moments, we felt in all its force the charm of that spot, and the regret of leaving it. Five months had passed since we disembarked on that shore, as on a newly discovered land, strangers to all that surrounded us, approaching with mistrust every bush, every humid and shadowy spot. That coast now disappeared to our eyes, leaving remembrances which seemed of a long date. The soil, the rocks, the plants, the inhabitants, all now were become familiar to us."

The passage from Cumana to the port of La Guayra is only sixty leagues, and often takes only from thirty-six to forty hours, the little coasting vessels being favoured at once by the wind and the currents. To avoid the latter in returning, the journey by land is sometimes preferred, which occupies nine days. The road from Cumana to Barcelona and Caracas is nearly in the same state as before the discovery of America. The traveller has to contend with all the obstacles of a miry country, large scattered rocks, and almost impervious vegetation; he must sleep in the open air, cross several rapid mountain torrents, and run the risk of catching nervous and miasmatic fevers in passing through the extremely unhealthy tract of low

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country which extends from the Bay of Mochima to Coro. The passage by sea, taking the whole boat, costs 120 piasters. The boats are thirty feet long, and not more than three feet high at the gunwale; they have no decks, and their lading is generally from 200 to 250 quintals. Yet, although the sea is extremely rough from Cape Codera to La Guayra, and although the boats carry an enormous triangular sail, somewhat dangerous in case of the sudden gusts which come down from the mountains, there had not been an instance during thirty years of one of them being lost in this passage. The skill of the Guayqueria pilots is so great, that shipwrecks are very rare even in the trips from Cumana to Guadaloupe, or the Danish islands, surrounded with breakers.

Between Cumana and Cape Codera, where the sea forms a sort of shallow bay, two groupes of barren rocky islands, rising like bastions, appear to be fragments of the ancient coast, separated by some convulsion of nature: they are called the Caracas and the Chimanas.* Behind these islands are the gulfs of Mochima and Santa Fé, which are likely one day, Humboldt says, to become frequented ports.

At ten marine leagues from the port of Cumana, is New Barcelona, situated on the left bank of the River Neveri, (the Indian name is Enipiricuar,) which abounds with the species of crocodile so common in the Orinoco. This port, the name of which till lately was scarcely to be found in our maps, has had an active trade since 1795. From this place is

* "It may appear extraordinary," says the learned Traveller, "to find Caracas islands so distant from the city of that name, opposite the coast of the Cumanagotoes; but the denomination of Caracas denoted, at the conquest, a tribe of Indians, not any particular spot. Guadaloupe was formerly called Caracqueira."

exported great part of the produce of the Llanos, consisting of salted provision, oxen, mules, and horses, for the West India islands, especially Cuba. The situation of Barcelona is particularly advantageous for this trade, as the animals have only three days' journey from the Llanos to the port, while it requires eight or nine days to cross the mountains to Cumana. In the years 1799 and 1800, no fewer than 30,000 mules are computed to have been shipped for the Spanish, English, and French islands, of which 8,000 were embarked at Barcelona, 6,000 at Puerto Cabello, 3,000 at Carupano, and the remainder at Coro, Burburata, and the mouths of the Guaripichie and the Orinoco. During the peace of Amiens, there were exported, M. Lavaysse states, from the port of Barcelona in one year, 132,000 oxen, 2,100 horses, 84,000 mules, 800 asses, 180,000 quintals of smoked beef (*tassajo*), 36,000 ox hides, 4,500 horse hides, and 6,000 deer skins. Barcelona was founded by Don Juan Urpin in 1634, prior to which the chief place in the district was the town of Cumanagoto, situated two leagues higher up the river, which is now only a miserable village. Though it enjoys a considerable trade, and contains some opulent houses, the town is badly built; the houses are of mud, and, in general, very meanly furnished. The streets are unpaved; they are consequently filthy during the rains, while, in fine weather, the dust is intolerable. It contains one church, a Franciscan hospital, and (in 1807) a population of 15,000 persons, of whom about half were whites. It lies in lat. 10° 6′ 52″ N.; long. 67° 4′ W.; about a league from the sea, and twelve leagues in a straight line W. of Cumana. Alcedo represents the temperature of this province to be the same as that of Cumana, though not so unhealthy.

M. Lavaysse says, the fact is exactly the reverse: "the climate of Cumana is very healthy, though hot, because it is extremely dry; that of the town of Barcelona is unhealthy from the opposite causes." Alcedo, however, speaks of the two provinces; the French Traveller compares the two towns; and both may be correct.*

The province of Barcelona, which lies between that of Cumana on the east and Caracas on the west, extending southward to the Orinoco, is thinly inhabited and scantily cultivated, but is less mountainous than the adjoining provinces. In the environs of the town, some maize, cocoa, indigo, and cotton are grown; but the exports of these articles are inconsiderable. Large fertile districts lie wholly neglected, and the inhabitants for the most part prefer the grazing system to the toil of cultivation. The only other town in the province is *Conception del Pao*, situated in the midst of savannas, on the other side of the Brigantine, and containing, in 1807, 3,000 inhabitants. It is 45 leagues from Barcelona, 55 from Cumana, and 28 S.E. of Caracas.

On the right bank of the Neveri, a little fort has been built on a calcareous rock called *El Morro de Barcelona*, at an elevation of sixty or seventy toises above the sea-level, to command the landing-place. From the Morro to Cape Codera, the land becomes low as it recedes in a sort of cove toward the south; the forests come down to the beach, and the shores are to be dreaded for their insalubrity. Beyond the promontory, the coast becomes rocky and very high, and presents scenes at once savage and picturesque. The

* Lavaysse, p. 123; Alcedo's Dict. vol. i. p. 140; Depons' Travels, vol. ii. p. 206; Humboldt. Pers. Narr. vol. iii. p. 361.

mountains present perpendicular faces from 3 to 4,000 feet high, casting broad and deep shadows upon the humid land which extends to the sea, and which glows with the freshest verdure. Fields of maize and sugar plantations are seen stretching along narrow valleys, which resemble clefts in the rocks, and present the most singular contrasts of light and shade. The mountain of Niguatar and the Silla of Caracas are the loftiest summits of this chain. "It seems as if the Pyrenees or the Alps, stripped of their snows, had risen from the bosom of the waters; so much greater appears the mass of mountains when viewed for the first time from the sea." Near Caravalleda, the cultivated lands enlarge: we find hills with gentle declivities, and the vegetation rises to a great height. Further westward, a wall of bare rocks again presents itself towards the sea, on passing which, the village of Macuto is seen, pleasantly situated, with the black rocks of La Guayra, studded with batteries, rising in tiers one above another, and, in a misty distance, *Cabo Blanco*, a long promontory of dazzling whiteness, with its conical summits. Cocoa-trees border the shore, and give it, under that burning sky, an appearance of fertility.

CARACAS.

La Guayra, the port of Caracas, is a mere roadstead, open to the north and east, and slightly sheltered to the west by Cape Blanco. But for this cape, it would have no pretensions whatever to be called a port; and as it is, those pretensions are very slight. Vessels anchor in from six and seven to five and twenty and thirty fathoms, according to their distance from shore, with a bottom generally of white sand.

The worm is very destructive to the bottoms of such vessels as are not coppered. There is almost constantly a swell, which is sometimes so violent as to prevent all intercourse with the shore for several days together; and the lading is at all times taken in with difficulty. "It is a singular spectacle," says an English Traveller with whom we shall now join company, "when the air is perfectly calm, to see upon the beach a continued line of high breakers, which succeed each other incessantly, and descend with a roaring which is heard far up the valleys. On account of this surf, the wharf of La Guayra, which is of wood, and upwards of 160 feet in length, stands in need of continual repair."*

The very singular situation of La Guayra is compared by M. Humboldt to that of Santa Cruz in Teneriffe. "The chain of mountains that separates the port from the high valley of Caracas, descends almost directly into the sea; and the houses of the town are backed by a wall of steep rocks. There scarcely remains 100 or 140 toises breadth of flat ground between the wall and the ocean. The town has 6 or 8,000 inhabitants, and contains only two streets, running parallel to each other east and west. It is commanded by the battery of *Cerro Colorado*; and its fortifications along the sea-side are well disposed and kept in repair. The aspect of this place has something solitary and gloomy; we seemed not to be on a continent covered with vast forests, but in a rocky island destitute of mould and vegetation. With the exception of Cape Blanco and the cocoa-trees of Maiquetia, no view meets the eye but that of the horizon, the sea, and the azure vault of heaven.

* Semple's Sketch of Caracas, p. 37.

The heat is stifling during the day, and most frequently during the night. The climate of La Guayra is justly considered as more ardent than that of Cumana, Puerto Cabello, and Coro; because the sea-breeze is less felt, and the air is heated by the radiant caloric which the perpendicular rocks emit from the time the sun sets."*

The town is irregularly and badly built, the lower street in a line parallel with the beach, and most of the others stretching up the side of the mountain, at the foot of which the town is built, and along the high bank of a ravine in which flows a small stream. After heavy rains, this becomes for a short time an impassable torrent, and has sometimes even overflowed its lofty banks, to the great danger of the lower part of the town. The only public building of any consequence is the custom-house, which is large and commodious. The church has nothing in it remarkable; "nor is there, indeed," adds Mr. Semple, "in the whole place, an object worthy of detaining the traveller a single hour." This gentleman visited La Guayra in 1810. Two years after, the earthquake which desolated Caracas, reduced La Guayra to little better than a heap of ruins; and according to the statement of a recent traveller, it had not recovered so lately as February 1823, from the effects of the dire

* The four hottest places on the shores of the New World are considered to be La Guayra, Cumana, the Havannah, and Vera Cruz; to which, Humboldt says, may be added, Coro, Carthagena, Omoa, Campeachy, Guayaquil, and Acapulco. The mean of the whole year is, at La Guayra nearly 28·1°; at Cumana 27·7°; at Vera Cruz 25·4°; at the Havannah 25·6°; at Rio Janeiro 23·5°; at Santa Cruz in Teneriffe 21·9°; at Cairo 22·4°; at Batavia and Madras not above 25° and 27°; at Rome 15·8° (cent. ther.) La Guayra is, therefore, one of the hottest places on the earth.—HUMBOLDT, *Pers. Narr.* vol. iii. p. 388.

visitation. It is described as presenting a most dismal aspect, and the coast was covered with wrecks. A violent swell from the N.E. had, in the preceding month, cast on shore every vessel that was lying off the port, except one; and no fewer than fourteen hulks were then on the beach.* Yet, the commerce carried on with La Guayra is considerable, and, as this Writer states, is daily increasing both with Great Britain and North America.

Notwithstanding the heat of the climate, the yellow fever, here called *calentura amarilla*, is stated to have been unknown at La Guayra prior to 1797; and many individuals, Humboldt says, preferred the ardent but uniform temperature of the port, to the cooler but extremely variable climate of the capital. That scourge of the equinoctial regions was confined, on this coast, to Puerto Cabello, Carthagena, and Santa Marta. Since 1797, however, it has committed great ravages at La Guayra. Here, there is no beach of mangroves; the soil is extremely dry and destitute of vegetation, and there would appear to be nothing to produce miasmata. The streets, moreover, are tolerably clean, and the aspect of the place would seem to exclude the idea that the fever can be strictly endemic, as at Vera Cruz; although it finds a limit, as in Mexico, at *La Cumbre* and the *Cerro de Avila*, the height of which a little exceeds that of Encero.† Intermittent, putrid, and bilious fevers, often prevail at Macuto and Caravalleda. To these the natives are subject, whereas the yellow fever appears to be the effect of the climate on the constitution of strangers; and it is remarkable, that hitherto it has been confined

* Letters from Colombia, p. 2.

† See Mod. Trav. Mexico, vol. i. p. 222.

almost entirely to the sea-ports. This has been accounted for by supposing that the persons bring the disease who disembark there; but how does this explain the circumstance, that whites and mestizoes coming from the interior, are still more liable to contract the disorder than Europeans who arrive by sea? Its appearance at La Guayra certainly seems to favour the idea, that it propagates itself by contagion; and yet, Humboldt asserts, that immediate contact does not augment the danger; and no instance has been known of the fever's being communicated by the sick, when removed to the inland country. The latter circumstance, however, would prove only, that, like the plague, this pestilential fever requires a certain temperature of the atmosphere, to communicate the infection. Humboldt cites the opinion of M. Bailly, some time chief physician to the colony of St. Domingo, as according with his own, that "the typhus is very often, but not always contagious." With this agrees the statement of Sir Gilbert Blane. "I saw enough," he says, "in the hospital at Barbadoes, and in the ships and hospital at Jamaica, to convince me of its contagious nature in certain circumstances; and from the best consideration I have since been able to give this subject, I remain persuaded, that whenever it is so aggravated as to appear in an epidemic and pestilential form, it is truly contagious."* Instances

* "Select Dissertations on several Subjects of Medical Science. By Sir Gilbert Blane, Bart., F.R.S., &c.", p. 285. This very intelligent writer, whose extensive experience gives weight to his authority, makes a remark of great importance, but requiring to be verified by further observation. "It seems," he says, "to be a general rule, that no effluvia emanating from corrupted dead matter, even in a state of the rankest putrefaction, ever produces a fever of a contagious nature. It is presumable, therefore, when these exhalations do produce contagious fevers, or convert a com-

are cited by this writer, of the fever's being communicated from one ship to another *at sea*. The fact appears to be, that, under the names of yellow fever, *vomito prieto*, and *calentura amarilla*, two distinct distempers have been confounded, differing both in their origin and character, but resembling each other in their more obvious symptoms; the one strictly endemic and non-contagious, the other epidemic and pestilential, the true *typhus icterodes*. The yellow colour of the skin, which forms a conspicuous point of resemblance, is said to differ, however, in the two diseases: in the latter, it becomes of a dingy orange; in the former, it is a bright yellow. It appears, moreover, that there are instances of the endemic yellow fever degenerating into the contagious; and this transition, which is seen in other intermittent fevers, has contributed still more to their being confounded. Thus, the endemic *vomito prieto* of Vera Cruz has occasionally assumed a more virulent and infectious character, which the natives always trace to the arrival of shipping. At La Guayra, the yellow fever would appear to be *not* endemic; and it seems to have been the epidemic which committed such ravages. The Author of "Letters from Colombia" says: "Humboldt speaks of the yellow fever as prevailing at La Guayra: if it was known there in his time, it

mon fever into one of an infectious and malignant character, that they consist, in part at least, of the vitiated effluvia generated by the living human body, constituting some form of the typhous morbific poison."—Ibid. p. 289. The yellow fever cannot be traced further back than the middle of the seventeenth century, and it appears certain, that no such malady had previously existed. If all specific contagions take their origin from animals, is it not very probable, as the learned writer suggests, that this dreadful distemper may have arisen from *circumstances connected with the importation or treatment of the African slaves?*

has since disappeared, for there is no trace of it at present. An English physician directed his inquiries particularly to this point during a short stay at La Guayra and Caracas, but could not any where meet with or hear of the yellow fever." The apprehension, therefore, expressed by the learned Traveller, that, owing to the extreme equality of temperature which characterises this climate, the typhus, if it once established itself, would become permanent, appears to be groundless. No instance, we believe, exists of an epidemic distemper degenerating into one of an endemic character. During the five months that Mr. Semple remained in this country, La Guayra might vie, he says, in point of healthiness, with any settlement in the West Indies; although in the summer months, he was told, that the heat reflected from the hills renders the place intolerable to Europeans. La Guayra is in lat. 10° 36′ 19″ N., long. 67° 6′ 45″ W.

The road from the port to Caracas, resembles the passages over the Alps. It is infinitely finer, Humboldt says, than that from Honda to Bogota, or from Guayaquil to Quito, and is even kept in better order than the ancient road from Vera Cruz to Perote. With good mules, it requires but three hours to ascend, and only two hours to return. With loaded mules or on foot, the journey occupies from four to five hours. The elevation of Caracas is but a third of that of Mexico, Quito, or Bogota; and "among all the capitals of Spanish America which enjoy a cool and delicious climate in the midst of the torrid zone, Caracas stands nearest to the coast." For the first mile, the road continues along the shore to Macuta (or Maiquetia), a neat and pleasant village, where most of the wealthier inhabitants of La Guayra have houses. Here, the mountains recede a little from the

shore, leaving a small opening, better adapted, Mr. Semple says, for the situation of the port than the rude spot on which it has been built. The road then turns to the left, and ascends to a considerable height through a deep clay or rich mould, which, in rainy weather, would be impassable, were not the road in many places paved. In the steepest parts, it ascends by zig-zags, but is sometimes so narrow, that two loaded mules cannot pass each other, and the banks are high and steep on each side. "Wo betide the traveller," says Mr. Semple, of whose description we shall now avail ourselves, "who, in these passes, meets a line of mules loaded with planks, which stretch transversely almost from side to side. He must either turn about his horse's head, or pass them with the utmost caution, at the risk of having his ribs encountered by a long succession of rough boards, which, at every swerve of the mules, scoop out long grooves in the clayey banks.

"We continue constantly to ascend. On the road was the stone body of the statue of a saint on a miserable low sledge, which had been with great difficulty brought thus far, when the project seemed to have been abandoned in despair, as it continued here for several months. The head, we were informed, had already reached Caracas, where it was impatiently waiting the arrival of the body to be joined to it, and reared on high as an object of veneration to surrounding multitudes. The stoppage of this statue marked the increasing difficulties of the ascent. From clay, the road changes in many parts to rugged rock, which appears not merely to have been thus purposely left, but to have been formed in its present state. At the height of about a thousand feet, we begin to breathe already a lighter and cooler air; and, turning back,

enjoy the view of Macuta and the coast beneath our feet. We see the white breakers along the shore, and hear their noise, which now sounds like a hollow murmur among the woods which begin to crown the steeps. Opposite to us is a high and steep hill, covered with vegetation, and all the deep hollow between is dark with trees. Here and there, spots are cleared away, plantations are formed, and the experienced eye can distinguish the various hues of the fields of coffee, sugar, or maize. We pass also, from time to time, two or three miserable huts, where the muleteers are accustomed to stop and refresh themselves. In this manner we continue to ascend, the mountains still rising steep before us, till we arrive at a draw-bridge over a deep cut made across the narrow ridge upon which we have been advancing. On each side are deep valleys, clothed with tall trees and thick underwood, through which there is no path. This point is defended by two or three guns and a few soldiers, and forms the first military obstacle to the march of an enemy. In its present state, it is by no means formidable, but a very little care might render it so. Having passed this, the steepness increases, so that the mules, and even the foot traveller, can proceed only by crossing obliquely from side to side; and even that is attended with difficulty after rain or heavy dews, on account of the smooth round stones with which the road is paved. But the great and enlivening change experienced in the state of the atmosphere, removes all difficulties. Never within the tropics had I before breathed so pure and so cool an air. Instead of the stifling heat of the coast, where the slightest exertion was attended with profuse perspiration, I walked fast for joy, and thought myself in England. It was four o'clock in the afternoon

when I left La Guayra, and it was now become dark when I reached *La Venta* (the inn), a poor house, but well known upon the road as being about half-way between Caracas and the Port. It is situated at the height of about 3,600 English feet above the level of the sea, at which elevation the heat is never oppressive. Here, having supped and drunk large draughts of delicious cold water, I repaired to sleep, unmolested by heat or mosquitoes. Being still warm with my walk and my supper, I cared little that the frame on which I lay down was unprovided with a single article of covering; but, about midnight, I awoke shivering with cold, and astonished at a sensation so unexpected. At three o'clock, it being a fine moonlight morning, we resumed our journey, having still a considerable distance to ascend, although the worst of the road was now past. In an hour, we had passed the highest point of the road, and proceeded along an uneven ridge of two or three miles before beginning to descend towards the valley of Caracas. On the summit of the highest hill above the road is a fort, which completes the military defences on the side of La Guayra. This fort is visible only from certain points somewhat distant, as we wind close round the base of the hill on which it stands, without seeing any vestiges of it. When we had passed the ridge, and were descending towards Caracas, the day began to dawn. Never had I seen a more interesting prospect. A valley upwards of twenty miles in length, enclosed by lofty mountains, unfolded itself by degrees to my eyes. A small river which runs through the whole length of it, was marked by a line of mist along the bottom of the valley; while the large white clouds which here and there lingered on the sides of the hills, began to be tinged with the first beams of light. Beneath my feet

was the town of Caracas, although only its church towers were visible, rising above the light mist in which it lay buried. Presently the bells began to chime, and I heard all their changes distinctly, although, following the windings of the road, I had still four miles to descend, whilst, in a straight line, the distance did not appear more than one. At the foot of the hill is a gate, where a guard and officers are stationed, to examine the permits for merchandise, and sometimes the passports of strangers. Within this is an open space before reaching the town, which we entered about six o'clock. After passing the first rows of houses, I was struck with the neatness and regularity of most of the streets, which were well paved, and far superior to any thing I had yet seen in the West Indies. In the principal *posada* (inn), kept by a Genoese, I found every accommodation that could be reasonably expected. And indeed, for some days, the constant sensation of refreshing coolness in the mornings and evenings, as well as throughout the night, was of itself a luxury which seemed to have all the charms of novelty, and left no room for petty complaints." *

Santiago de Leon de Caracas, the ancient capital of the captain-generalship, is situated in lat. 10° 36′ 15″ N., long. 67° 4′ 45″ W., at the elevation of nearly 2,500 feet (414 toises) above the level of the sea, at

* The ascent begins with a ridge of rocks extremely steep, and stations that bear the name of *Torre Quemada* (burnt tower, indicating the sensation that is felt here in descending towards La Guayra), *Curucuti*, and *Salto* (the leap), a crevice which is passed on a draw-bridge. From Curucuti to Salto, the ascent is somewhat less laborious, owing to the windings of the road. Besides the *Venta Grande*, there were formerly several small inns along the road, which have since been destroyed. At nearly the highest point stood the *Venta del Guayavo*.

the entrance of the plain of Chacao, which extends above twenty miles east and west, and varies from four to six or seven in breadth; it is watered by the river Guayra. The mountains of Higuerota, in which this river has its origin, separate the valley of Caracas from that of Aragua. The valley narrows towards the west, where it is almost entirely shut in by the hills which, on the southern side, rise in gradations one above another, while those on the northern side, separating the valley from the coast, form one bold and continued range. The ground on which the town is built, slopes regularly down to the Guayra, which bounds it on the south; the custom-house of the *Pastora* being 400 feet, and the *Plaza Mayor* nearly 200 feet above the bed of the river. The declivity is not so rapid as to prevent carriages from going about the town, but the inhabitants make little use of them. Three small streams descending from the mountains, the Anauco, the Catuche, and the Caraguata, cross the town from north to south: their banks are very high, and, with the dry ravines which join them, furrow the ground in a manner somewhat resembling the *guaicos*, or crevices of Pichincha, in Quito. Of these three streams, which join the Guayra, the Catuche is the most valuable, as the chief supply of water is derived from it for the public fountains and private reservoirs; the richer class, however, have their water brought from La Valle, a village a league distant towards the south, the water of which is deemed very salubrious, because it flows over sarsaparilla. Besides its inclination to the south, the ground slopes also to the east; and after heavy rain every street pours a muddy torrent into either the Guayra or the Anauco; but, in a few minutes, all is again dry, and the whole town is suddenly rendered

cleaner than could be effected by the utmost labour, were it less singularly situated. The city is built in the Spanish fashion; the streets, which are in general a hundred yards wide, crossing at right angles, divide the whole town into square portions called *quadras*, which here and there are left to form open squares. The *Plaza Mayor* has the cathedral on the east side, the college on the south, and the prison on the west; but it is disfigured by ranges of low shops, which form a sort of inner square. Here is held the fruit, vegetable, and fish market, where the banana, the pine-apple, and the sapadillo are mingled with the apple, the pear, and the potato, the produce of every zone with the fish peculiar to the tropical seas. Caracas contains eight churches, three convents, two nunneries, three hospitals, and a theatre that will contain from 15 to 18,00 persons. The pit, in which the seats of the men are separated from those allotted to the female part of the audience, is left uncovered, and there may be seen at once the actors and the stars. Nothing, as may be supposed, can be more contemptible than the performances. The cathedral is heavily built and badly planned; it is 250 feet long by 75 broad, and its walls are 36 feet high. Four ranges of columns, six in each range, without beauty or proportion, support the roof; but, to compensate for the inelegance of the architecture, the brick steeple contained the only public clock in the city. The most splendid church, in point of the richness of its ornaments, was that of *Alta Gracia*, built at the expense of the people of colour, as that of *La Candelaria* was by the *Islenos* from the Canaries. The church of the Dominicans boasts of a curious "historical picture," representing the Virgin suckling the sainted founder of their order, a grey-beard monk, to whom a

physician had prescribed woman's milk for a violent pain in his breast. Besides the two nunneries of Conception and Carmel, there is a much more useful institution for the education of young females, belonging to the congregation of *Las Educandas*. The college, the only public institution for the education of young men, was founded by the Archbishop Antonio Gonzales d'Acuna, so lately as 1778, and was erected into a university, by permission of the Pope, in 1792. In this university, reading and writing are first taught. Three Latin professors teach enough of that language to enable their scholars to read mass and study Duns Scotus. A professor of medicine lectures on anatomy, &c., by aid of a skeleton and some preparations in wax. Four professors are occupied in teaching theology, and one the canon law. One is charged with the exposition of the Roman law, the Castilian laws, the code of the Indies, and "all other laws;" and finally, there is a professor of vocal church music. "The routine of education," says Mr. Semple, "is such as it may be supposed to have been in Spain two hundred years ago; a few common Latin authors, catechisms, and the Lives of Saints, being the chief studies. A free mode of thinking is, however, rapidly spreading among the young men, and may hereafter produce the most important effects." M. Lavaysse explains what turn this free mode of thinking had taken. "I am informed," he says, "that the leaders of the independent party have introduced into the courses of instruction, the study of the philosophy of Locke and of Condillac, the physics of Bacon and Newton, pneumatics, chemistry, and mathematics, to the high displeasure of certain persons whose luxury and corpulence were maintained by the ignorance of their countrymen." The barracks, which stand above

the town, are large and commodious, capable of holding 2,000 men, and, from their situation, might completely command the town, were they not overlooked by the neighbouring heights.

Caracas was the residence, under the colonial system, of the captain-general, the intendant, an *audiencia*, an archbishop and chapter, and a *holy office*. The archbishop had for his suffragans, the Bishops of Merida and Guayana: his revenue was about 60,000 dollars, which, by the sale of indulgencies, dispensations, and bulls, was raised to 30,000 more. The captain-general and all the public officers lived in hired houses, the treasury and the barracks being the only edifices that belonged to the Government. The population, in 1807, amounted to 47,228 persons, of all colours; of whom, according to M. Depons, "the whites formed nearly one-fourth, the slaves a third, the Indians a twentieth, and the freed persons the rest." M. Humboldt, however, states that, of 45,000 persons, which the best-informed inhabitants believed it to contain in 1800, 18,000 were whites, and 27,000 persons of colour. The census of 1778 had made the number amount to nearly 32,000. Since then, it had continued to increase; and in 1810, the city contained, according to M. Lavaysse, 50,600 souls; the population of the whole province being 496,772.* Such was about the number, when, by the great earthquake of the 26th of March, 1812, 12,000 inhabitants were buried under the ruins of their houses; and the political commotions which succeeded that catastrophe, have reduced the number of inhabitants to less than 20,000 souls! More than half the town is now in ruins. "The houses of Caracas,"

* Lavaysse, p. 52.

says a recent Traveller, "once so rich in the costliness of their furniture and decorations,* can now barely boast of the commonest articles of convenience; and it is with the utmost difficulty that a table, chair, or bedstead, can at present be procured. That part which is nearest the mountain, presents a continued mass of ruins. For the full space of a mile, the streets are overgrown with weeds, and are entirely uninhabited." †

"On approaching the guard-house of the barrier to pay the toll exacted from travellers, I was struck," says another Writer, "with the wretchedness of its appearance, the filth which surrounded it, and the squalid figures of the soldiery, whose small stature, dirty, ragged clothing, half-polished muskets, and lack of shoes and stockings, afforded the most convincing proofs of the exhausted and miserable state to which intestine war has reduced this fine country. From this barrier, the road lies along a ridge to the entrance of the town, where the first object that attracted my attention, was a church on my left, which had been shattered by the earthquake. The walls only of the nave stood erect, although split in some places, and partly concealed by the wild vegetation, which, in this country, seems ever ready to take advantage of the desertion of any spot to recover it from human usurpation. The central tower had not entirely fallen, but stood deeply rent from the top, in a leaning position, threatening destruction to all within its reach. Many similar scenes of dilapida-

* M. Depons dilates on the beautiful glasses, crimson damask curtains, gilded bedsteads, down pillows in muslin cases trimmed with lace, rich carpets, brilliant lustres, rich and luxurious sofas, &c. &c. found in the houses of the principal inhabitants.

† Letters from Colombia, p. 8.

tion characterised this part of the town, roofless and shattered walls, leaning with various degrees of inclination, being met with at every step. A little further on, symptoms of renovation appear, in a few houses which are building; and at length, on reaching the southern part, few traces of the calamity are seen, the houses generally remaining entire, with merely occasional flaws in the walls. These are chiefly built of sun-dried clay, or mud (*tapia*) beaten down between wooden frames. The roofs are of tile, and the walls white-washed." *

EARTHQUAKE OF 1812.

THE pen of M. Humboldt has supplied us with a vivid and affecting description of the awful convulsion which overwhelmed the town, and changed, in some places, the surface of the soil. A shock had been felt at Caracas in the month of December 1811. From that time, however, the inhabitants were undisturbed till, on the 7th and 8th of February, 1812, the earth was, day and night, in perpetual oscillation. A great drought prevailed at this period throughout the province. Not a drop of rain had fallen at Caracas, or for ninety leagues round, during the five months which preceded the destruction of the capital. The 26th of March, the fatal day, was remarkably hot; the air was calm, the sky unclouded. "It was Holy Thursday, and a great part of the population was assembled in the churches. Nothing seemed to presage the calamities of the day. At seven minutes after four in the afternoon, the first shock was felt; it was sufficiently powerful to make the bells of the

* Cochrane's Colombia, vol. i. p. 15.

churches toll; it lasted five or six seconds, during which time the ground was in a continual undulating movement, and seemed to heave up like a boiling liquid. The danger was thought to be past, when a tremendous subterraneous noise was heard, resembling the rolling of thunder, but louder, and of longer continuance than that heard within the tropics in time of storms. This noise preceded a perpendicular motion of three or four seconds, followed by an undulatory movement somewhat longer. The shocks were in opposite directions, from north to south, and from east to west. Nothing could resist the movement from beneath upward and the undulations, crossing each other. The town of Caracas was entirely overthrown. Thousands of the inhabitants (between 9 and 10,000) were buried under the ruins of the houses and churches. The procession had not yet set out, but the crowd was so great in the churches, that nearly 3 or 4,000 persons were crushed by the fall of their vaulted roofs. The explosion was stronger toward the north, in that part of the town situate nearest the mountain of Avila and the Silla. The churches of La Trinidad and Alta Gracia, which were more than 150 feet high, and the naves of which were supported by pillars of twelve or fifteen feet in diameter, left a mass of ruins scarcely exceeding five or six feet in elevation. The sinking of the ruins has been so considerable, that there now scarcely remain any vestiges of pillars or columns. The barracks, called *El Quartel de San Carlos*, situate further north of the church of the Trinity, on the road from the custom-house de la Pastora, almost entirely disappeared. A regiment of troops of the line, that was assembled under arms, ready to join the procession, was, with the exception of a few men, buried under

the ruins of this great edifice. Nine-tenths of the fine town of Caracas were entirely destroyed. The walls of the houses that were not thrown down, as those of the street San Juan, near the Capuchin Hospital, were cracked in such a manner, that it was impossible to run the risk of inhabiting them. The effects of the earthquake were somewhat less violent in the western and southern parts of the city, between the principal square and the ravine of Caraguata. There, the cathedral, supported by enormous buttresses, remains standing. Estimating at 9 or 10,000 the number of the dead in the city of Caracas, we do not include those unhappy persons who, dangerously wounded, perished several months after for want of food and proper care. The night of Holy Thursday presented the most distressing scene of desolation and sorrow. A thick cloud of dust, which, rising above the ruins, darkened the sky like a fog, had settled on the ground. No shock was felt, and never was a night more calm or more serene. The moon, nearly full, illumined the rounded domes of the Silla, and the aspect of the sky formed a perfect contrast to that of the earth, covered with the dead, and heaped with ruins. Mothers were seen bearing in their arms their children, whom they hoped to recall to life. Desolate families wandered through the city, seeking a brother, a husband, a friend, of whose fate they were ignorant, and whom they believed to be lost in the crowd. The people pressed along the streets, which could no more be recognised but by long lines of ruins. All the calamities experienced in the great catastrophes of Lisbon, Messina, Lima, and Riobamba, were renewed on the fatal day of the 26th of March, 1812. The wounded, buried under the ruins, implored, by their cries, the help of the passers-

by, and nearly two thousand were dug out. Never was pity displayed in a more affecting manner; never had it been seen more ingeniously active, than in the efforts employed to save the miserable victims whose groans reached the ear. Implements for digging and clearing away the ruins were entirely wanting; and the people were obliged to use their bare hands to disinter the living. The wounded, as well as the sick who had escaped from the hospitals, were laid on the banks of the small river Guayra. They found no shelter but the foliage of trees. Beds, linen to dress the wounds, instruments of surgery, medicines, and objects of the most urgent necessity, were buried under the ruins. Every thing, even food, was wanting during the first days. Water became alike scarce in the interior of the city. The commotion had rent the pipes of the fountains; the falling in of the earth had choked up the springs that supplied them; and it became necessary, in order to have water, to go down to the River Guayra, which was considerably swelled; and then vessels to convey the water were wanting. There remained a duty to be fulfilled toward the dead, enjoined at once by piety and the dread of infection. It being impossible to inter so many thousand corpses, half-buried under the ruins, commissaries were appointed to burn the bodies; and, for this purpose, funeral piles were erected between the heaps of ruins. This ceremony lasted several days. Amid so many public calamities, the people devoted themselves to those religious duties which they thought were the most fitted to appease the wrath of Heaven. Some, assembling in processions, sung funeral hymns; others, in a state of distraction, confessed themselves aloud in the streets. In this town was now repeated what had been remarked in the

province of Quito, after the tremendous earthquake of 1797; a number of marriages were contracted between persons who had neglected for many years to sanction their union by the sacerdotal benediction. Children found parents by whom they had never till then been acknowledged; restitutions were promised by persons who had never been accused of fraud; and families who had long been enemies, were drawn together by the tie of common calamity. If this feeling seemed to calm the passions of some, and open the heart to pity, it had a contrary effect on others, rendering them more rigid and inhuman. In great calamities, vulgar minds preserve still less goodness than strength. Misfortune acts in the same manner as the pursuits of literature and the study of nature; their happy influence is felt only by a few, giving more ardour to sentiment, more elevation to the thoughts and more benevolence to the disposition.

"Shocks as violent as those which, in the space of one minute,* overthrew the city of Caracas, could not be confined to a small portion of the continent. Their fatal effects extended as far as the provinces of Venezuela, Varinas, and Maracaybo, along the coast; and still more to the inland mountains. La Guayra, Mayquetia, Antimano, Baruta, La Vega, San Felipe, and Merida, were almost entirely destroyed. The number of the dead exceeded 4 or 5,000 at La Guayra, and at the town of San Felipe, near the copper-mines of Aroa. It appears that it was on a line running E.N.E. and W.S.W., from La Guayra and Caracas to the lofty mountains of Niquitao and Merida, that

* "The duration of the earthquake, that is to say, the whole of the movements of undulation and rising (*undulaceon y trepidacion*) which occasioned the horrible catastrophe of the 26th of March, 1812, was estimated by some at 50″, by others at 1′ 12″."

the violence of the earthquake was principally directed. It was felt in the kingdom of New Grenada from the branches of the high Sierra de Santa Marta,* as far as Santa Fé de Bogota and Honda, on the banks of the Magdalena, 180 leagues from Caracas. It was every where more violent in the cordilleras of gneiss and mica-slate, or immediately at their foot, than in the plains; and this difference was particularly striking in the savannas of Varinas and Casanara. (This is easily explained, according to the system of those geologists who admit, that all the chains of mountains, volcanic and not volcanic, have been formed by being raised up, as if through crevices.) In the valleys of Aragua, situated between Caracas and the town of San Felipe, the commotions were very weak; and La Victoria, Maracay, and Valencia, scarcely suffered at all, notwithstanding their proximity to the capital. At Valecillo, a few leagues from Valencia, the earth opening, threw out such an immense quantity of water, that it formed a new torrent. The same phenomenon took place near Puerto Cabello.† On the other hand, the lake of Maracaybo diminished sensibly. At Coro, no commotion was felt, though the town is situate upon the coast, between other towns which suffered from the earthquake. Fishermen who had passed the day of the 26th of March in the island of Orchila, thirty leagues north-east of La Guayra, felt no shock. These differences in the direction and propagation of the shock, are probably owing to the peculiar arrange-

* "As far as Villa de Los Remedios, and even to Carthagena."

† "It is asserted, that in the mountains of Aroa, the ground, immediately after the great shocks, was found covered with a very fine and white earth, which appeared to have been projected through crevices."

ment of the stony strata. These commotions were very violent beyond Caurimare, in the valley of Capaya, where they extended as far as the meridian of Cape Codera; but it is extremely remarkable, that they were very feeble on the coasts of Barcelona, Cumana, and Paria, though these coasts have formerly been often agitated by subterraneous commotions.

"Fifteen or eighteen hours after the great catastrophe, the ground remained tranquil. The night, as we have already observed, was fine and calm; and the commotions did not recommence till after the 27th. They were then attended with a very loud and long-continued subterranean noise (*bramido*). The inhabitants of Caracas wandered into the country; but the villages and farms having suffered as much as the town, they could find no shelter till they were beyond the mountains of Los Teques, in the valleys of Aragua, and in the llanos or savannas. No less than fifteen oscillations were often felt in one day. On the 5th of April, there was almost as violent an earthquake as that which overthrew the capital. During several hours, the ground was in a state of perpetual undulation. Large masses of earth fell in the mountains; and enormous rocks were detached from the Silla of Caracas. It was even asserted, and this opinion prevails still in the country, that the two domes of the Silla sunk fifty or sixty toises; but this assertion is founded on no measurement whatever. I am informed, that in the province of Quito, also, the people, at every period of great commotions, imagine that the volcano of Tunguragua is diminished in height.

"While violent commotions were felt at the same time in the valley of the Mississippi, in the island

of St. Vincent, and in the province of Venezuela, the inhabitants of Caracas, of Calabozo, situate in the midst of the steppes, and on the borders of the Rio Apura, in a space of 4,000 square leagues, were terrified, on the 30th of April, 1812, by a subterraneous noise, which resembled frequent discharges of the largest cannon. This noise began at two in the morning. It was accompanied by no shock, and, which is very remarkable, it was as loud on the coast as at eighty leagues' distance inland. It was every where believed to be transmitted through the air; and was so far from being thought a subterraneous noise, that at Caracas, as well as at Calabozo, preparations were made to put the place into a state of defence against an enemy, who seemed to be advancing with heavy artillery. Mr. Palacio, crossing the Rio Apura below the Orivante, near the junction of the Rio Nula, was told by the inhabitants, that the '*firing of cannon*' had been heard as distinctly at the western extremity of the province of Varinas, as at the port of La Guayra to the north of the chain of the coast.

"The day on which the inhabitants of Terra Firma were alarmed by this subterraneous noise, was that on which happened the great eruption of the volcano in the island of St. Vincent. This mountain, near 500 toises high, had not thrown out any lava since the year 1718. Scarcely was any smoke perceived to issue from its top, when, in the month of May 1811, frequent shocks announced that the volcanic fire was either rekindled or directed anew toward that part of the West Indies. The first eruption did not take place till the 27th of April, 1812, at noon. It was only an ejection of ashes, but attended with a tremendous noise. On the 30th, the lava passed the

brink of the crater, and, after a course of four hours, reached the sea. The noise of the explosion 'resembled that of alternate discharges of very large cannon and of musketry; and, which is well worthy of remark, it seemed much louder at sea, at a great distance from the island, than in sight of land, and near the burning volcano.'

"The distance in a straight line from the volcano of St. Vincent to the Rio Apura, near the mouth of the Nula, is 210 leagues.* The explosions were consequently heard at a distance equal to that between Vesuvius and Paris. This phenomenon, connected with a great number of facts observed in the Cordilleras of the Andes, shews how much more extensive the subterranean sphere of activity of a volcano is, than we are disposed to admit from the small changes effected at the surface of the globe. The detonations heard during whole days together in the New World, 80, 100, or even 200 leagues distant from a crater, do not reach us by the propagation of the sound through the air; they are transmitted to us by the ground."†

From the beginning of 1811 to 1813, the vast area lying between the parallels of 5° and 36° N., and the meridians of 29° and 89° W., was shaken by almost simultaneous commotions, the effect of subterranean fires. On the 30th of January, a sub-marine volcano appeared near the island of St. Michael, one of the Azores, where the sea was sixty fathoms deep. This new islet was at first nothing more than a shoal. On

* Where the contrary is not expressly stated, nautical leagues of twenty to a degree, or 2,855 toises, are always to be understood.

† Humboldt, Pers. Narr. vol. iv. pp. 12—27.

the 15th of January, an eruption, which lasted six days, enlarged its extent, and elevated it to the height of fifty fathoms above the sea. This new land, of which formal possession was taken in the name of the British Government, was 900 toises in diameter. It received the name of Sabrina Island,—a name not less ominous than appropriate: Sabrina has again descended "to Amphitrite's bower,"—the island has been again swallowed up by the ocean.* "When we consider geologically," remarks M. Humboldt, "the basin of the Caribbean Sea and of the Gulf of Mexico, we find it bounded, on the south, by the littoral chain of Venezuela and the Cordilleras of Merida and Pamplona; on the east, by the mountains of the West India Islands and the Alleghany range; on the west, by the Mexican Andes and the Stony Mountains; and on the north, by the very inconsiderable elevations which separate the Canadian lakes from the rivers that flow into the Mississippi. More than two-thirds of this basin are covered with water. It is bordered by two ranges of active volcanoes: to the east, in the Caribbee Islands, between the parallels of 13° and 16°; to the west, in the Cordilleras of Nicaragua, Guatimala, and Mexico, between those of 11° and 20°. When we reflect, that the great earthquake of Lisbon, of the 1st of November, 1755, was felt almost at the same moment on the coasts of Sweden, at Lake Ontario, and at Martinique, it will not appear too daring a supposition, that all this basin of the West Indies, from Cumana and Caracas to the plains of

* Humboldt, vol. iv. p. 7. This was the third time that submarine volcanoes had presented this extraordinary spectacle: and the small ephemeral island of 1720, reached the same elevation as that of 1811.

Louisiana, may be simultaneously agitated by commotions proceeding from the same centre of action."

The moral, or, rather, political effects of the earthquake of 1812, were scarcely less disastrous than the actual destruction of life which it occasioned. The provinces of Venezuela had, on the 11th of July, 1811, by a public declaration of independence, thrown off the yoke of Spain. On the 23d of December, the new constitution had been agreed to by the congress, and its first session was to have been held at Valencia in March 1812. The cause wore at this period every appearance of prosperity. At the very moment of the earthquake, a battalion of troops under Colonel Xalon, stationed at Barquesimeto, were preparing to march in order to attack the royalists of Coro, when the barracks were thrown down, and a great part of the soldiers were buried under the ruins, their commander being severely wounded. The clergy of Caracas, who had been shorn of some of their privileges by the new constitution, immediately proclaimed that the earthquake was an evidence of the wrath of the Almighty.* A universal panic seized the minds of the people, and, unable to withstand the tide of public opinion which now set in against them, the congress adjourned their sessions. Miranda, on whom the supreme command of the army had devolved, found himself obliged to capitulate,—on honourable terms, indeed, but which were most atrociously violated by

* Two hundred and seventy-nine years before (A.D. 1533), the sudden overflowing of the Cotopaxi had struck terror into the Indians at the period of the arrival of the Spaniards, and the conquest of Quito was facilitated by the convulsion of nature. A panic terror, excited by the formal excommunication of the insurgents, is also believed to have paralysed the operations of Hidalgo in the first revolutionary movements in Mexico.—See Mod. Trav. *Mexico*, vol. i. p. 105.

the royalists. Cumana and Barcelona submitted in consequence to the authority of the infamous Monteverde, and the old government was without difficulty completely re-established throughout Venezuela. Every gaol was filled with the patriots, and the horrible atrocities acted in Caracas, with the avowed object of intimidating the insurgents throughout the Spanish colonies, led to that re-action which has happily issued in the establishment of the national independence.*

STATE OF SOCIETY IN CARACAS.

We have naturally been led to anticipate in some degree the history of that sanguinary struggle which has given liberty to Colombia; but we must now revert to the state and aspect of Caracas at the period of Baron Humboldt's travels in the equinoctial regions. He passed two months in this capital. Describing the manners of the inhabitants, he remarks, that in no part of Spanish America had civilisation assumed a more European physiognomy than in Venezuela and Cuba. "The great number of Indian cultivators in Mexico and New Granada, have im-

* "After the recital of so many calamities," says M. Humboldt, in concluding the melancholy detail of the effects of the earthquake, "it is soothing to repose the imagination on consolatory remembrances. When the great catastrophe of Caracas was known in the United States, the congress, assembled at Washington, unanimously agreed, that five ships laden with flour should be sent to the coast of Venezuela, to be distributed among the poorest inhabitants. So generous a supply was received with the warmest gratitude; and this solemn act of a free people, this mark of a national interest, of which the increasing civilisation of our old Europe displays but few recent examples, seemed to be a valuable pledge of the mutual benevolence that ought for ever to unite the nations of both Americas."

pressed on those countries a peculiar, I might almost say exotic, character. Notwithstanding the increase of the black population, we seem to be nearer Cadiz and the United States at Caracas and the Havannah, than in any other part of the New World. Caracas being situated on the continent, and its population being less mutable than that of the islands, the national manners have been better preserved than at the Havannah. Society does not present very animated and varied pleasures; but that feeling of comfort is experienced in domestic life, which leads to uniform cheerfulness and cordiality, united to politeness of manners.

"There exists," he adds, "at Caracas, as in every place where a great change in the ideas of men is preparing, two races, we might say two distinct generations. One, of which but a small number remains, preserves a strong attachment to ancient customs, simplicity of manners, and moderation in their desires. America appears to them a property conquered by their ancestors. Abhorring what is called the enlightened state of the age,* they carefully preserve hereditary prejudices as a part of their patrimony. The other class, less occupied with the present than with the future, have a propensity, often ill-judged, for new habits and ideas. When this tendency is allied to the love of solid instruction, restrained and guided by a strong and enlightened reason, its effects become beneficial to society. I knew at Caracas, among the second class, several men equally dis-

* When, in June 1816, the Spanish general Morillo entered Bogota, every person, of either sex, *capable of reading or writing*, was treated as a rebel. Six hundred Creoles were hanged or shot, many of whom had never borne arms, but were guilty of science or literature.—See ROBINSON'S *Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 224.

tinguished by their taste for study, the mildness of their manners, and the elevation of their sentiments.*

I have also known men who, disdaining all that is excellent in the character, the literature, and the arts of the Spaniards, have lost their national individuality, without having acquired from their connexions with foreigners, any just ideas of the real bases of happiness and social order.

"I found in several families at Caracas, a taste for instruction, a knowledge of the master-pieces of French and Italian literature, and a particular predilection for music, which is cultivated with success, and which, as it always happens in the pursuit of the fine arts, serves to bring the different classes of society nearer to each other. The mathematical sciences, drawing, painting, cannot here boast of any of those establishments with which royal munificence, and the patriotic zeal of the inhabitants, have enriched Mexico. In the midst of the marvels of nature, so rich in productions, no person on this coast was devoted to the study of plants and minerals. In a convent of St. Francis alone I met with a respectable old gentleman,† who calculated the almanack for all the provinces of Venezuela, and who possessed some precise ideas on the state of modern astronomy. Our instruments interested him deeply; and one day, our house was filled with all the monks of St. Francis, begging to see a dipping-needle. The curiosity that dwells on physical

* "It appeared to me, that a strong tendency toward the study of the sciences prevailed at Mexico and Bogota; more taste for literature and whatever can charm an ardent and lively imagination, at Quito and Lima; more accurate notions of the political relations of countries, and more enlarged views on the state of colonies and their mother countries, at the Havannah and Caracas."

† Father Puerto.

phenomena is augmented in countries undermined by volcanic fires, and in a climate where nature is at once so overwhelming and so mysteriously agitated.

"When we remember that, in the United States of North America, newspapers are published in small towns with not more than 3,000 inhabitants, we may be surprised to learn, that Caracas, with a population of 40 or 50,000 souls, possessed no printing-office before 1806; for we cannot give this name to the presses which served only from year to year to print a few pages of an almanack, or the pastoral letter of a bishop. The number of those who feel the want of reading, is not very considerable, even in the Spanish colonies most advanced in civilisation; but it would be unjust to attribute to the colonists what was the effect of a jealous policy. A Frenchman, M. Delpeche, allied to one of the most respectable families* in the country, has the merit of having first established a printing-office at Caracas. It appears sufficiently extraordinary in modern times, to see an establishment of this kind, affording the greatest means of communication between men, follow, and not precede, a political revolution.

"In a country that presents such enchanting views, and at a period when, notwithstanding some symptoms of popular commotions, the greater part of the inhabitants seem only to direct their thoughts toward physical objects, the fertility of the year, the long drought, or the conflict of the two winds of Petare and Catia, I believed that I should find many persons well acquainted with the lofty surrounding mountains. My expectations, however, were not realised; we could not discover at Caracas a single person who had visited

* "The family of *Montillas*."

the summit of the Silla. The hunters do not climb so high on the ridges of mountains; and no journeys are undertaken in these countries to gather alpine plants, to carry a barometer to an elevated spot, or to examine the nature of rocks. Accustomed to a uniform and domestic life, they dread fatigue and sudden changes of climate. It would seem as if they live not to enjoy life, but only to prolong its duration."

The inhabitants of Caracas generally, are pronounced by Mr. Semple superior in quickness of perception, activity, and intelligence, to the inhabitants of most of the other towns in the province. But, he adds, "the great want of a solid education, and the blind subjection to an ignorant priesthood, render all these natural advantages of small avail. That high Spanish sense of honour which reigns in some breasts, is, in too many others, supplanted by a mere blustering appearance, which ends only in falsehood and deceit. Even this hollowness is not always covered by mild manners or a plausible exterior; and high examples may be seen of great rudeness joined to great insincerity." The women, this Traveller describes as, upon the whole, handsome, sprightly, and pleasing. "They are uniformly kind and affable in their manners; and whatever faults an Englishman may frequently observe in their domestic conduct, these are not more than may be traced in the manners of Old Spain. In them, the Spanish character appears, perhaps, with less alteration than among the men." M. Depons paints them in still more vivid colours, styling them mild, tender, and seductive; with jet-black hair, alabaster skins, eyes large, and finely shaped, and carnation lips; they are generally below the middle size. "Their attire," he says, "is rather elegant. They feel a kind of vanity on being taken

for French, but, whatever resemblance there may be in the dress, there is too little in the gait, the step, and too little grace, to permit the illusion to subsist." Their education is limited to learning a number of prayers, reading badly, spelling worse, and playing by rote a few tunes on the guitar and piano-forte. Their principal morning occupation is going to mass, and a great portion of the rest of the day they pass at their windows. "In spite, however, of their defective education," adds the French Traveller, "the women of Caracas know how to unite social manners with decent behaviour, and the art of coquetry with the modesty of their sex." In this city, as in most others, there is a degraded and abandoned class. "More than 200 unfortunates pass the day, covered with rags, in the recesses of ruins, and never go out but at night, to draw from vice the gross subsistence of the morrow. Their dress is a white petticoat and veil," (the dress of slaves, all respectable females wearing black,) "with a pasteboard hat covered with silk, to which is attached a tuft of tinsel and artificial flowers."

"The class of domestic slaves in Caracas," says M. Depons, "is considerable. A man thinks himself rich only in proportion to the number of slaves in his house. It is necessary that he should have about him four times as many servants as their work requires; without which a littleness is manifested, that announces a poverty which all hide as well as they can. A white woman of moderate fortune goes to mass on church days with two female negroes or mulattoes in her suite, though she does not possess in other property an equivalent capital. Those who are notoriously rich are followed by four or five servant women, and there remain as many more for each white of the same

house who goes to another church. There are families in Caracas with twelve and fifteen female servants, exclusive of the footmen in the service of the men. The most effectual mode of lessening the injury which this species of luxury does to the labourers of the country, would be to impose on each superfluous domestic a tax heavy enough to reduce the number. If vanity should prefer to pay rather than to give up, the product employed in some public establishment would compensate society for the loss of their labour.

"It is probable, that there is not in the whole West Indies, a city where there are so many freed persons, or descendants from them, in proportion to the other classes, as in Caracas.

"They there exercise all those handicrafts that the whites despise. Every one who is a carpenter, joiner, cabinet-maker, mason, blacksmith, locksmith, tailor, shoemaker, goldsmith, &c., is, or was, a freedman. They excel in none of these trades, because, learning them mechanically, they constantly offend against their principles. Besides, indolence, which is in their nature, extinguishes in them that emulation to which the arts owe all their progress. Yet, the carpenter's and mason's work is tolerably regular; but cabinet-making is still in its infancy. All these artisans, depressed by an indifference that seems more peculiar to their race, but generally attaches to the soil they inhabit and the nation with which they are associated, work but very little; and what appears in some degree contradictory, is, that they work much cheaper than European artificers. They exist but by means of the greatest sobriety, and in the midst of all sorts of privations. In general, overloaded with children, they live heaped together in miserable shells, where

they have for their whole bed nothing but an ox-hide, and for sustenance only the provisions of the country. The exceptions are very rare.

" In this state of poverty, no kind of work can be required but they instantly demand an advance. The smith never has either iron or coal. The carpenter never has wood—even for a table. They must have money to buy some. All have always the wants of a family, which he who orders their work must satisfy. Thus you begin by tying yourself to the workman you employ, and making yourself dependent upon him. It is no longer possible to threaten his sloth with applying to another, with whom, besides, the very same inconvenience would take place. The only resource, then, is that of pressing and superintending the work; and, in spite of all these attentions, there are always indispositions, journeys, festivals, which exhaust the patience of the most phlegmatic. One is then very badly, or, assuredly, very slowly served.

" It is easy to perceive that this torpor in the trades-people arises only from their aversion to labour. In truth, the major part never recollect that they have a trade, till they are pressed by hunger. The reigning passion of this class of men is, to pass their lives in religious exercises. They form exclusively corps of the various fraternities. There are few churches which have not one or more, all composed of free people of colour. Each has its uniform, which differs from the others only in colour. It is a kind of robe, closed like the habit of a monk, the colour of which varies according to the brotherhood it belongs to. Some are of blue, some red, or black, &c. The fraternities assist at processions and burials. The members march in order, preceded by their banner. They gain by

this nothing but the pleasure of being seen in a habit they believe commanding. They have one, however, on which they lavish peculiar care; it is that of Alta Gracia. Every free man of colour makes a sort of ostentatious display of this dress, and of the neatness and riches of the church of the same name. All the bearers of rosaries, who traverse the streets from night-fall till after nine o'clock, are composed solely of freed persons. There is no example of any of these persons having thought of cultivating the earth."

The festivals of the Romish calendar are so multiplied at Caracas, that there are very few days in the year in which some saint or virgin does not claim a turn in the devotional celebrations of the natives. "The most brilliant acts of these festivals are the processions, which always take place in the afternoon. The saint, as large as life, is richly dressed. He is carried on a table very handsomely decorated, and followed, or preceded, by some other saint of the same church less sumptuously adorned. A number of flags and crosses open the procession. The men walk two abreast. Each of the principal persons has in his hand a wax taper; then come the music, the clergy, the civil authorities, and, lastly, the women, surrounded with a barrier of bayonets. The train is always very numerous. The frames of all the windows in the streets through which the procession moves, are ornamented with hangings floating in the air, which give to the whole quarter an air of festivity that exhilarates. The windows themselves are adorned with women, who crowd to them from all parts of the city to enjoy this exhibition." Fire-works, concerts, and dances, conclude, as elsewhere, these pious solemnities. In fact, in detailing the customs and superstitions of the Spanish Americans,

travellers continually fall into the error of describing as peculiarities what are common to both hemispheres, or to all Roman Catholic countries,* and of confounding what is exotic in civilisation, religion, or manners, with what is of indigenous growth. Thus, we find M. Depons particularising the custom of the *siesta*, the laws and phrases of Spanish etiquette, and other forms and customs which are not more characteristic of Caracas than of the mother country, or the other Spanish and Portuguese colonies. It is, on the whole, a dark picture which he draws of the state of society. "The Spaniards," he remarks, "are, of all people known, those who do the least to establish a police for public tranquillity. The sobriety which is natural to them, and still more, their phlegmatic character, render quarrels and tumults very rare. Hence, there is never any noise in the streets of Caracas. Every body there is silent, dull, grave. Three or four thousand persons go out of church without making any more noise than a tortoise walking on sand. So many Frenchmen, restrained by the silence divine offices enjoin, would endeavour, whilst quitting the church, to obtain some compensation; — then, women and children would make, by their chattering, a noise that would be heard a long way. Four

* It is scarcely worth while, perhaps, to notice, as peculiarities of the country, the local or provincial legends which are mixed up with the various modifications of the Virgin-worship of the Romish church. In Caracas, as in Brazil, Our Lady, under a thousand various forms of invocation, is the favourite object of worship. The two principal idols are, *Nuestra Senhora de Copa Cobana*, and *Nuestra Senhora de Soledad*, the former belonging to the church of *San Pablo*, the other in the possession of the Franciscans; each famous for working miracles, and having an absurd legend attached to the invention of the image.

times as many Spaniards do not make the buzzing of a wasp.

"But if the magistrate has nothing to fear from boisterous offences, he would fall very short if his vigilance were to be on that account less active. Assassinations, thefts, frauds, treacheries, demand of him steps, investigations, measures capable of putting to the proof the most ardent zeal, and baffling the most penetrating sagacity.

"It is a fact, that almost all the assassinations which take place in Caracas, are committed by Europeans. Those with which the Creoles may be accused, are as rare as the thefts that may be imputed to the former. The whites, or pretended whites, of the country, whom idleness, and all the vices it engenders, keep in sottishness and the most abject condition, and the freed men, who find it too irksome to live by their labour, are the only persons that can be reproached with the thefts committed in Caracas.

"False measures, false weights, adulteration of commodities and provisions, are also common offences, because these are regarded less as acts of roguery, than as proofs of an address of which they are vain."

The negligence of the civil magistracy was strikingly exemplified, under the colonial government, by the want of all proper regulations for supplying the market. "Would one believe," says M. Depons, "that the city of Caracas, the capital of provinces that might furnish horned cattle to all the foreign possessions of America, is herself, many days in the year, destitute of butcher's meat?"—"If filth does not accumulate in the streets," he adds, "the frequency of rain is to be thanked, not the care of the police." Mendicity here, as at Mexico and other

great cities, puts on the most disgusting and appalling form.*

The principal public amusements of Caracas, besides the theatre, are, three tennis-courts, a cock-pit,† and a few billiard-tables; the latter are not much frequented. Gambling, the universal passion of the Spaniards, is under some slight check from the police; regulations having been made in 1800 for suppressing the practice. "But, for these three or four years," says M. Depons, "it has been only the poor who have been watched, imprisoned, and fined by the police for gaming. Those above the common rank have a tacit permission to ruin each other at play, without the magistrate's taking offence at it. The Spaniard loves only the play that ruins, not the play which amuses." — "In Europe," remarks M. Humboldt, "where nations decide their quarrels in the plains, we climb the mountains in search of solitude and liberty. In the New World, the cordilleras are inhabited to the height of 12,000 feet; and thither men carry with them their political dissensions and their little and hateful passions. Gaming-houses are established on the ridge of the Andes, wherever the discovery of mines has led to the foundation of towns; and in those vast solitudes, almost above the region of the

* As the description of the state of society in the other Spanish-American capitals will in great measure apply to Caracas, we may refer our readers for further information to Mexico, vol. i. pp. 249; 281, 304. Brazil, vol. i. pp. 4, 101, &c.; vol. ii. p. 313.

† Cock-pits formed a branch of the public revenue. One only was allowed in every town, which was rented of the crown. The proceeds from farming the cock-pits, as well as from the licenses to sell *guarapo*, (an intoxicating liquor, made from the fermentation of coarse sugar and water,) were appropriated to the maintenance of the hospital of St. Lazarus at Caracas. — DEPONS, vol. ii. p. 127.

clouds, in the midst of objects fitted to elevate the thoughts, the news of a decoration or a title refused by the court, often disturbs the happiness of families."

M. Depons has furnished us with a detail of the various sources of revenue of which, under the old system, the government availed itself. Most of these are the same as were employed in the other colonies. The principal are,—

The *alcavala*,* which produced about	400,000 dollars.
The maritime *alcavala* (paid on entering and clearing from the ports)	150,000
The *almoxarifazgo* (customs)	200,000
The *armada* and *armadilla* (levied to meet the expense of armed coasting vessels)	50,000
Duties of the consulate and anchorage	
Tafias (levied on distillers)	32,000
Pulperia licenses	30,000
Composition and confirmation of lands	10,000
Ferry-boat on the Apure	300
Lances (produced by new patents of nobility)	3,500
Royal ninths (of the tithes)	
Indian capitation-tax	30,000
Sale of offices	7,000
Stamped paper	20,000
Fifth of the mines	50
Salt-works	14,000
Corso (another port duty)	150,000
Sale of tobacco	700,000
Sale of bulls	26,000

This last item requires an explanation, and it will serve to illustrate the religious condition of the people.

* This tax, originally granted to the kings of Spain in the year 1342, as a supply towards the expenses of the war against the Moors, was established in Mexico in 1574, and extended to Peru in 1591. In Terra Firma, it was for a long time fixed at two per cent, but, about the middle of the last century, was raised to five. It is levied on every sale and transfer. — See Mod. Trav. *Mexico*, vol. i. p. 97.

The bulls in question were, originally, bulls of dispensation for those Spaniards who engaged in the wars against the infidels. Their object has long been lost sight of, but the bulls have continued to arrive from Rome, and to be sold in Spain. "The blessings they afford are too precious, and the revenue the exchequer draws from them is too useful to be renounced. It is true that time, which alters or perfects every thing, has caused the popes to give to these bulls, virtues which they did not at first possess. At this day, four kinds of bulls are acknowledged; the general bull for the living, the bull for eating milk, the bull for the dead, and the bull of composition.

"The first, which lasts for two years, ought to be taken by every Spanish Christian, or other resident within the Spanish domains. The benefits of this bull are general. They extend to the particular objects of the other three kinds, though in a manner less direct; but its virtues are so pre-eminent that I cannot excuse myself from enumerating some. Every person who has this bull, may be absolved, by any priest whatsoever, of all, even concealed crimes. Obstinate and confirmed heresy is the only exception; an offence, however, that cannot be even suspected, because he who should be tainted with it, would set but little value on absolution. The possessors of this bull, their domestics, and relations, have, during the time the churches are shut up, a right to hear mass, receive the sacraments, and be buried in holy ground. With this bull the priest may say mass, and the lay person hear it, one hour before day, and one after twelve. There are, however, some authors who insist that this point cannot be granted, but by the commissary-general of the crusade. Every confessor may release him who has this bull from all kinds of vows, except

ing those of chastity, becoming a priest, monk, or nun, and that of making a voyage to the Holy Land. Blasphemies against the Deity are no more able to resist the power of this bull, than a spot of oil upon linen can resist soap. By means of this bull are gained, in America, the indulgences which visiting the churches obtained in Rome. One single day of fasting, and a few prayers, are worth to the possessor of this bull fifteen times fifteen forties, or 9,000 of the penances imposed upon him. On fast-days, the lay person may eat of every thing, meat excepted, provided he has the bull. It even allows of meat, if the least weakness of constitution, or any other slight indisposition, should occasion any apprehension for his health. Since the 1st of January, 1804, it dispenses with fasting on Fridays, and for almost the whole of Lent. Whoever takes and pays for two bulls for the living, obtains double the advantages of one.

"All the faithful, excepting ecclesiastics, from whom the church has a right to expect greater exactitude in the observance of her laws, have permission by the general bull for the living, to eat milk and eggs during Lent. It was necessary then, in order to exempt them from the prohibition of these articles during that period, to establish a special bull. This is the exact and only purpose of the bull *de laitage*. All ecclesiastics, under sixty years of age, ought to purchase it, independently of that of the living, if they wish not to provoke the wrath of Heaven, by transgressing the laws of the church respecting eggs and milk.

"The bull for the dead is a species of ticket for admission into paradise. It enables to clear the devouring flames of purgatory, and conducts directly to the abodes of the blessed. But one of these bulls

serves for only one soul. Therefore, the instant a Spaniard expires, his relations send to the treasury to buy a bull for the dead, on which is written the name of the deceased. When the family of the departed is so poor as to be unable to pay for the bull, that is to say, when they are reduced to the most abject misery, two or three of its members detach themselves, and go begging through the streets to obtain the means of making the purchase. If their zeal is not crowned with success, they shed tears and utter shrieks of lamentation, expressive less of regret for the death of their relation, than of pain for their inability to furnish his soul with this essential passport.* The virtue of this bull is not confined to dispensing with the obligation of going into purgatory, but extends to extricating the soul, which, like the asbestos, is whitening in its flames. It has the faculty

* "I have more than once," says M. Flavoysse, "heard the poor in this country lament and utter the most frightful shrieks at the death of their relations. The grief for their loss was trifling in comparison with that which they felt from knowing that they were in purgatory for want of this trifling sum for delivering them. They run about in every direction, begging alms with tears, in the hope of procuring as much money as may enable them to buy bulls for releasing the souls of their relations from purgatory. I have more than once had the happiness of calming their grief, relieving a soul from that state, contributing to the comforts of a Spanish priest, and attracting to myself a thousand benedictions, for a quarter of a dollar. Yet, let it not be supposed that these bulls and indulgencies supersede the saying of masses for the dead. In all the churches of this country, there are pictures representing heaven and purgatory. In a corner of the picture is a priest saying mass; at the side are people giving money for the celebration of mass, and souls starting out of purgatory when masses have been said for them. They are received by the archangel St. Michael, who is depicted holding a pair of scales in his hand, one of which is full of the money for the masses, and appears to sink, while the red-hot souls, like boiled lobsters, throw themselves into the other scale, from which they fly to heaven."—LAVAYSSE, pp. 159, 160.

even to designate the spirit it is wished to liberate. It is enough to write upon the bull the name of the person it animated in this lower world, and that very moment the gates of paradise are opened for him. One bull must always be taken for each soul; they may, however, take as many as they please, provided they do but pay. With piety and money it would be easy to empty purgatory, which indeed would not long remain unpeopled, because death, whose harvests never cease, would at every instant renew its inhabitants.

"The bull of composition is, without doubt, that whose effects are the most sensible, the nearest, and most remarkable. It has the inconceivable virtue of transmitting to the withholder of another's goods, the absolute property in all he has been able to steal without the cognizance of the law. For its validity they require only one condition, which is, that the expectation of the bull did not induce the theft. Modesty has done well to add, that of not knowing the person to whom the stolen goods belong; but, from the cases specified for its application, it appears that this last condition is illusive; for, in a volume on the virtue of bulls, printed at Toledo in 1758, by order of the commissary-general of the holy crusade, we find that the bull of composition befriends those who hold property they ought to return to the church, or employ in works of piety, or which they have not legally acquired by the prayers of which it was the price. It aids those debtors who cannot discover their creditors, or when the conditions of the loan are oppressive; and assists the heir who retains the whole of an inheritance loaded with legacies, were it in favour of a hospital. If a demand has not been made within a year, the bull of composition decrees to its possessor a moiety of the debt; but he is required to

pay the residue. It bestows the entire right on those who do not know the owner of that which they have obtained unjustly. Thus a watch, a diamond, a purse full of gold, stolen in the midst of a crowd, becomes the property of the pick-pocket who has filched it. Finally, it quiets the remorse of conscience of the merchant who has enriched himself by false yards, false measures, and false weights. The bull of composition assures to him the absolute property in whatever he obtains by modes that ought to have conducted him to the gallows. The party himself values the article which he is desirous of acquiring by means of the bull of composition, and has to purchase as many bulls as are necessary to make up their price, which is fixed at an equivalent to six per cent of the capital he wishes to retain. Only fifty bulls a year can, however, be taken by one person. If the amount of what they cost does not complete the six per cent of that which is withheld, recourse must be had to the most illustrious commissary-general of the holy crusade. He may extend the permission as much as he pleases, and even reduce the duty. No bull has any virtue till it is paid for, and the name and surname of the person on whose account it is issued, are written at full length in the blank which is left in the printed form. The bulls of the holy crusade are in Spanish, upon a sheet of very common paper, in demi-gothic letters, and wretchedly printed. Every two years, a new bull of the crusade is published with great pomp and solemnity at Caracas. The ceremony is performed in the cathedral on St. John's day; in the other churches, on that of St. Michael. The bulls are at first placed in the church of the nuns of the Conception. All the clergy, constituted authorities, and people, come in triumph to seek them, in order to remove and place them in the cathe-

dral, upon a table magnificently decorated. High mass is then performed, after which there follows a sermon entirely devoted to setting forth the infinite blessings of the bull. At this festival, the commissary-general of the holy crusade, who is usually a canon, occupies the first place. It has been so long transmitted to him, that under the perplexity of deciding whether he ought to relinquish it to the bishop, it has been found more convenient to advise the prelate not to assist at the celebration. Mass being finished, all the faithful approach the table on which the bulls are laid, that each may obtain one proportioned to his abilities and to his rank; for the price of the bulls varies according to the opulence and situation of those by whom they are taken. They are nevertheless, notwithstanding the difference of price, of equal virtue, provided there has been no fraud. He who takes a bull of a price inferior to that which his fortune or rank require that he should procure, enjoys none of the advantages attached to it.

"You here have the latest duty imposed on the bull of the crusade. 'The price is a little raised,' says the commissary-general of the crusade in his mandate, dated at Madrid on the 14th of September, 1801, 'but it is on account of the new expenses of government, and of the necessity of extinguishing the royal certificates which the scarcity of money in a time of war has compelled the king to issue.'"*

The prices of these bulls varied according to the rank of the purchaser. Thus, the general bull for the living cost a viceroy or his wife fifteen dollars; archbishops and all other dignitaries, noblemen, military men, magistrates, and gentlemen whose fortune

* Depons' Travels, vol. ii. pp. 130–6.

amounted to 12,000 dollars, paid five dollars; capitalists of 6,000 dollars paid one dollar and a half; and all inferior persons, two and a half reals. For the bull *de laitage*, the four degrees of clergy were severally rated at six, three, one and a half dollars, and three reals. For the bull of composition, every one, without exception, paid two dollars and a half. The price of the bull for the dead was six reals to the first three classes above specified, and two reals for the lowest class.

The average net receipts of the intendancy of Caracas for the years 1793 to 1797, was 1,369,550 dollars: the expenditure, estimated by the average of the same five years, was 1,485,793 dollars, leaving a deficiency of receipts to the amount of upwards of 116,000 dollars; so that this colony was an actual burden to the mother country. In 1804, the gross revenue amounted to 1,800,000 dollars; but the whole receipts were consumed by the expenses of administration. The same was the case with regard to the captain-generalships of Guatimala, Chili, Cuba, the Philippine and the Canary Islands.* M. Lavaysse, indeed, states, that the intendant of Caracas received annually about 1,200,000 dollars from the treasuries of Mexico and New Granada. "Thus," he says, "the expenses of that government amounted annually to nearly 750,000*l.*; for, of all the imposts levied in that country, not a farthing passed into the royal treasury of Spain." This writer states the average

* Three millions and a half of dollars, being nearly a sixth of the whole revenue, were annually remitted by Mexico to other Spanish colonies (viz. Cuba, Florida, Porto Rico, Louisiana, Trinidad, St. Domingo, and the Philippine Islands), towards the expenses of their internal administration. — See HUMBOLDT, *Pol. Essay*, vol. iv. pp. 234, 240; DEPONS, vol. ii. pp. 149, 50.

value of the agricultural produce annually exported from the provinces of Venezuela to Spain and Mexico, up to 1807, at about 2,000,000 of dollars; but "I am sure," he adds, "that the smugglers carried off annually, on an average, more than 2,500,000 in produce, consisting of cocoa, cotton, indigo, a little cochineal, arnotto, woods for dyeing and cabinet-makers, copper, hides, maize, salted and smoked meat and fish, oxen, horses, mules, asses, monkeys, parrots, &c., and, since 1801, a small quantity of sugar and coffee,* besides about 6 or 700,000 dollars in specie. This increases the exports to about 5,200,000 dollars. The official statements of the intendancy of Caracas† specified the importations, including the contraband trade, at only 5,500,000 dollars at the same period; but those statements are far below the truth. On an average, from 1789 to 1807, the annual importations amounted to nearly 6,500,000 dollars, including smuggling. Previously to the French Revolution, we had half of this trade. The French merchants of Martinique, the Dutch of St. Eustacia and Curaçoa, the Danish of St. Thomas's, and the Swedish of St. Bartholomew, had their share in this commerce. But, since the Island of Trinidad was taken by the British in 1797, they have obtained all the trade of that country, where they have established com-

* "Ten years ago," M. Lavaysse says, "there was scarcely as much sugar made as sufficed for the local consumption. I believe I do not exaggerate when I say, that, on an average, every individual, poor or rich, consumes at least one pound of it per day. It is mixed with almost all kinds of food and drink, and is indispensable for chocolate, which is taken three or four times a day."

† Though Caracas was governed by a captain-general, who was the supreme authority in all civil and military affairs, the intendant had the direction of all financial concerns.

mercial connexions even as far as the central point of South America, in Santa Fé de Bogota, the capital of New Granada, whose bishop, a dealer in human flesh, carried on, in 1788 and 1789, the negro trade, in conjunction with an English house at Dominica."*

The town of Caracas was founded by Diego de Losada in 1567.† The Spaniards, who were attracted thither by the reputation of the two gold-mines of Los Teques and Baruta, were not at that time masters of the whole valley, and they preferred fixing on a site near the road to the coast. It is to be regretted, Humboldt thinks, that it was not built further to the east, below the junction of the Anauco and the Guayra, on that spot near Chacao, where the valley widens into an extensive plain. The bishopric of Coro was transferred to this city in 1636;‡ it was made an archbishopric in 1803. Its climate has been called a perpetual spring. "What, indeed," says Humboldt, "can we imagine more delightful, than a temperature which, during the day, keeps between 16° and 28.8°

* Lavayste, pp. 273, 4.

† Forty-seven years after the foundation of Cumana, thirty-nine after Coro, thirty-three after Barcelona, and fifteen after Barquesimeto.

‡ "In 1636," says Mr. Semple (without, however, citing his authority), "the archbishopric (bishopric) of Venezuela was transferred from the sandy shores of Coro, to the delightful valley of Caracas, by the flight of the dean and chapter, their prelate having given them the example many years before. It was not, however, until 1693, that this transfer was finally ratified by the Spanish government. The inhabitants of Coro protested in vain against this desertion of their pastor. The pious father, as far as regarded his own convenience, had good sense and power on his side; but justice was certainly on the side of the complainants. The effects of this transaction, however, are still felt; and a deadly animosity exists between the two cities, for which, I fear, much blood will yet be shed." This prediction has been but too fully realised.

of Réaumur, and at night, between 12.8° and 14.4°,* and which is equally favourable for the cultivation of the plantain, the orange-tree, the coffee-plant, the apricot, the apple, and corn? It is to be regretted, however, that this temperate climate is generally inconstant and variable. The inhabitants complain of having several seasons in the course of the same day, and of the rapid transitions from one season to another. These oscillations are common in the temperate clime of Europe; but, under the torrid zone, Europeans themselves are so accustomed to the uniform action of exterior stimulus, that they suffer from a change of temperature of six degrees. Moreover, these variations act on the human frame, at Caracas, more violently than could be supposed from the mere indications of the thermometer. In this narrow valley, the atmosphere is in some sort balanced between two winds; one that comes from the sea-side, and is known by the name of the wind of Catia, because it blows from Catia to the west of Cape Blanco; and the other from the east, or the inland country. The wind of Catia is only apparently a western wind: it is more frequently a breeze originating in the east and north-east, which, rushing with extreme impetuosity, engulfs itself in the *quebrada* (ravine) *de Tipe*. It is loaded with moisture, which it deposits as its temperature decreases, and the summit of the Silla is consequently wrapped in clouds when the *Catia* blows in the valley. This wind is dreaded by the inhabitants of Caracas, causing headaches to those persons whose nervous system

* Humboldt states the mean temperature of the year to be from 21° to 22° cent. ther.; that of the hot season, 24°; of the cold season, 19°; the maximum, 29°; the minimum, 11°. At La Guayra, the maximum is 35°, and the minimum, 21°.

is irritable. I have known some who, to shun its effects, shut themselves up in their houses, as people do in Italy when the Sirocco blows. The wind of Petare, coming from the east and south-east by the eastern extremity of the valley of the Guayra, brings from the mountains and the interior a drier air, which dissipates the clouds, and the summit of the Silla then rises in all its beauty.

Rains are extremely frequent in the months of April, May, and June: they are always brought by winds from the east and south-east. Hail occurs almost every four or five years. In the season of drought (December, January, and February,) the savannas and the turf that covers the steepest rocks are sometimes set on fire in order to improve the pasturage. These vast conflagrations, viewed from a distance, have a most singular effect, the inflamed tracts appearing, on a dark night, like currents of lava.

The small extent of the valley in which Caracas stands, and the proximity of the high mountains of Avila and the Silla, impart, Humboldt says, a stern and gloomy character to the scenery, particularly in the months of November and December. The mornings are then very fine, and the two domes of the Silla and the craggy ridge of the *Cerro de Avila* are seen relieved against a clear and serene sky. But towards evening, the atmosphere thickens, and streams of vapour, clinging to the evergreen slopes of the mountains, seem to divide them into separate zones. These vapours are afterwards condensed into large fleecy clouds, which descend and creep along the soil, so that the traveller can scarcely imagine himself to be within the torrid zone. But this gloomy aspect

of the sky is never seen in the midst of summer, and the nights of June and July are delicious. Of the two peaks which form the summit of the Silla, the eastern is the most elevated. It was formerly supposed to equal very nearly in elevation the Peak of Teneriffe; but Humboldt ascertained it to be only 1,350 toises, or about 8,100 feet above the sea-level, which is 3,300 feet lower than the Peak of Teneriffe. There is a path leading over the ridge of the mountain, near the western peak, to Caravalleda, which is frequented by smugglers; but, at the time of Humboldt's visit, neither the most experienced guides, nor the most intrepid of the militia who were accustomed to pursue the smugglers in these wild spots, had ever been on the eastern peak. From the hollow between the two peaks, which has given the whole mountain the name of the *Silla* (saddle), a crevice, or ravine, descends towards the valley of Caracas. The eastern summit is accessible only by going to the west of this ravine, over the promontory, or spur, called the *Puerta de la Silla*, and proceeding straight forward to the lower summit, not turning to the east till you have reached the hollow between the two peaks. The first half of the ascent is up a steep acclivity of gneiss rock, covered with short grass, or turf, which yields but a slippery footing, and the traveller will require to have a stick shod with iron: it is attended, however, with more fatigue than danger. After proceeding for four hours across these "savannas," at an elevation of 3,000 feet, you enter a little wood of shrubs and small trees, called *El Pejual*, from a plant with odoriferous leaves, called *pejoa* (*gualtheria odorata*), with which it abounds. Here, too, are found the family of the alpine rhododendrons, thibaudias,

andromedas; vacciniums, and bifarias with resinous leaves. The latter, the alpine rose-tree* of equinoctial America, when in blossom, gives a purple glow to the zone of evergreen-trees, as seen from the valley. The bees are very fond of its fine purple flowers, which are extremely abundant. But what gives most celebrity to this small wood, is a corymbiferous plant from ten to fifteen feet high, which the natives call *incienso* (incense), on account of the agreeable odour of the flowers. It is a species of *trixis*, extremely resinous, but differs very much in smell from the *trixis terebinthinacea* of Jamaica. At the end of this alpine wood, the traveller finds himself again in a savanna, and must climb a part of the western peak, in order to descend into the hollow. There he encounters fresh difficulties from the strength of the vegetation which covers the valley, forming a forest, or thicket, of arborescent plants, of the *musa* or plantain family. These obstacles gradually diminish as he begins to climb the barren summit. In order to reach the eastern peak, it is necessary to approach as near as possible the great precipice that descends towards Caravalleda and the coast; but this part of the way "is not at all dangerous, provided that the traveller carefully examines the stability of every fragment of rock on which he places his foot." The absence of large trees on the two rocky summits

* *Rhododendron ferrugineum.* The learned Traveller searched in vain for any plant of the genus *Rosa*. "We did not," he says, "find one indigenous rose-tree in all South America; and it appears that this charming shrub is wanting in all the southern hemisphere within and beyond the tropics. It was only on the Mexican mountains that we were happy enough to discover, under the nineteenth parallel, American eglantines."

of the Silla, Humboldt ascribes to the aridity of the soil, the violence of the winds blowing from the sea, and the frequent conflagrations; as the limit of trees in this region is 400 toises still higher. Destitute of any other vegetation than small shrubs and gramina, these vast domes of rock increase by the nakedness of their surface the apparent height of the mountain, which, in the temperate zone of Europe, would scarcely enter the limit of perpetual snow. But, though not remarkable for its height, the Silla is distinguished from every known mountain, by the enormous precipice of from 6 to 7,000 feet which it presents towards the sea, — "a phenomenon far more rare," says the learned Traveller, "than is generally believed by those who cross mountains without measuring their height, their bulk, and their slopes. The coast forms only a narrow border; and looking from the summit of the dome, or pyramid, on the houses of Caravalleda, this wall of rock seems, by an optical illusion, to be nearly perpendicular. The real slope of the declivity appeared to me, according to an exact calculation, to be 53° 28′." * Those persons whose senses are affected by looking down a considerable depth, are recommended to remain in the centre of the small flat area which crowns the summit. From this elevation, the eye gazes on an extent of sea, the radius of which is thirty-six leagues. Toward the south, a range of mountains running parallel with the equator bounds the horizon like a rampart. The western dome of the Silla conceals from view the city

* A rock of 1,500 feet perpendicular elevation has in vain been sought for among the Swiss Alps. The declivity of Mont Blanc towards the Allée Blanche does not even reach an angle of 45°. That of the Peak of Teneriffe is scarcely 12° 30′.

of Caracas; but the villages of Chacao and Petare may be descried in the midst of coffee-plantations, and the course of the river Guayra is seen forming a slender streak of silvery light. The narrow band of cultivated ground presents a pleasing contrast to the wild and gloomy aspect of the surrounding mountains. M. Humboldt describes, in the following terms, the feelings which were excited in his own mind by the scenery: it is not every one, however, who possesses the same calm and philosophic temperament.

"While we take in at one view the vast landscape, we feel little regret that the solitudes of the New World are not embellished with the images of past times. Wherever, under the torrid zone, the earth, studded with mountains and overspread with plants, has preserved its primitive characteristics, man no longer appears as the centre of the creation. Far from taming the elements, all his efforts tend to an escape from their empire. The changes made by savage nations during the lapse of ages on the surface of the globe, disappear before those that are produced in a few hours by the action of volcanic fires, the inundations of mighty floods, and the impetuosity of tempests. It is the conflict of the elements which characterises in the New World the aspect of nature. A country without population appears, to the people of cultivated Europe, like a city abandoned by its inhabitants. In America, after having lived during several years in the forests of the low regions, or on the ridge of the Cordilleras, — after having surveyed countries as extensive as France, containing only a small number of scattered huts, a deep solitude no longer affrights the imagination. We become accustomed to the idea of a world that supports only plants and animals; where the savage has never uttered

either the shout of joy, or the plaintive accents of sorrow."*

FROM CARACAS TO VALENCIA.

A FINE road, partly scooped out of the rock, leads along the right bank of the Guayra to the village of Antimano, a distance of about two leagues. Between three and four miles from Caracas, the small village of La Vega, with the white tower of its church, is seen picturesquely situated in a recess among the hills. It was originally an Indian village, but few, if any, of the aboriginal families are remaining. Ascending toward Carapa, the traveller enjoys once more a sight of the Silla, which appears like an immense dome with a cliff towards the sea. Beyond the straggling village of Antimano, which, Mr. Semple says, is capable of being converted into a good military post, "the valley of Caracas narrows rapidly, and the space between the hills seldom consists of more than the flat through which the river flows, evincing by its level surface, that, after heavy rains, it is frequently covered with water. After some time we leave the small heights, and descend upon the Guayra, which we cross and recross several times," (Humboldt says, seventeen times,) "until having passed a little stream which falls into it, we approach Las Juntas, a few houses at the foot of the mountains. This post" (so named from the junction of the two small rivers San Pedro and Macarao, which form the Guayra,) "is between three and four

* Pers. Narr. vol. iii. pp. 511—12. Since Humboldt led the way, two young Colombians, sent out by M. Zea to prosecute researches in natural history, have ascended the Silla.—See *Letters from Colombia*, p. 22.

leagues from Caracas, and a good *pulperia* affords the traveller the means of rest and refreshment." *

The rich valley of Caracas which we are now leaving, was formerly celebrated for its fertility: it is at present "in a state of comparative abandonment."† The orchards of Antimano furnished a great abundance of peaches, quinces, and other European fruits, for the market of the capital. The Otaheitan sugar-cane is cultivated here with success, but the soil has been found not very favourable to the coffee-plant, for the cultivation of which there is a general predilection, because the berry will keep, after gathering, for several years, whereas cocoa spoils in the warehouses after ten or twelve months. The largest plantations in this province are near Valencia and Rincon. The cultivation of coffee was introduced into Caracas in 1789, and before the revolutionary wars, the produce of the whole province amounted to 50 or 60,000 quintals.‡ The banks of the Guayra are covered with a fine gramineous plant called *lata* (*gynerium saccharoides*), which sometimes reaches thirty feet in height. Every hut is surrounded with enormous alligator-pear-trees (*laurus persea*), and the neighbouring mountains are covered with thick forests.

After leaving Las Juntas, the road becomes very steep and rocky, crossing part of a groupe of lofty mountains called Higuerota, which separate the longitudinal valleys of Caracas and Aragua; "but, as

* Semple, p. 66. † Letters from Colombia, p. 13.

‡ Humboldt, vol. iv. p. 65. The total exportation of coffee from America to Europe, is stated to exceed 106,000,000 lb. (French). The islands of Java, Mauritius, and Bourbon, and Arabia, are supposed to supply together about 35,000,000 more.

we ascended," says Mr. Semple, "we were amply repaid by the grandeur of the prospects which every step opened to our view. We continued to ascend for upwards of four miles, when we reached the summit of the first hills which shut in the head of the valley, from which we soon after looked back for the last time on the town, presenting, at the distance of twenty miles, a singularly interesting appearance at the foot of lofty mountains. The spot from which this farewell view (or, on approaching from Valencia, this first glimpse) of Caracas is obtained, is called *Buenavista*, and is marked by a single miserable *venta* or inn.* The road from thence leads over the high grounds, and we find ourselves in the midst of a mountainous country, the valleys of which are deep, dark, and solitary, without rivers, and the sides in general but partially covered with trees. To the south-west, the ridges gradually ascend, and terminate in a lofty peak, the summit of which appeared like a black spot far above the clouds. By degrees, our road led us through a wood composed of lofty trees, such as are common in the West India Islands; † having got clear of which, we at length began to descend into a

* The table-land of Buenavista is about 5,000 feet above the level of the sea, or more than twice the elevation of Caracas, which lies to the N.W. On the S.E., the view extends to the village of Los Teques.

† Among the beautiful vegetable productions of these mountains, Humboldt specifies the *plumeria*, or red jessamine-tree (the *frangipanier* of the French West India Islands); the *ficus gigantea*, a new species of fig-tree, which attains the height sometimes of a hundred feet; the *ficus nymphæifolia*; the *rosa del monte*, or *palo de Cruz* (*brownea*), bearing four or five hundred purple flowers in one thyrsis, each flower having eleven stamens, and this majestic plant reaches the height of fifty or sixty feet; the *guarumo*, or silvery-leaved cecropia; the *aguatire*, which yields a wood of a fine red colour; and various species of arborescent ferns.

valley, near the bottom of which is scattered the miserable hamlet of San Pedro, consisting of fifteen or twenty houses, with an unfinished church, which, however, serves the country for many miles round. A clear stream, nearly the size of the Guayra, runs through the bottom, near which was fought the great battle with the Indian chief Guaytaipuro, which cleared the way for the Spaniards to the valley of Caracas." Close to the stream, is a *pulperia*, where the traveller may obtain boiled meat, cakes of maize, eggs, and *guarapo*, the favourite drink of the country, made of coarse sugar and water. San Pedro is about four leagues from Las Juntas, and seven from Caracas. It is situated in a basin in which several valleys meet, and which is almost 1,800 feet lower than the table-land of Buenavista. Bananas, potatoes, and coffee are cultivated together in the neighbourhood of the village. The valley of San Pedro separates the two great masses of mountains, Higuerota and Las Cocuyzas.* The summit of the latter is scarcely thirty feet lower than Buenavista. The road, which leads over it, begins to ascend immediately from the banks of the river, in a western direction, passing the small farms or *pulperias* of Las Lagunetas and Garavatos. After riding about two leagues, the traveller begins to have a view of the country on the other side of the chain of hills he is traversing; and soon afterwards, the descent commences. The prospect at Las Lagunetas is extensive, but somewhat monotonous. "The mountainous and uncultivated ground between the sources of the Guayra and the Tuy, is more than

* The Cocuyzas, which Mr. Semple writes *Couenisas*, is said by some to derive its name from a tribe of Indians; but, by others, from the aloes with which it once abounded.—(SEMPLE, p. 73.) Higuerota is evidently derived from *higuero*, a fig-tree.

twenty-five leagues square. "We there found," says Humboldt, "only one miserable village, that of Los Teques, to the S.E. of San Pedro. The soil is in a manner furrowed by a multitude of small valleys, or ravines, which, running parallel with each other, terminate at right angles in the larger valleys. The back of the mountains is of an aspect as monotonous as the ravines: it has no pyramidal forms, no ridges, no steep declivities. From Las Lagunetas, we descended into the valley of the river Tuy. This western slope of the mountains of Los Teques, which bears the name of Las Cocuyzas, is covered with two plants with agave leaves, called the maguey of Cocuyza, and the maguey of Cocuy: the latter, which belongs to the genus yucca, yields a sweet fermented liquor by distillation, and the fibres of the leaves furnish excellent cordage. Leaving the mountains, we entered a highly cultivated country, covered with hamlets and villages, several of which would, in Europe, be called towns. From east to west, in a line of twelve leagues, we passed La Victoria, San Matteo, Turmero, and Maracay, containing together more than 28,000 inhabitants. The plains of the Tuy may be considered as the eastern extremity of the valleys of Aragua, extending from Guigue on the borders of the Lake of Valencia, to the foot of Las Cocuyzas. The Tuy, flowing from those mountains, runs first towards the west; then, turning to the south and east, it takes its direction along the high savannas of Ocumare, receives the waters of the valley of Caracas, and reaches the sea near Cape Codera." The stream here, is rather more considerable than the Guayra at Caracas: after its junction with the latter, the river becomes navigable for canoes to its mouth.

Mr. Semple describes the descent to the bed of the

Tuy as in some places more steep and rugged than any in his whole journey, being indeed more difficult to pass than the worst between La Guayra and Caracas. It is reckoned nearly four leagues from the summit to the few scattered houses at the bottom, which bear the name of the village of Las Coucuisas (Cocuyzas.) * At the *pulperia*, Mr. Semple met a number of Indians and other travellers collected, who were proceeding to the capital. "Among the Indians," he says, "were many young women of pleasing features, who were going together in parties, to seek for work in the coffee-plantations, where they are employed in picking the berries. They told me that, in the low countries, their usual wages were about two reals, or one quarter of a dollar per day, besides a small quantity of provisions; but that in the high lands of Caracas, they would not work during the coffee season under three reals, on account of its being there so extremely cold. The men who accompanied them were in general strong and stout, but, though large, yet not so well limbed as the Indians of North America. Their colour was of a yellowish cast, inclining to copper; their hair long, coarse, and black, growing low down upon a narrow forehead; the nose at the point suddenly becoming sharp, like that of a person worn out by long illness; the eyes black, melancholy, and inexpressive; the lips thick, and the mouth somewhat large. The general air of

* The Author of Letters from Colombia says: "We dined at a place called Las Alajas (Laguetas?) commandingly situated on this summit, the highest point of the Cordillera. The distance hence to *Las Coquisas* (Cocuyzas), named after a species of aloe which grows in abundance in its vicinity, is *three* leagues, but by such a steep descent, and so bad a road, resembling more the bed of a mountain torrent than the principal communication in the country, that it was late ere we reached it." P. 16.

these Indians was heavy, sad, and sullen. Some of them, while they rested their burthens, amused themselves by blowing into a species of flute, if it can be so called, without doubt one of the rudest ever sounded by the human breath. They consisted of single joints of cane with one longitudinal opening in the side, too long to be covered with the whole palm of the hand, when applied to it. They blew into the upper part of this aperture, and according as they covered more or less of the lower part with their hands, was the tone somewhat varied. The sound was like that of the wind sighing in the forests, or among rocks: sometimes rising almost to a scream, and then dying away into a whisper. This alternate rise and fall constituted the whole of the music; which, excepting the drum of the negroes, consisting of a solid piece of wood, beat by two sticks, was the rudest I had ever heard. It seemed, however, to afford infinite satisfaction to those for whose ears it was designed: they listened in silence, and when the performers reached the height of screaming, all eyes were turned towards us, to see if we were not yet touched by such master-pieces of melody. At length the doors of the pulperia opened, and the music ceased.

"Each of these Indians carried a burthen of a great weight. They in general consisted of a kind of tall round basket, or cage, formed of cane and rushes, upwards of six feet in height, with a conical top, and divided into five or six stages, full of fowls. I tried to lift some of them, and could not estimate their weight at less than two hundred English pounds. It is in these cages that the Indians bring every kind of fowl to market, as well as monkeys and parrots, carrying them on their backs, supported by a broad strap which

goes over the forehead. In this manner they travel over mountains and valleys, more than a hundred miles, to Caracas, with poultry. The boys begin with small cages, gradually increasing the size and weight, until they are able to carry the largest, on which point there is great emulation amongst them.

" Close behind the village runs the river Tuy, in a narrow valley, through which is the road to Victoria. Here we pass this river, or rather go splashing along its bed for about fifty yards, when, after a short ride on its bank, we pass it again. In this manner we cross or wade along the bed of the river, more than twenty-five times in the space of two leagues, with the water generally up to the girth of the saddle; such is the narrowness of the valley, and the steepness of its sides. At some places only, fertile spots have been banked in and cultivated; but no attempt has yet been made to form a road along the side of the hills, although all the objects of commerce between Caracas and the valleys of Aragoa and Valencia pass this way. In other points of view, although not highly picturesque, the natural beauties of this valley are yet sufficient to compensate the traveller for its inconveniences. Sometimes the river, divided into several channels, runs through among the trees which border the sides of the valley; then, suddenly uniting into one, it pours along a clear and rapid stream over a bed of smooth, rounded stones. Here and there are scattered huge trunks of trees, which have been brought down by the torrents, and now form bridges over some divisions of the stream. The steep sides of the valley are generally green, or covered with weeds, amongst which we can notice trees, on which are large bosses of plastered earth, the nests of a species of ant, furnished with long winding passages

of the same material, by which to reach the ground. At length the valley widens; we leave the river, and proceeding along the side of the hills on our right, enjoy for some time a view of it as it flows amid various flourishing plantations. In other parts, it is concealed from us by tall reeds or canes, which grow along the banks to the height of twenty-five or thirty feet, and are swayed to and fro by one impulse of the slightest breeze. Not far from this, we arrive at El Consejo, sometimes called Mamou, consisting of about two hundred poor houses; but which indicate, by the new appearance of many of them, that the place is rapidly increasing."

It is scarcely worth while to mention, perhaps, that this village is one of the many which are celebrated for possessing a miraculous image of the Virgin. To the traveller who comes from the east, and who has been accustomed to the moderate temperature of the mountain regions, the plains of the Tuy will seem extremely hot, the valley of Aragua being 1,200 feet lower than that of Caracas; but the nights are of a delicious coolness. Maize, bananas, and the cane are the chief articles cultivated. Indigo was formerly grown in the *Quebrada Seca*, a ravine in the chain of the coast, to the N.W. of the *hacienda del Tuy*; but the cultivation of coffee has been substituted for it as better adapted to the soil.* The road from Consejo to La Victoria runs toward the S. and S.W. We soon lose sight of the Tuy, which leads to the E., forming an elbow at the foot of the high mountains

* In this ravine, a monstrous tree (*hura crepitans*) attracted the attention of the learned Traveller; it lay on the slope of the mountain. Though its summit had been burnt, the length of its trunk was still 154 feet; it was eight feet in diameter near the roots, and four feet two inches at the upper extremity.

of Guayraima. As the valley opens, the ground becomes more level, looking like the bottom of a dry lake; and the cultivation improves as the traveller draws near the town.

"La Victoria," says Mr. Semple, "is a scattered town,* situated mostly in a plain, and interspersed with gardens and trees; so that it is not easy to form an accurate estimate of its extent, until after traversing it in every direction, and viewing it from the surrounding heights. Some of the principal streets contain houses equal to those of Caracas; and the general appearance, although irregular, is pleasing, conveying the idea of something between a town and a very large village. The principal officers of the militia of the neighbouring valleys of Aragoa, reside here, thus making it as it were a seat of government, and contributing materially to form the manners of the inhabitants, such as they are. A large plaza, or public square, is marked out, but the houses are not yet completed. On one side stands the principal church, which, although not finished, is, in its interior, beyond comparison the most beautiful and best-proportioned public edifice that I saw in the whole country. Its form is oblong; and, besides being large and lofty, a simplicity reigns throughout the whole, which contrasts most favourably with all the other churches of the province. This beauty will probably vanish, however, in a great degree, with the growing prosperity of the town. Its walls and pillars will become covered with pictures, gilded statues of saints,

* In 1800, however, La Victoria, with 7,000 inhabitants, still ranked only as a village (*pueblo*). The inhabitants had long solicited the title of *villa* and the right to choose a *cabildo*, but the Spanish ministry opposed their request, though the pompous title of city had been granted, at the solicitation of the Franciscans, to a few groupes of Indian huts on the Orinoco.

and altars of a great variety of forms, adorned with lamps and candlesticks. Yet even then, in my opinion, the interior of the church of La Victoria will remain an honourable monument to the memory of the architect by whom it was planned.

"A river as large as the Tuy runs near the town, and supplies abundance of water for the purposes of irrigation. The plantations round are in general well cultivated; and I here, for the first time, saw the spectacle, so novel and so interesting to a European, of wheat and the sugar-cane growing close together. The wheat, which was still green, appeared as fine as any I had ever seen in England, and was not separated, even by the slightest trench, from extensive fields of Otaheitan sugar-canes, by which it was enclosed.

"La Victoria was originally a village peopled with Indians, whom the missionaries had collected together; but the goodness of the soil, and the advantages of the situation, rapidly collected settlers from every part, until very few descendants of the first Indian families now remain. The population is about 8,000 souls, among which are many Creole families of distinction. The love of gaming, so general in all the colonies, is here carried to great excess. At the posada where I stopped, parties assembled for that purpose from morning to night; and I daily witnessed all the agitation which this miserable passion excites. The most violent quarrels, and even bloodshed, were sometimes the result; but in general, the anger of the parties was satisfied with horrid imprecations and the most desperate threats.

"Although generally very healthy, La Victoria suffered about six years ago from a destructive epidemic disorder, which raged throughout the valleys of

Aragoa and the plains of Valencia. Those who were taken ill, seldom escaped, and their fate was soon determined. It frequently commenced its attacks by the head; the patient dropped down without the least previous complaint, and sometimes expired in less than an hour. So numerous were these instances, that persons were employed to go about the streets, to collect the bodies of those who died thus suddenly, and carry them away for interment. I was shewn a servant of the posada, who, being subject to epileptic fits, had dropped down in the street, and been carried away with the dead. The bodies were arranged in the church previously to interment, while the priest repeated the usual prayers; in the middle of which, the epileptic man recovered from his trance, and got up as suddenly as he had fallen down. The priest was disconcerted, and dropped his book; while the congregation, no less alarmed, hurried out of the church, or fervently crossed themselves as being unable to move."

The little river Calanchas, which traverses this town, falls into the Rio Aragua. This fine country, therefore, which produces both sugar and corn, belongs to the basin of the lake of Valencia. The height of the cultivated ground is from 1,600 to 1,800 feet above the level of the sea. Except in the interior of the Island of Cuba, we scarcely ever find European corn cultivated in large quantities in so low a region within the tropics. La Victoria and the neighbouring village of San Matteo yielded, in 1800, an annual produce of 4,000 quintals of wheat. It is sown in December, and reaped on the seventieth or seventy-fifth day. Wheat yields here, as at Buenos Ayres, three or four times as much as in northern countries, that is, nearly sixteen-fold, an acre producing

from 2,400 to 2,600 lb. weight. Yet, the culture of the sugar-cane is still more productive. Two commercial roads pass through La Victoria; that of Valencia or Puerto Cabello, and that of Villa de Cura, or the *camino de los Llanos*. From the little hill of Calvario near the town, the lofty mountains of La Palma, Guayraima, Tiara, and Guiripa, are seen bounding the view to the south and south-east, and concealing the immense steppes of Calaboza. This interior chain stretches to the west, along the Lake of Valencia, toward the Villa de Cura and the mountains of Guigue. Westward, the smiling valleys of Aragua form a vast area covered with gardens, cultivated fields, clumps of wild trees, farms, and hamlets. The latitude of La Victoria is 10° 13′ 35″ N. The town has suffered from the combined effects of the earthquake and the revolution. The remains of a number of houses, destroyed by the same calamity that desolated Caracas, are the traces of the former, while to the latter must be ascribed the striking decrease of the population. In 1804, it is said to have amounted to 7,800: in 1823, the inhabitants are supposed not to have been a third of that number.*

From La Victoria, it is a distance of about two leagues to the small but pleasant village of San Matteo. The road crosses a small ridge, from which is obtained the first view of the Lake of Valencia and the grand plain in which it lies. "This view," says Mr. Semple, "may be classed among some of the most magnificent in nature. We beheld, at break of day, a rich plain extending before us to the westward more than fifty miles, a long, regular line at a great distance, which marked the lake, and the horizon

* Letters from Colombia, p. 11.

bordered with high mountains. After descending from this little height, we saw no more of the lake, until, after passing the straggling villages of San Matteo and Tulmero (Turmero), we approached Maracay, when it again appeared not far from us." Near San Matteo are seen the last wheat fields, and the last mills with horizontal hydraulic wheels. The road to Turmero, a distance of four leagues, lies through plantations of sugar, indigo, cotton, and coffee; and tobacco is grown near that village. The regularity observable in the construction of all these villages, reminds the traveller that they all owe their foundation to monks and missions. The streets are straight and parallel, crossing each other at right angles, a great square, in which the church is erected, occupying the centre. Since the missionaries have been succeeded by vicars, the whites have mingled with the Indians, and the latter, as a pure race, gradually disappear, while the castes increase. Humboldt still found, however, four thousand tributary Indians in the valleys of Aragua. Those of Turmero and Guacara were the most numerous. He describes them as of small stature, but less squat than the Chaymas, their eyes announcing more vivacity and intelligence, the effect, probably, of a higher degree of civilisation. "They work by the day as free labourers, and are active and laborious during the short time that they allot to labour; but what they earn in two months, is spent in one week, in purchasing strong liquors at the small inns, of which, unhappily, the numbers daily increase." On quitting Turmero, a very remarkable object at a league's distance attracted the attention of the learned Traveller, which had the appearance of a tumulus in the horizon. "It is neither a hill nor a groupe of trees, but a

single tree, — the famous *Zamang del Guayre*, known throughout the province for the enormous extent of its branches, which form a hemispheric head 576 feet in circumference. The zamang is a fine species of mimosa, the tortuous branches of which are divided by bifurcation. Its delicate and tender foliage had a pleasing effect as displayed on the azure of the sky. We stopped a long time under this vegetable roof. The place where the tree is found, is called El Guayre. The trunk of this zamang is only sixty feet high and nine feet in diameter; its real beauty consists in the form of its head. The branches extend like an immense umbrella, bending toward the ground, from which they remain at a uniform distance of twelve or fifteen feet. The circumference of this head is so regular, that, having traced two different diameters, I found them 192 and 186 feet. One side of the tree was entirely stripped of its foliage, owing to the drought: on the other side, there remained at once leaves and flowers. Tillandsias, lorantheæ, cactus-pitahayas, and other parasite plants, cover its branches, and crack the bark. The inhabitants of these villages, particularly the Indians, hold the zamang del Guayre in high veneration. The first conquerors found it almost in the same state in which it now remains; and since it has been observed with attention, no change has appeared in its bulk or height. It must be at least as old as the Orotava dragon-tree.*

* The dragon-tree (*dracæna draco*) of Orotava, in the Island of Teneriffe, is between fifty and sixty feet in height; its circumference near the roots is forty-five feet; and at ten feet from the ground, its diameter is twelve feet. It had attained this gigantic size when the Spaniards first landed in the island, in the fifteenth century. The trunk is divided into a great number of branches, which rise in the form of a candelabrum, and terminate in tufts of

There is something solemn and majestic in the aspect of aged trees; and the violation of these monuments of nature is severely punished in these countries, which are destitute of monuments of art. We heard with satisfaction, that the present proprietor of the zamang had brought an action against a farmer who had had the temerity to cut off a branch: the cause was tried, and the tribunal condemned the farmer. We find near Turmero and the *hacienda de Cura*, other zamangs, the trunks of which are larger than that of Guayre, but their hemispherical head is not of equal extent."

From Turmero, the road leads for three leagues and a half over an open country covered with bushes, which afford shelter to a vast number of deer, to the large village of Maracay, formerly the centre of the indigo plantations. Fifty years ago, it was but a small hamlet; but in 1795, seventy tradesmen had established shops here, and the population had risen to 6,000 inhabitants. M. Depons makes it amount, in 1802, to 8,400. "It is now," says Mr. Semple in 1810, "a town containing nearly 10,000 inhabitants. The principal street is more than half a mile in length, and many of the houses are built of stone. It stands near the eastern end of the lake, but not immediately upon it. Charming plantations extend from it in all directions; and there is a general air of

leaves, like the yucca of Mexico. At the time of Humboldt's visit, it still retained sufficient vigour to produce both flowers and fruit annually; but in July 1819, one-half of its enormous crown fell. It is now a noble ruin; but the wound has been plastered up, the date of the misfortune marked on it, and the great care taken of "the vegetable venerable," will probably ensure its surviving another century. — See HUMBOLDT, *Pers. Narr.* vol. i. p. 142; *Researches*, vol. ii. p. 209; and GRAHAM'S *Voyage to Brazil*, p. 85.

prosperity, and still more of activity, which I was puzzled to account for, until I learned that work here is chiefly performed by *free labourers*, and that the use of slaves for the great purposes of society is, comparatively speaking, but little known." Most of the houses have gardens attached to them; a custom little known in this country, and which of itself would seem to justify the reputation for industry which is enjoyed by the inhabitants of this village.

The *anil*, or indigo, of these provinces, has always been considered as equal, if not superior, to that of Guatimala. "This branch of culture," Humboldt states, "has, since 1772, succeeded to that of cocoa, and has given way, in its turn, to that of cotton and coffee. The predilection of the colonists has been alternately fixed on each of those four productions; but the cocoa and coffee are now the only important branches of commerce. To form an idea of the immense wealth derived from agriculture in the Spanish colonies, it must be recollected, that the indigo of Caracas, the value of which amounted, in 1794, to upwards of 6,000,000 of francs, was the produce of four or five square leagues. In the years 1789—95, between 4 and 5,000 freemen came annually from the Llanos to the valleys of Aragua, to assist in the culture and fabrication of indigo. They worked during two months by the day. The indigo-plant impoverishes the soil where it is cultivated during a long series of years, more than any other. The lands of Maracay, Tapatapa, and Turmero, are looked upon as exhausted; and, indeed, the produce of indigo has been constantly decreasing. In proportion as the cultivation has declined in the valleys of Aragua, it has increased in the province of Varinas,

and in the burning plains of Cucuta, where, on the banks of the Rio Tachira, virgin land yields an abundant produce, and of the richest colour."*

"Soon after leaving Maracay," continues the English Traveller, "we began to have occasional views of the lake, through the trees and bushes which border the road. Having proceeded about three leagues, passing a few houses called Tapatapa, we arrived at *La Cubrera* (the Goat-fold), where stood a pulperia, surrounded with a few houses, at the foot of a calcareous hill. As the sun was just about to set, we ascended this eminence by a winding path formed by the numerous goats that browse upon it, and enjoyed from the top, a view the most beautiful that can be imagined. The hills of La Cabrera advance into the lake, and thus enable us to see nearly the whole of its extent. This beautiful sheet of water, which is upwards of 1,300 feet above the level of the sea, extends about thirty miles in a direction from E.N.E. to W.S.W., and appears to be about twelve in its greatest breadth. It resembles Loch Lomond in the number of small islands scattered over its bosom, amounting to twenty-seven; but the mountains which surround it, although desert, have not the wild and rugged character of those which border the Scottish lake. The southern side, even viewed at this distance,

* Pers. Narr. vol. iv. pp. 118—20. The annual mean exports of indigo from 1774 to 1778, by way of La Guayra, was 20,000 lb. In 1796, they had gradually risen to 740,000 lb., exclusive of the contraband trade, which is supposed to have amounted to 160,000 lb. more. The total produce of Venezuela, in the most prosperous times, was 40,000 arrobas (or a million of pounds), the value of which exceeded 1,250,000 dollars. That of Guatimala did not exceed 60,000 arrobas. "But the East India Company, which, in 1786, did not draw from its vast possessions more than 250,000 lb., sold in London, in 1810, upwards of 5,500,000 lb."

is highly picturesque, the water approaching close to the foot of the hills; which, being covered with forests of mimosas and broad-leaved bananas, have a softness and luxuriancy which cannot be surpassed. At both ends of the lake, the country is level, soon terminating to the eastward in the hills which shut in the valley of La Victoria, but extending to the south-west beyond Valencia, further than the eye can reach. The whole of this grand scene was now enriched with all the soft tints which the sun, just sunk below the horizon, could impart in this delightful climate. The tops of the highest mountains still glowed with fire, but a purple light reigned in the valleys, and a soberer tint was spread over the surface of the lake. Upon it appeared at a distance, a small solitary sail, being the first that in the knowledge of man was here ever spread. From a knowledge of this circumstance we viewed it with some interest, as the germ of future improvement and utility. Nothing can shew more strongly the great room for improvement in this country, than the simple fact to which I have alluded, of boats with sails having never yet been used by the inhabitants of the borders of the Lake of Valencia. Although separated from the sea by only a single range of hills, and using small boats on the lake for the purpose of fishing, it is somewhat singular, that, in the course of more than two centuries, none of them should have thought of using a sail. A native of Biscay, settled in Valencia, had now first tried the experiment, and it formed no small part of the conversation of those who were assembled at the Pulperia of La Cabrera."

This place has subsequently acquired a mournful celebrity in the annals of the revolutionary war, each party having obstinately disputed the possession of

the fort, which commands the road to Valencia and the Llanos. An arm of the granitic chain of the coast, called the promontory of Portachuelo, here stretches southward into the plain, and would almost close the valley, were it not separated by a narrow defile from the rock of La Cabrera. The latter, which now forms a peninsula, was a rocky island in the lake as lately as the middle of the last century, the waters having gradually receded; and they are still diminishing.

In the course of the next five leagues, the traveller passes the small hamlets of Mariara, Agua Blanca, Cura, San Joaquin, and Guacara. The latter, as well as Turmero, Maracay, Cura, and almost every point of the valley of Aragua, has its mountain road, terminating at one of the small ports on the coast. Throughout this distance, though the route passes very close to the lake, it is concealed from view by the luxuriant vegetation. From Guacara to Valentia is a distance of four leagues, through a country mostly open and constantly level. The whole of the immense plain on which the traveller has now entered, presents, indeed, every appearance of having formerly been covered with water. It is in general level up to the very bases of the surrounding hills, and the soil has evidently been levelled and abandoned by the waters. As the road approaches Valencia, it winds near the foot of some high and steep rocks, forming a kind of pass, immediately beyond which is gained the first view of the town, situated on small slopes, and open on every side. The country has now assumed a very arid appearance. The white limestone hills, called the *Morros de Valencia*, contribute greatly, by reflecting the rays of the sun, to increase the heat of this place. "Every thing," says Humboldt, "seems

smitten with sterility. Scarcely are a few cocoa-plants found on the banks of the *Rio de Valencia*, and the rest of the plain is bare and destitute of vegetation. The appearance of sterility is here attributed, as it is every where in the valleys of Aragua, to the cultivation of indigo.

The city of New Valencia stands about three miles to the west of the lake. It is twelve years older than Caracas, having been founded in the year 1555, by Alonzo Diaz Morena, as a station from which to advance on the valley of Caracas. It was at first dependent on Burburata, which is now nothing more than a place of embarkation for mules. Its advantageous position, as a centre of communication between Puerto Cabello and the inland towns, has raised it into a place of considerable importance. At the time of Humboldt's visit, the population was only between six and seven thousand souls, but, in 1810, it amounted to upwards of 10,000. "The inhabitants," says M. Lavaysse, "are nearly all Creoles, the descendants of ancient Biscayan and Canary families. There is great industry and comfort in this town. It is as large as a European town of 24,000 souls, because the greater part of the houses have only a ground-floor, and many of them have gardens. Fifty years ago, its inhabitants passed for the most indolent in the country. They all pretended to be descended from the ancient conquerors, and could not conceive it possible for them to exercise any other function than the military profession, or to cultivate the land, without degrading themselves. Thus, they lived in the most abject misery on a singularly fertile soil. Their ideas have since completely changed; they have applied themselves to agriculture and commerce, and the grounds in the neighbourhood are well cultivated

Valencia is the centre of a considerable trade between Caracas and Puerto Cabello." * Humboldt states, that, when he was there, many of the Whites, especially of the poorer sort, would forsake their houses, and pass the greater part of the year in their little plantations of indigo and cotton, where they might venture to work with their own hands; "which, according to the inveterate prejudices of that country, would be a disgrace to them in the town." The industry of the inhabitants was beginning to awake, and the cultivation of cotton had considerably augmented, since Puerto Cabello had been opened, as a *puerto mayor*, to vessels direct from the mother country.

There is nothing striking, according to Mr. Semple, in the appearance of the town. Some of the streets, he says, are tolerably well built, but the houses are mostly low and irregular, and the principal church, † which stands on the eastern side of the great square, is by no means equal to that of La Victoria, either in its size or its proportions. The streets are very broad; the dimensions of the *plaza mayor* are "excessive;" and, the houses being low, the disproportion between the population and the space which the town occupies, is still greater than at Caracas. The Author of Letters from Colombia thus describes the appearance which it presented in 1823, at the time that it was the head quarters of the patriot army investing Puerto Cabello. There were then about two thousand troops in the town, among whom were most of the English who had survived the several campaigns. "The entrance

* Lavaysse, p. 59.

† There is but one parish, but a second church was built in 1804 by the Canarians, and the Franciscans have a very neat church attached to their monastery.

to the town is by a good bridge of three arches, built of stone and brick, and described as the best by far of any in the Republic. The *Glorieta* attached to it, is a large circular seat, enclosing an area where the inhabitants meet in the evening for dancing and festivity. This is, in fact, the only public promenade. Of the few benefits bestowed on the country by the Spaniards, this is one. The bridge and *Glorieta* were erected by Morales not many years since. The town contains many large houses, the best of which are occupied by the military: a greater number are in ruins, presenting a further memento of the ravages committed by the earthquake. The population is not proportioned to its present size. In this, as well as in respect to its resources, the prolonged and harassing war has left behind it most melancholy memorials."

It has been regretted, and "perhaps justly," Humboldt says, that Valencia was not made the capital, instead of Caracas, under the colonial government. "Its situation in a plain, on the banks of a lake, recalls to mind the position of Mexico. When we reflect on the easy communication which the valleys of Aragua furnish with the *Llanos* and the rivers that flow into the Orinoco, and recognise the possibility of opening an inland navigation, by the Rio Pao and the Portuguesa, as far as the mouths of the Orinoco, the Cassiquiare, and the Amazons,—it will appear, that the capital of the vast provinces of Venezuela would have been better placed near the fine harbour of Puerto Cabello, beneath a pure and serene sky, than near the unsheltered road of La Guayra, in a temperate but constantly foggy valley. Situated near the kingdom of New Granada, and between the fertile corn-lands of La Victoria and Barquesimeto, the city of Valencia ought to have prospered; but,

notwithstanding these advantages, it has been unable to maintain the contest with Caracas, which, during two centuries, has drawn away a great number of its inhabitants."

The advantages of the situation have one drawback, however, in the incredible number of ants which infest the spot where Valencia is placed. Their excavations resemble subterraneous canals, which, in the rainy season, are filled with water, and become very dangerous to the buildings, by occasioning a sinking of the ground. To set against this, there is an opening (*abra*) in the cordillera of the coast, in the meridian of Valencia, by which a cooling sea-breeze penetrates into the valley every evening: the breeze rises regularly two or three hours after sunset.

LAKE OF VALENCIA OR TACARIGUA.

THE valleys of Aragua form a narrow basin, enclosed by granitic and calcareous mountains of unequal height. On the north, the *Sierra Mariara* separates this basin from the sea-coast; towards the south, the chain of Guacimo and Yusma serves as a rampart against the heated air of the steppes; while groupes of hills, high enough to determine the course of the waters, close this basin on the east and west, like transverse dikes. These hills occur between the Tuy and La Victoria, and on the road from Valencia to Nirgua. "From this extraordinary configuration of the land," says Humboldt, "the little rivers of the valleys of Aragua form a peculiar system, and, instead of bearing their waters to the ocean, are collected in an inland lake, where, subject to the powerful influence of evaporation, they lose them-

selves, if we may use the expression, in the atmosphere. On the existence of these rivers and the lake, the fertility of the soil, and the produce of cultivation in these valleys, depend. The aspect of the spot and the experience of half a century prove, that the level of the waters is not invariable: the waste by evaporation, and the increase from the waters running into the lake, do not constantly balance each other. As the lake is 1,000 feet above the neighbouring steppes of Calabozo, and 1,332 feet above the level of the ocean, it has been suspected that there are subterranean communications and filtrations; and the appearance of new islands, occasioned by the gradual retreat of the waters, has led to the apprehension that the lake may one day become entirely dry.

"The Lake of Valencia, called by the Indians Tacarigua, excels in magnitude the Lake of Neufchatel in Switzerland, but, in its general form, has more resemblance to the Lake of Geneva, which is nearly at the same height above the level of the sea. The slope of the ground in the valleys of Aragua, tends towards the S. and W.; that part of the basin, therefore, which has remained covered with water, is nearer the southern chain of mountains, those of Guigue, Yusma, and Guacimo, which stretch toward the high savannas of Ocumare. The opposite banks of the lake exhibit a singular contrast. Those on the south are desert and almost uninhabited, and a screen of high mountains gives them a gloomy and monotonous aspect. The northern shore, on the contrary, is cheerful, pastoral, and adorned with the rich cultivation of the sugar-cane, the coffee-plant, and cotton. Paths bordered with cestrums, azedaracs, and other shrubs always in flower, cross the plain,

and join the scattered farms. Every house is surrounded with clumps of trees. The ceiba-palm with its large yellow flowers, mingling its branches with those of the purple erithryna, gives a peculiar character to the landscape. This mixture of vivid vegetable colours contrasts with the uniform tint of an unclouded sky. In the season of drought, when the burning soil is covered with an undulating vapour, artificial irrigations preserve the verdure and fertility. Here and there, the granitic rock pierces through the cultivated ground. Enormous rocky masses rise abruptly in the midst of the valley, bare and forked, but nourishing a few succulent plants, which prepare mould for cultivation in future ages. Often, at the summit of these lonely hills, a fig-tree, or a clusia with its fleshy leaves, that has fixed its roots in the rock, towers over the landscape. With their dead and withered branches, they look like signals erected on a steep cliff. The form of these mounts betrays the secret of their ancient origin: when the whole of the valley was filled with water, and the waves beat at the foot of the peaks of Mariara, the *Rincon del Diablo* (devil's wall), and the cordillera of the coast, these rocky hills were shoals or islets.*

"According to astronomical observations, the length of the lake, in its present state, from Cagua to

* Pers. Narr. vol. iv. p. 130, &c. This contrast between the opposite shores of the lake, recalled that which is presented by the cultivated and fertile Pays de Vaud and the mountainous and half-desert country of Chablais, on the opposite side of the Lake of Geneva. "But I do not imagine," says the learned Writer, "that I present the reader with clearer images or more precise ideas, by comparing our landscapes with those of the equinoctial regions. It cannot be too often repeated, that Nature under every zone, whether wild or cultivated, smiling or majestic, displays an individual character."

Guayos, is ten leagues, or 28,800 toises. Its breadth is very unequal, no where surpassing 6,500 toises: most commonly, it is but four or five miles across.* Oviedo, in his History of Venezuela, published in 1723, gives this 'inland sea' fourteen leagues in length and six in breadth. He states, that, at a small distance from the shore, the lead finds no bottom, and that large floating islands cover the surface of the waters, which are constantly agitated by the winds. No importance can be attached to estimates which, without being founded on any measurement, are expressed in leagues, reckoned in the colonies at 3,000, 5,000, and 6,650 *varas*.† What is more worthy of attention, is the assertion of the same writer, that the town of *Nueva Valencia d'el Rey* was built, in 1555, at the distance of half a league from the lake, and that the proportion of the length of the lake to its breadth, was as seven to three. At present, the town of Valencia is separated from the lake by level ground of more than 2,700 toises, which Oviedo would doubtless have estimated as a league and a half, and the length of the lake is to its breadth as 10 to 2·3, or as 7 to 1·6. The appearance of the soil between Valencia and Guigue, the little hills that rise abruptly in the plain, some of which (as *El Islote* and *La Isla de la Negra*, or Caratapona) have even preserved the name of islands, sufficiently prove that the waters have retired considerably since the time of

* M. Depons, on "the concurrent testimony of" his "own eyes, and that of the intelligent Spaniards residing in the vicinity," makes it extend thirteen leagues and a half from E.N.E. to W.S.W., and its greatest breadth, he says, is four leagues. (vol. i. p. 74.)

† The latter is the *legua nautica* (2854 toises), 20 in a degree. Cisneros, in 1767, makes the lake 18 leagues long and about six broad; and another Spanish writer assigns it 10 Castilian leagues, by 3½ in breadth.

Oviedo. With respect to the change in the general form of the lake, it appears to me improbable that, in the seventeenth century, its breadth was nearly half its length. The situation of the granitic mountains of Mariara and Guigue, and the slope of the ground, which rises more rapidly toward the N. and S. than toward the E. and W., are alike repugnant to this supposition.

"I have no doubt," continues the learned Traveller, "that, in very remote times, the whole valley, from the foot of the mountains of Cocuyza to those of Torito and Nirgua, and from La Sierra de Maviara to the chain of Guigue, of Guacimo, and La Palma, was filled with water. Every where, the form of the promontories, and their steep declivities, seem to indicate the shore of an alpine lake, similar to those of Styria and Tyrol. The same little helicites, the same valvæ, which now live in the Lake of Valencia, are found, in layers of three or four feet, in the islands, as far as Turmero and *La Concesion* near La Victoria. These facts undoubtedly prove a retreat of the waters; but nothing indicates that this retreat has continued from that remote period to our days. The valleys of Aragua are one of the parts of Venezuela the most anciently peopled; and yet, there is no mention in Oviedo, or any other old chronicler, of a sensible diminution of the lake. Ought we simply to suppose, that this phenomenon escaped their observation, at a time when the Indian population far exceeded the white, and when the banks of the lake were less inhabited? Within half a century, and particularly within these thirty years, the natural desiccation of this great basin has excited general attention. We find vast spaces of land that were formerly inundated, now dry, and already cultivated with plantains, sugar-

canes, or cotton. Wherever a hut is erected on the bank of the lake, we see the shore receding from year to year. We discover islands which, in consequence of the retreat of the waters, scarcely begin to be joined to the continent, as the rocky island of Culebra, on the side of Guigue; other islands already form promontories, as the Morro between Guigue and Nueva Valencia, and La Cabrera, south-east of Mariara; others now rise in the islands, like scattered hills. Among these last, so easily recognised at a distance, some are only a quarter of a mile, others a league from the present shore. I shall cite as the most remarkable, three granitic islands, thirty or forty toises high, on the road from Hacienda de Cura to Aguas Calientes; and at the western extremity of the lake, the Serrito de Don Pedro, Islote, and Caratapona. On visiting two islands * entirely surrounded by water, we found, in the midst of brushwood, on small flats of four, six, and even eight toises height above the surface of the lake, fine sand mixed with helicites, anciently deposited by the waters. In each of these islands may be perceived the most certain traces of the gradual sinking of the waters. But still further, and this accident is regarded by the inhabitants as a marvellous phenomenon, in 1796, three new islands appeared to the east of the island Caiguira, in the same direction as the islands Burro, Otama, and Zorro. These new islands, called by the people *los nuevos Penones*, or *las Aparecidas*, form a kind of banks, with surfaces quite flat. They rose already, in 1800, more than a foot above the *mean level of the waters*."

* "Isla de Cura and Cabo Blanco. The promontory of Cabrera has been connected with the shore ever since the year 1750 or 1760, by a vale which bears the name of Portachuelo."

It is manifest, that the lake cannot have been constantly contracting at the present rate, from the first discovery of the country. For ages, the waters had contained themselves within the same limits, the equilibrium being maintained between the supply of the rivers and evaporation; and the first great change in the boundaries of the lake must be referred to a period long antecedent to historical times. The inhabitants, little acquainted with the effects of evaporation, have imagined that the lake must have a subterranean outlet; and even M. Depons is disposed to adopt this opinion as highly probable. "The waters of twenty rivers,"* he says, "are discharged into it without any visible outlet. It is six leagues from the sea, and the space which separates them is filled with inaccessible mountains. It is the more difficult to account for its having no visible outlet, as it receives rivers on all sides, which proves it to be a perfect basin." Modern science, however, has shewn, that evaporation is a cause quite adequate to explain the phenomenon of lakes fed by rivers, yet having no channel by which to discharge their waters.† The Lake of Tacarigua is 222 toises (1332 feet) above the ocean; the Caspian Sea is 54 toises (324 feet) lower than the ocean. With regard to both, the same hypothesis of a subterranean gulf or channel has been

* M. Humboldt says, "twelve or fourteen," of which he enumerates, the *Rios* de Aragua, Turmero, Maracay, Tapatapa, Aguas Calientes, Mariara, Cura, Guacara, Guataparo, Valencia, and the Cano Grande de Cambury. Most of these deserve only the name of torrents or brooks.

† See the account of the Dead Sea in Mod. Trav., Palestine, p. 233; and the Valley of Salt, Syria, &c. vol. i. p. 309. See also the account of the lakes Ak-Shehr and Bulwudun, ib., vol ii. p. 309. And for the account of the diminution of the Mexican lakes, see Mexico, vol. i. p. 263, &c.

had recourse to, though it is well known, that fluids, communicating by a lateral channel, must find the same level.

The present extent of surface in the Lake of Tacarigua is 106,500,000 square toises. The volume of water which it receives from the various torrents, it would be difficult to ascertain. It must vary considerably, not only as the streams are greatly swelled in the rainy season, but as, during the drought, a large portion of water is diverted from the rivers, for the purpose of irrigating the plantations. No mention, however, is made by any of the writers we have consulted, of the precise increase and decrease of the lake at different seasons of the year. But if heretofore the waste occasioned by evaporation has been constantly repaired by an equal supply from the rivers, how are we to account for the depression of the waters of the lake, which has been perceptibly going forward for the last fifty years? "Without having recourse to any occult cause," says M. Depons, "the reason of that rapid and continual diminution is found in the increased use which the inhabitants have made of the waters of the rivers to refresh their plantations. These waters, diffused over a considerable surface, evaporate, or become an elementary principle of vegetation, and are consequently lost to the general reservoir, which, as it receives less water, must necessarily decrease." M. Humboldt adverts to other circumstances which throw further light on the phenomenon. "The changes which the destruction of the forests, the clearing of the plains, and the cultivation of indigo, have produced, within half a century, in the quantity of water flowing in, together with the evaporation of the soil and the dryness of the atmosphere, present," he remarks, "causes sufficiently powerful

to explain the successive diminution of the lake. By felling the trees that cover the tops and the sides of mountains, men in every climate prepare at once two calamities for future generations,—the want of fuel, and a scarcity of water. Trees, by the nature of their respiration, and the radiation from their leaves in a sky without clouds, surround themselves with an atmosphere constantly cool and misty. They affect the copiousness of springs, not, as was long believed, by a peculiar attraction for the vapours diffused through the air, but because, by sheltering the soil from the direct action of the sun, they diminish the evaporation of the water produced by rain. When forests are destroyed, as they are every where in America by the European planters, with an imprudent precipitation, the springs are entirely dried up, or become less abundant. The beds of the rivers, remaining dry during a part of the year, are converted into torrents, whenever great rains fall on the heights. The sward and moss disappearing with the brushwood from the sides of the mountains, the waters falling in rain, are no longer impeded in their course; and instead of slowly augmenting the level of the rivers by progressive filtrations, they furrow, during heavy showers, the sides of the hills, bear down the loosened soil, and form those sudden inundations that devastate the country. Hence it results, that the destruction of forests, the want of permanent springs, and the existence of torrents, are three phenomena closely connected together. Countries that are situate in opposite hemispheres, Lombardy, bordered by the chain of the Alps, and Lower Peru, enclosed between the Pacific Ocean and the cordillera of the Andes, exhibit striking proofs of the justness of this assertion.

"Till the middle of the last century, the mountains that surround the valleys of Aragua, were covered with forests. Great trees, of the families of mimosa, ceiba, and the fig-tree, shaded and spread coolness along the banks of the lake. The plain, then thinly inhabited, was filled with brushwood, interspersed with trunks of scattered trees and parasite plants, enveloped with a thick sward, less capable of emitting radiant caloric than the soil that is cultivated and therefore not sheltered from the rays of the sun. With the destruction of trees, and the increase of the cultivation of sugar, indigo, and cotton, the springs and all the natural supplies of the Lake of Valencia, have diminished from year to year."

In fact, Humboldt says, since the increase of agricultural industry in the valleys of Aragua, the little rivers that run into the lake, can no longer be considered as real supplies during the first six months of the year. They remain dried up in the lower part of their course, owing to the trenches made by the planters to water their grounds. Moreover, the *Rio Pao*, a pretty considerable river which formerly joined the *Cano de Cambury*, having a course from south to north, has been turned into a new channel, and, instead of contributing its waters to the lake, now falls ultimately into the Portuguesa, a branch of the Apure. "At the end of the seventeenth century, the proprietor of a neighbouring plantation thought proper to dig, at the back of the hill, a new bed for the *Rio Pao*. He turned the river, and, after employing part of the water for the irrigation of his fields, he caused the rest to flow at a venture toward the S., following the declivity of the Llanos. The river has scooped itself out a bed so deep and broad, that, in the rainy season, when the *Cano Grande de Cambury*

inundates all the land to the N.W. of Guigue, the waters of this *Cano*, and those of the Lake of Valencia, flow back into the *Rio Pao* itself; so that this river, instead of adding water to the lake, tends rather to carry it away." These circumstances, together with the great droughts which prevailed for the ten years preceding Humboldt's visit to the equinoctial regions, seem sufficiently to account for the diminution of the lake; but the apprehension that it would speedily be dried up, he treats as wholly chimerical. The question, indeed, was at one time under discussion at Caracas, whether it would not be advisable, in order to give greater extent to agriculture, to conduct the waters of the lake into the Llanos, by digging a canal towards the Pao. The project would not be impracticable; but how, he remarks, can it be doubted for a moment, that the lake alone spreads fertility over this country? "Deprived of the enormous mass of vapours which the surface of the waters sends forth daily into the atmosphere, the valleys of Aragua would become as dry and barren as the surrounding mountains."

The mean depth of the lake is from twelve to fifteen fathoms; the deepest parts are not above forty fathoms. In general, the southern part of the basin is deeper than the northern. The temperature at the surface, in the month of February, was constantly from 23° to 23·7° (cent. ther.), —a little below the mean temperature of the air. This tropical lake possesses one striking advantage over those of the Alps, in being full of islands, which embellish the scenery by the picturesque form of their rocks and their rich vegetation. These islands are fifteen in number, and form three groupes; viz. to the north, near the shore, the *Isla de Cura*; to the S.E., *Burro*,

Horno, *Otama*, *Sorro*, *Caiguira*, and *Nuevos Penones*, or the new *Aparecidas*; to the N.W., *Cabo Blanco*, or *Isla de Aves*, and *Chamberg*; to the S.W., *Brucha* and *Calebra*; in the centre of the lake rise, like small detached rocks, *Vagre*, *Fraile*, *Penasco*, and *Pan de Azucar*. They are partly cultivated and extremely fertile. Burro, the largest, is two miles in length, and is inhabited by some mestizoes, who rear goats, and live on the milk, with bananas, cassava, and a little fish, seldom visiting the neighbouring shore. The lake is in general tolerably well stocked with fish, but there are only three kinds, the *guavina*, the *vagra*, and the *sardina*, the flesh of all of which is soft and insipid. The guavina is extremely voracious, and destroys the other two species, which descend into the lake by the streams that flow into it. The *bava*, a small species of crocodile, from three to four feet in length, is also said to contribute to the destruction of the fish. It is believed to be otherwise harmless. There are no large alligators in the lake, or in the rivers that flow into it, though that dangerous animal abounds a few leagues off, in the streams that flow into the Apure, or the Orinoco, or immediately into the Caribbean Sea, between Puerto Cabello and La Guayra. The island of Chamberg is remarkable for its height. It is a rock of gneiss, with two summits joined in the form of a saddle, rising two hundred feet above the surface of the water. The whole effect of the lake and of its richly cultivated shores, is highly picturesque, particularly after sunset, when thousands of herons, flamingoes, wild ducks, and other aquatic birds, cross the lake to roost in the islands. Then, too, very frequently, the broad zone of mountains that closes the horizon, may be seen covered with fire. The inhabitants, in order to pro-

duce fresher and finer grass, set fire to the meadows; and these vast conflagrations, extending sometimes over a tract six thousand feet in length, and reaching to the very summits of the mountains, which abound with gramineous plants, appear like streams of lava overflowing the ridge. When reposing on the banks of the lake in one of those beautiful evenings peculiar to the tropics, it is delightful, Humboldt says, to contemplate in the waves that beat the shore, the reflection of the red fires that inflame the horizon. M. Depons says: "The birds which constantly abide in the vicinity of the lakes, afford continual delight by the diversity of their species, the vivid colours of their plumage, and the variety of their notes, some of which are exquisitely melodious." A great many reptiles of the lizard kind are found on the borders, one of which, the *iguana*, is eaten by the natives. The immediate vicinity of the lake has been deemed unhealthy, but it becomes so, Humboldt says, only in times of great drought, when the retreating waters leave a muddy sediment exposed to the ardent heat of the sun. The lilaceous plants and other aquatic vegetation on its banks, remind the European of the marshy shores of his own lakes, though, on examination, they are found to differ specifically.

Among the rivers that fall into the lake, some originate in thermal springs, which gush out at three points of the granitic cordillera of the coast; near Onoto, between Turnero and Maracay; near Mariara, to the N.E. of the Hacienda de Cura; and near Las Trincheras, on the road from Valencia to Puerto Cabello. In ascending the small river Cura, the mountains of Mariara are seen advancing into the plain in the form of a vast amphitheatre, composed of perpendicular rocks crowned with rugged peaks. It

is the central point of this range which bears the strange name of *El Rincon del Diablo.* The range stretching eastward, is called *El Chaparro;* that to the westward, *Las Viruelas.* Nothing can be more solemn and picturesque than this groupe of mountains half-covered with vegetation.* During the rains, a considerable sheet of water rushes, in the form of a cascade, from the central cliffs. In the eastern range, which is much less lofty, is found the *quebrada de aguas calientes* (ravine of hot waters). There are five springs (*pozos*), which are slightly impregnated with sulphuretted hydrogen, and vary in temperature from 56° to 59° (cent. ther.) It is only in the rainy season that the waters form a torrent, and their heat is then greatly diminished. South of the ravine, in the plain that extends toward the shore of the lake, another hydro-sulphurous spring gushes out, of much lower temperature. The water is collected in a circular basin, surrounded with large trees, which is from fifteen to eighteen feet in diameter, and three feet deep. "The unhappy slaves," says Humboldt, "throw themselves into this bath at the close of the day, when covered with dust from having worked in the neighbouring fields of indigo and sugar-canes. Though the water of this bath is from 12° to 15° hotter than the air, the Blacks call it refreshing. We ourselves experienced its salutary effects. After getting out of the bath, while, half-wrapped in a sheet, we were drying ourselves in the sun, according to the custom of the country, a little man of the mulatto race approached us. After bowing gravely, he made us a long speech on the virtues of the waters of Mariara, on the numbers of sick by whom they have been visited for some years past, and on the fortunate situation of the

springs between two towns, Valencia and Caracas, where the neglect of moral conduct is increasing every day. He shewed us his house, a little hut covered with palm-leaves, and situate in an enclosure at a small distance, on the bank of a rivulet that communicates with the bath. He assured us, that we should there find all the conveniences of life; nails to suspend our hammocks, ox-leather to stretch over benches made of reeds, earthen vases always filled with cool water, and what, next to the bath, would be most salutary to us of all, those great lizards (*iguanas*) the flesh of which is known to be a refreshing aliment. We judged from his harangue, that the poor man took us for sick persons who were come to stay near the spring. His counsels and offers of hospitality were not altogether disinterested. He entitled himself 'the inspector of the waters and *pulpero** of the place.' Accordingly, all his obliging attentions to us ceased as soon as he heard that we were simply come to satisfy our curiosity; or, as they express it in the colonies, which are the land of idleness, *para ver, no mas*, 'to see, and nothing more.'"

The hot springs of *La Trinchera*,† which are found three leagues to the north of Valencia, are supposed to be, next to the springs of Urijino in Japan, the hottest in the world. Instead of gushing out to the south of the mountains, like those of Mariara and Onoto, they issue from the chain itself, almost at its northern declivity, and form a rivulet, which, even during seasons of the greatest drought, is two feet deep and eighteen wide. The temperature of

* Proprietor of a *pulperia*, or little shop, where eatables and drinkables are sold.

† So called from the mud fortifications thrown up by some French freebooters who sacked Valencia in 1677.

the water is 90.3° cent. ther. Eggs plunged into it are boiled in less than four minutes. The spring is strongly impregnated with sulphuretted hydrogen, and the evaporation forms an incrustation of carbonate of lime. A luxuriant vegetation surrounds the basin. Mimosas, clusias, and fig-trees have pushed their roots into the bottom of a pool the temperature of which is 85°, and an arum rises in the very middle of a pool the temperature of which is 70°. The foliage of these trees, though extended over the surface of the water, which is constantly sending up hot vapour, displays the most beautiful verdure. Forty feet distant from the point where the springs gush out at a temperature of 90°, other springs are found entirely cold; and the natives shewed M. Humboldt, that, by digging a hole between the two rivulets, they could procure a bath of any given temperature. The sick who come to *La Trinchera* to use the vapour-bath, form a sort of arbour over the spring with branches of trees and slender reeds, on which they stretch themselves naked. The *Rio de Aguas Calientes* runs towards the N.E., and becomes, near the coast, a considerable river, abounding with large alligators, and contributing, by its inundations, to the insalubrity of the coast.

At the *hacienda* of Mocundo, on the shores of the lake, Humboldt saw four camels employed in the conveyance of sugar-canes to the mill. Three of the four were born in America. This invaluable animal had been recently introduced into these provinces from the Canary Islands. Soon after the conquest, a Biscayan, Juan de Reinaga, carried some of these animals at his own expense to Peru. They were at the time very common in the south of Spain. Acosta saw some of these at the foot of the Andes towards the end

of the sixteenth century; but, as little care was taken of them, they scarcely ever bred, and the race soon became extinct. The introduction of the camel, attempted by Reinaga, was viewed with jealousy and alarm by the *encomenderos*,* or lords proprietors, who held the Indians in slavery, and let them out to travellers as beasts of burden; and, in consequence of their interested representations, the colonies were deprived of the services of this useful animal, by which the inland communication would have been greatly facilitated. "A few hundreds of camels," Humboldt remarks, "spread over the vast surface of America in hot and barren places, would in a few years have a powerful influence on the public prosperity. Provinces separated by steppes, would then be in effect brought nearer to each other; several kinds of merchandise would fall in price on the coast; and, by increasing the number of these '*ships of the desert*,' new life would be given to the industry and commerce of the New World."

The cultivation and population of the plains increase as the traveller approaches Cura and Guacara on the northern side of the lake. In 1800, the valleys of Aragua contained, within an area thirteen leagues long by two wide, more than 52,000 inhabitants, which gives 2,000 to the square league, — a relative population almost equal to that of the most populous parts of France. The cotton of Aragua is esteemed finer than that of Cartagena, St. Domingo, or the West India Islands, and inferior only to that of Brazil. The plant grows wild on the borders of the lake. This production is likely to become in future a most important article of exportation. During his

* See Mexico, vol. i. p. 204.

stay at Cura, Humboldt was surprised to witness in every direction, not only the progress of agriculture, but the increase of a free laborious population, accustomed to toil, and too poor to rely on the assistance of slaves. White and mulatto farmers had every where small separate establishments. "Our host," (Count Tovar), he says, "whose father had a revenue of 40,000 piasters, possessing more lands than he could clear, distributed them among such poor families as chose to apply themselves to the cultivation of cotton. He endeavoured to surround his ample plantations with freemen, who, working as they chose, either on their own land, or in the neighbouring plantations, supplied him with day-labourers at harvest-time. Nobly occupied with the means best adapted to extinguish slavery among the Blacks in these provinces, Count Tovar flattered himself with the double hope of rendering slaves less necessary to the landholders, and of furnishing the freedmen with opportunities of becoming farmers. On departing for Europe, he had parcelled out and let a part of the lands of Cura, which extend toward the west at the foot of Las Viruelas. On his return to America four years after, he found on this spot, then in fine cultivation, a little hamlet of thirty or forty houses, which is called *Punta Zamuro*. The inhabitants are almost all Mulattoes, Zamboes, or free Blacks. This example of letting out land, has happily been followed by several other great proprietors. The rent is ten piasters for a *vanega* of ground, and is paid either in money or in cotton. I love to dwell on these details of colonial industry, because they prove to the inhabitants of Europe, what to the enlightened inhabitants of the colonies has long ceased to be doubtful,—that *the continent of Spanish America can*

produce sugar and indigo by free hands, and that the unhappy slaves are capable of becoming peasants, farmers, and landholders." *

FROM VALENCIA TO PUERTO CABELLO.

FROM Valencia, it is a distance of about four leagues, over the plain, to the guard-house at the foot of the Sierra which must be crossed in proceeding to the coast. The road then immediately becomes a steep ascent for two leagues. Near the summit is a small *venta*, where travellers usually halt, from which is obtained a delightful view of the lake and plain of Valencia, seen between the rugged summits of intervening hills, while, to the westward, plains, bordered by mountains, stretch away into the horizon. During the whole ascent, only a few stunted trees appear, but, having reached the summit, the traveller soon finds himself in a forest. "I had never before," says Mr. Semple, "passed over a road which, without affording very extensive prospects, was yet so calculated to inspire grand and gloomy ideas. The view was bounded by high mountains, except towards the north, which afforded at intervals a partial glimpse of the sea. All around were peaked hills and deep valleys, clothed with trees. At every step, we seemed to be descending, still more and more, into an immense amphitheatre, on the summit of which the clouds rested. The silence of the forest was broken, at intervals, by the cries of unknown birds, and, as we descended still more and more, by the fall and the rushing of water on our left. We looked down, and beheld an immense chasm, at the bottom of which the tallest trees appeared small, and where a considerable stream, by its windings and changes of form,

* Pers. Narr. vol. iv. pp. 126—8.

gave unceasing variety to the views. Sometimes it appeared below us, like a long, narrow lake of great depth, terminating at one end in a noisy cascade. Sometimes it rushed along through a deep channel of solid rocks, which it had evidently worn for itself, in the course of ages, or strayed amongst huge blocks of granite, which interrupted its course. The first objects which we saw to break the wildness of the scene, were solitary huts, formed of branches of trees, plastered with clay, surrounded by a little spot of cleared ground. These huts gradually increased in number, and improved in appearance as we descended, until they terminated at length in handsome houses and plantations. We passed the torrent by a bridge, still in an unfinished state, and found that the scenery had here lost none of its interest. I have seen many glens, but none to equal this, which winds from the summit of the lofty mountains almost to the sea-shore. At length we left the woods, and, after a continued descent of five leagues, came in sight of Puerto Cabello, situated in a flat close to the sea, amidst marshes, full of mangrove trees, and overflowed with the tide. We were struck with the mean appearance of the houses, which were all low, and, in many instances, seemed little superior to the huts we had passed in the woods. In the whole place we could not find a posada." *

Puerto Cabello is, next to Cartagena, the most im-

* This road is reckoned a distance of eight leagues. Humboldt speaks of a new road that was being made to Puerto Cabello, through an *abra* in the cordillera, passing the farm of Barbula, and by an eastern branch of the ravine, which, he says, would be so much shorter as to require only four hours to reach the port. Las Trincheras is in this road, which is almost a continual descent rom the banks of the lake to the coast. Mr. Semple makes no mention of it.

portant fortified place on this coast. It stands in lat. 10° 28′ N., long. 69° 10′ W. The town is quite modern. The port, Humboldt says, is one of the finest in the world: art has had scarcely any thing to add to the advantages which the nature of the spot presents. It is thus described by the English Traveller: "Puerto Cabello stands upon a small neck of land, which has been cut through, and thus formed into an artificial island. A bridge crosses this cut, and affords entrance to the original city, which is small, but tolerably well built and fortified. The harbour is formed by a low island to the north-west, and banks covered with mangrove trees, which shelter it on every side. It is deep and capacious. An excellent wharf, faced with stone, allows of vessels of a large burthen being laid close alongside of it; and as they can be easily and securely fastened to the shore, anchors are here seldom necessary. To this circumstance, in which it resembles the harbour of Curaçoa, Puerto Cabello is said to owe its name, as implying that vessels may there be secured by a single hair.* The island is strongly fortified; and the batteries, being low and mounted with heavy cannon, are capable of making a good defence. Towards the land, the works are not so strong, and the whole is within reach of bomb-shot from the first heights to the southward of the town, some of which are fortified.

"This harbour and La Guayra form a striking contrast. Here vessels lie, as in a small smooth lake, while the waves break high upon the outside of the

* Humboldt, however, is more disposed to adopt the opinion which derives the name of the place from Antonio Cabello, "one of the fishermen with whom the smugglers of Curaçoa had formed an intimate connexion, at the time when the first hamlet was constructed on this half-desert part of the coast."

island and along the shore. In return for this, the worm makes great ravages in the bottom of such ships as are not coppered. In no part of the world is it more destructive; and a small vessel, left unattended, in a very few months would founder at her moorings from this cause alone.

"The plain in which Puerto Cabello stands, is bounded on the south by mountains, and on the north by the sea, and is no where more than two miles in breadth. To the west, a small river descends from the mountains, and empties itself into the sea. To the south-east of the town, the flats are annually flooded by the rains; and the exhalations from them are very probably the cause of the destructive fevers which so frequently rage here in the summer and autumn months. Few strangers can then visit this port with impunity, or at least without great danger; and there have been instances of vessels losing the greater part of their crews in a very short time. This, however, has not prevented the rapid increase of the place, which was originally confined within the works upon the small peninsula, out of which no houses were for some time allowed to be built. At first, low huts were erected, under the express condition of being demolished in case of an enemy's approach; and in a long interval of years, during which no hostile force appeared, these huts were gradually enlarged and increased. The suburbs now exceed the town in population and extent, but still retain their low and mean appearance, and are subject to the original stipulations in case of danger. A great proportion of the houses have no upper story; and the population being almost entirely coloured, a stranger is more apt to consider the whole as a large Indian village, than as part of a European settlement.

"About a league to the westward of Puerto Cabello, is the small bay of Burburata, used as a port previously to the establishment of the former. The road to it leads across the marshy plain of Puerto Cabello, to the side of the hills, along which it winds for some time, until it again crosses a sandy flat, and brings us to the opening of the valley of Burburata. The bottom of this valley is level, or very gently sloped towards the sea, and consists of a deep, rich mould, every where covered with banana trees, mimosas, triplaris, and plantations of sugar, coffee, and cacao. The latter are easily distinguished by the tall erithrynas which shade the *cacao theobroma*, and are covered with clusters of red flowers. As they rise with a straight stem, they permit a free circulation of air beneath, while their tufted tops effectually exclude the scorching rays of the sun. Houses and clusters of huts are scattered about among the trees, and a kind of church marks what may be considered as the centre of the village of Burburata. A small stream serves to irrigate the numerous plantations. The population is entirely a coloured race, in which is a great proportion of Indian blood. The air of the valley is moist and hot; and snakes abound in the luxuriant herbage which every where covers the soil. One of these crossed my path, and another, large and yellow with dark spots, lay basking beneath a bush, into which he glided on my approach. Mountains, covered with wood, enclose this fertile flat on every side, except a small opening towards the sea. Here, lower down, was formerly the principal port on the coast. Vessels drawing ten or twelve feet water can anchor in a bight near the shore; the bottom is a fine white sand; and Burburata is still the chief port from which the mules, horses, and

cattle of Venezuela, are exported to Jamaica and other islands of the West Indies."

Of the tract of country which stretches westward of Valencia, towards the Lake of Maracaybo, comprising the provinces of Coro, Truxillo, and Merida, little is known. Humboldt states generally, that it displays a singular variety of scenery, and he gives the following outline of its physical features. A chain of low mountains, extending from the *nevado* of Merida to the N.E., separates the head waters of the Apure and Orinoco from the streams which fall into the Caribbean Sea, or the Lake of Maracaybo. On this dividing ridge are built the towns of Nirgua, San Felipe el Fuerte, Barquesimeto, and Tocuyo. The first three are in a very hot climate, but Tocuyo is built in a valley sufficiently elevated to allow of the cultivation of wheat and the rearing of sheep.*

The valleys which traverse this ridge are fertile, but hot and pestilential. The principal valleys are those of the rivers Aroa and Yaracuy, which, but for the miasmata that infect the atmosphere, would probably be scarcely less populous than the valleys of Aragua. The Aroa rises to the west of San Felipe, and, running eastward, enters the sea opposite the islands called *Los Cayos de San Juan*, beyond the bay of Burburata. In a lateral valley, opening into that of Aroa, the Indians have gold-washings, and the soil conceals rich copper ores, which no one has yet attempted to extract. The ancient copper-mines of Aroa, after being long neglected, had recently been

* Barquesimeto and Tocuyo lie in the road from Caracas to Bogota, and will be subsequently noticed.

wrought anew at the time of Humboldt's visit, and yielded from 1,200 to 1,500 quintals a year. The "Caracas copper" is said to be preferable to that of either Sweden or Chili. Some silver ore had recently been discovered between Aroa and Nirgua, in the mountain of San Pablo. Grains of gold are found in all the mountainous lands between the Yaracuy and the towns of San Felipe, Nirgua, and Barquesimeto; especially in the *Rio de Santa Cruz*, in which the Indians have sometimes found lumps of the value of four or five dollars. The Yaracuy rises 40 leagues S. of the Aroa, but does not become navigable till within two leagues of the town of San Felipe, where the produce of the valley of San Felipe and the plain of Barquesimeto is shipped for Puerto Cabello: it falls into the bay of Burburata, between that port and the point of Chichiribiche. The city of *Nueva Segovia de Bariquisimeto* was originally founded, in 1552, on the banks of the River Buria, in the vicinity of the gold mines of the valley of Nirgua; but the insalubrity of the climate led to its being thrice removed. It now stands on an elevated plain, 77 leagues W.S.W. of Caracas, in lat. 9° 35′, long. 69° 43′ W.* Wheat, the cane, cocoa, and coffee, are cultivated in the fertile lands in its vicinity.

Nirgua is inhabited wholly by Zamboes, the mixed caste formed by negroes and Indians. The whole municipality is composed of men of colour, to whom the king of Spain was accustomed to give the title of "his faithful and loyal subjects, the Zamboes of Nirgua." The lieutenant *de justicia mayor*, was the only

* Depons makes it only forty leagues from Caracas, and one hundred and fifty from Santa Fé; Lavaysse says, ninety leagues from Caracas, and a hundred from Bogota!

officer who could be a white. This "republic of Zamboes," as the Spaniards styled it in derision, originated in an insurrection among the negro-miners of the *real* (mine) *de San Felipe de Buria*, which led to a short-lived petty African monarchy, like that of the Palmarese negroes in Brazil.* King Miguel had the boldness to attack the town of Barquesimeto, but was repulsed by Diego de Losada, and perished in the fight. The city is now in decay; the population is stated by Depons at about 3,000 souls. He describes the inhabitants as robust, strong, and healthy, but lazy and addicted to drunkenness, theft, and every species of vice. Nirgua is in lat. 10° N., long. 71° 10′ W. of Paris; about 48 leagues W. of Caracas.

LAKE OF MARACAYBO.

From Barquesimeto to the eastern shore of the Lake of Maracaybo, there extend barren savannas partly covered with cactus, and loaded with pestilential miasmata. No marshy ground is found there, but several phenomena indicate a disengagement of sulphuretted hydrogen. On a mountainous and uninhabited spot on the bank of the Rio Catatumbo, not far from its junction with the Rio Sulia, is found the luminous phenomenon known under the name of the *farol* (lantern) of Maracaybo, which is distinguished at the distance of 40 leagues, and serves as a light-house to navigators. In the *Llano* of Monai, travellers are shewn a cave (*Cueva del Serrito de Monai*), where "it is usual to frighten them by setting fire to the inflammable gas which is constantly

* See Mod. Trav., Brazil, vol. i. p. 44.

accumulated in the upper part of the cavern." In the *Quebrada de Moroturo*, there has been discovered a stratum of black clay, which emits a strong smell of sulphur, and inflames spontaneously when slightly moistened, and exposed for a length of time to the sun's rays: the detonation of this muddy substance is said to be very violent.* These insalubrious regions are separated by the mountains of Tocuyo and Nirgua from the plains of the Portuguesa, and the steppes of Calabozo.

The Lake of Maracaybo is a little mediterranean, communicating with a gulf of the same name, by a channel about two leagues broad and eight long. Its waters, nevertheless, are sweet, and fit for use; but, when the wind blows inward with violence, the sea-water rushes into the lake, and communicates to them a brackish property. The lake is not subject to tempests; the north-wind, however, occasionally produces a short and broken swell, which does injury to the smaller craft. Depons describes it as nearly of the figure of a decanter, extending from south to north, with its neck communicating with the sea.

* "On the *north-west* shore of the Lake of Maracaybo, is an extensive mine of asphaltum, of the same nature as that of Trinidad."—Lavaysse, p. 41. "To the north-east of the lake, in the most barren part of the borders, at a place called *Mena*, there is an inexhaustible mine of mineral pitch (*pix montana*). The bituminous vapours which are exhaled from this mine are so easily inflamed, that, during the night, phosphoric fires are continually seen, which, in their effect, resemble lightning. It is remarked, that they are more frequent in great heat than in cool weather. They go by the name of 'the Lantern of Maracaybo,' because they serve for a light-house and compass to the Spaniards and Indians, who, without the assistance of either, navigate the lake."—Depons, vol. i. p. 70. For an account of the *Yanar*, or volcanic flame of Deliktash, apparently a similar phenomenon, see *Syria* and *Asia Minor*, vol. ii. p. 245.

"Its length, from the bar to its most southern recess, is, according to Oviedo, 50 leagues; its greatest breadth, 30; and its circumference, upwards of 150. The lake is easily navigated, and has depth of water for vessels of the greatest burden. All the produce and provisions of the interior, intended for consumption or shipping at Maracaybo, are conveyed by the rivers which discharge themselves into it." Of these, there are above twenty, the most considerable of which are the Sulia (or Pamplona River), the Motatan, the Chama, the Catumbo, the Cuernos, the Torondoy, and the Perija.* All the different species of fish found in the rivers of South America, Depons says, abound in this lake; but the tortoise is not found here. There are *manatis* (sea-cows), of an extraordinary size. At a short distance from the lake there are still found several barbarous tribes. "The sterility," says the last-mentioned Traveller, "and, what is worse, the noxious atmosphere of the borders of the lake, dis-

* The river Sulia, the chief of those which fall into the lake, rises in the province of Pamplona, and runs constantly northward, collecting the waters of many rivers: after forming a great lake, called El Barardero, near the city of Grita, it enters the Lake of Maracaybo by three mouths. This river now gives its name to a department comprising the whole basin of the lake. Lavaysse apparently refers to this river under the name of Subio. "The most considerable rivers that fall into the lake," he says, "are the Subio and the Matacau (Motatan?); for the Souba and the Cuervos (Cuernos), though wide at their mouths, are only creeks fed by torrents." (p. 40.) The latter, however, according to Alcedo, is a branch of the Palmas. Besides the rivers mentioned above, Alcedo's Dictionary enumerates the San Pedro, the Paurate, the Catumbo, which, it is stated, enters by three mouths, the Arinas, the Rio de Oro, the Sucui, and the Astillero; all, except the first, coming from the west. We in vain look for these in the maps. *Instead* of these names, we find in the map prefixed to Capt. Cochrane's Travels, the Segba, the Rio Palmas, the Rio de la Cruz, the Arancao, the Perija, the Rio Negro, the Olaga, and the Pampano.

courage culture and population. The Indians themselves have at all times observed them to be so unhealthy, that instead of fixing their abodes there, they preferred dwelling on the lake itself. They chose for the stakes of the huts which they inhabited on the water, a very durable kind of wood, of the same species as the iron-wood. The Spaniards found on this lake several villages, built without order or design, but with solidity, to which they give the name of Venezuela. Alfinger, in the rage of devastation, carried desolation and death among the peaceable inhabitants. Only four villages escaped. It was for a long time believed, that these small settlements were formed upon the waters as a protection from ferocious beasts or some hostile nation. That this idea was erroneous, is now apparent from the refusal of the Indians, who live on the waters, to fix their habitation on land. Those villages are called Lagunillas, Misoa, Tumopora, and Moporo. They have a church upon the water, under the care of a curate, whose zeal is unequivocal, as it is rare for a person not to have his health affected within fifteen days after his arrival, and still rarer for his life to be prolonged beyond six months. These Indians go ashore in search of provisions, but their principal subsistence is derived from fishing and hunting wild ducks.

"The goodness of the soil in the western part has induced some Spaniards, regardless of the insalubrity of the air, to fix their habitations there, in order to raise cocoa and provisions. These settlements, which are very much dispersed, were not able to command sufficient funds for laying the foundation of a village, much less of a town. There is but one chapel, placed nearly in the centre of the scattered habitations, and a curate for performing divine service

and administering the sacraments. The southern extremity of the lake is uncultivated and uninhabited. The northern part is quite as hot as the other parts, but incomparably healthier. The city of Maracaybo is situated on the left bank to the west: opposite to it are two villages; the one called *Punta a Piedra*, inhabited by Indians, the other, *Altagracia*, further to the north, by Spaniards."

When the name of Venezuela was extended to the whole district of Caracas, the country surrounding the lake received that of the province of Maracaybo. *Santa Ana de Coro*, the original capital, was the first settlement of the Spaniards, after Cumana, on this line of coast. It takes its name from the aborigines, the Coriana Indians. The *audiencia* of San Domingo sent Juan de Ampues there in 1529, in the capacity of governor, principally with a view to restrain the robberies and cruelties of the Spanish traders who infested those coasts. Scarcely had the country begun to recover under his administration, when, by virtue of the contract made between Charles the Fifth and the Weltzers, it became for eight years the head quarters of a band of unprincipled adventurers, who spread desolation through the country. On its reverting to the Spanish government, it continued to be the residence of the governor till 1576. Coro had been made an episcopal city in 1532. The bishopric, as has been mentioned, was not formally transferred to Caracas till 1693. The town stands in a dry, sandy plain, destitute of water, and where no vegetation is seen, but the prickly pear and the "thorny taper,"—sure signs of a sterile soil; but, at the distance of three leagues from the city, there are hills and valleys of some fertility. It stands near the isthmus which unites the peninsula of Paragoana to the main land,

one league from the sea, 80 leagues W. of Caracas, 33 N. of Barquesimeto, and 55 from Maracaybo; lat. 11° 24′ N., long. 69° 40′ W. Ten thousand persons of all colours, including scarcely 200 slaves, formed the population in 1807. All labour is performed by the Indians. The whites were distinguished by their indolence and loyalty. Many gloried in being descended from the first conquerors, and they would have felt their honour stained by any species of industrious exertion. Hence, there was at Coro "more nobility than wealth." As the city has neither spring nor aqueduct, water is brought in barrels from the distance of half a league. "Heretofore," says Depons, "the houses were well built. They cannot now be looked at without exciting melancholy, bearing the marks of the ravages of time and misery. Those of the Indians are still more pitiable. The streets, although straight, are not paved. The only public edifices consecrated to religion, are two parish churches, one of which still bears the title of a cathedral, a Franciscan monastery, containing seven or eight monks, and three chapels." The little commerce that is carried on, is in mules, goats, hides, sheep-skins, cheese, &c., from the interior, which are shipped for the neighbouring islands, especially Curacoa, whence are brought back dry goods. The graziers of Paragoana smuggle over, also, numbers of beasts to that island. To these articles, Lavaysse adds indigo and cochineal from the district of Carora.

San Juan Bautista del Portillo de Carora is situated thirty leagues south of Coro, in the savannas, fifteen leagues east of the Lake of Maracaybo, twelve north of Tocuyo, and eighteen north-west of Barquesimeto, which lies in the road from Carora to Caracas. The town is tolerably well built, and contains a handsome

parish church, a Franciscan convent, and a hermitage. The temperature, though hot, is salubrious; but the soil is dry and sterile. It abounds, however, with the Indian fig (*cactus opuntia*) and other thorny plants, as well as some balsam-trees; and the vegetation supplies excellent pasture, especially for goats. There are numerous herds of oxen, which are bred chiefly for their hides, as well as of asses and mules; and the dwarf deer of South America is very common. The inhabitants, who are, for the most part, Mestizoes, Mulattoes, and Indians, are very industrious. They are graziers, tanners, saddlers, shoemakers, weavers, ropemakers; and make excellent packthread and very handsome hammocks of the fibre of the *agave fœtida*; carrying on a great trade in these articles and other products of their industry, with Coro, Maracaybo, and Cartagena, whence they are shipped for the neighbouring colonies. The town and district contained, in 1807, a population of about 10,000 souls.

Maracaybo, or *Nueva Zamora*, situated on the left bank of the lake, at six leagues from the sea, was founded in 1571. It stands in the midst of a sandy plain, without any stratum of vegetable earth, in lat. 10° 30′ N., long. 74° 6′ W. of Paris. The climate is intensely hot, and, during July and August, almost insupportable, the air feeling as if it issued from a furnace; yet, it is reckoned healthy, because there prevail no endemic complaints. The south wind, however, which sometimes blows in August and September, is much dreaded, and is called *El Virason* (the arrow), on account of its insalubrity. Violent storms are frequent. The thunder is dreadful, and the lightning frequently strikes and consumes houses, ships, and every thing that attracts it. The deluges

of rain which sometimes attend these tempests, produce rapid torrents which injure the town. The inhabitants have remarked, that, when these storms do not occur, earthquakes, still more dreaded, are likely to happen instead. The population in 1801 was computed to be 24,000, including about 2,000 Spanish refugees from St. Domingo. The slaves were calculated not to exceed 5,000; and the freed Blacks were very few, but the trades were chiefly carried on by them. The parish church is large and handsome. Alcedo mentions four monasteries, Augustinian, Mercedarian, Dominican, and Franciscan, four nunneries, and a hospital of San Juan de Dios; but the Franciscan convent is the only one, according to Depons, now existing. The only water is that of the lake, which is by no means bad in quality, except when the strong breezes of March and April drive up the water of the sea; and the rain-water collected in cisterns and jars. For upwards of twenty leagues towards the *serrania* (or mountain ridge), there is no other water for even the cattle, than the rain-water preserved in the wells (*xahueys*) dug for that purpose. Depons draws a very favourable picture, in some respects, of the character of the inhabitants.

"The habit," he says, "which the citizens of Maracaybo contract from their infancy, of sailing on the lake, whether for pleasure, fishing, or the transport of the articles its southern borders produce, gives them, at a very early period, a taste for navigation. Soon finding in this place no means of indulging in the practice of it, they repair in crowds to Puerto Cabello, Guayra, and the other ports, where a more active navigation serves at the same time to give them employment, and gratify their ambition. They perform with equal ability, coasting, or longer voyages.

In those intervals when war suspends their commercial enterprises, they embark on board privateers. But, whatever line they pursue, they never belie the reputation they possess of being as good soldiers as sailors. The neighbourhood of the lake, in the waters of which they exercise themselves in their early years, renders them as excellent swimmers as expert divers.

"Those who resist the attractions of the sea, raise herds of cattle, or take care of those of their fathers. Nothing better evinces their aptitude for this species of occupation, than the immense number of beasts with which the savannas of Maracaybo are covered. The principal ones are those of Jobo, Ancon, Palmares, and Cannades. I ought to mention, that there is more merit in raising cattle in the savannas of Maracaybo, than in any other place in these provinces; because, having neither rivers nor ponds that never dry up, drought occasions the death of many, in spite of the precautions they take, in cases of this sort, to drive them towards those parts where they can with convenience water them.

"But what does more honour to the inhabitants of Maracaybo, is their singularly lively wit, their application to literature, and the progress they make, notwithstanding the wretched state of public education among them. While the Jesuits were charged with the instruction of youth, their schools produced individuals who spoke Latin with an elegance and fluency rarely met with; possessing perfectly the art of oratory, and masters of the rules of poetry; writing their language in a style as remarkable for its purity as the boldness of its ideas, and the order and perspicuity with which they were presented; in a word, endowed with every qualification that constitutes the man of letters. The expulsion of these learned preceptors

took from the youth of Maracaybo every means of instruction.

"Notwithstanding the barrenness of resources which education finds at Maracaybo, we there see young persons so favoured by nature, that the slightest elementary instruction at once develops in them all the faculties which, in Europe, do not manifest themselves until after long study and the care of the best teachers. What adds to the singularity of the phenomenon is, that this excess of natural genius frequently becomes prejudicial to the tranquillity of the families of Maracaybo; for it is enough for many of these young men to know the conjugation and government of the verbs, to be qualified to write pieces, whose subtilty would appear to the knavish advocate, better than the productions of the counsel who establishes his reasons on the principles of the civil law. Such suits as should never have been instituted, or which the tribunals would instantly have decided, become interminable and ruinous, by the sophisms with which these scribblers envelop in darkness, causes the most simple and clear. This disease, very prevalent at Maracaybo, is by no means a stranger to other Spanish territories. The penal laws which the legislature has been forced to enact, to lessen the number of these imps of chicane, whom they call *pendolistas* (quick writers), prove that the evil is general enough.

"In allowing that the inhabitants of Maracaybo have activity, courage, and genius, we have nothing more to say in their favour. They are reproached with having very little regard to their word, and with thinking themselves not bound by their signature, until after they have in vain endeavoured to release

themselves from it by law. Their reputation in this respect is so well established, that all strangers whom business draws to Maracaybo, say, it is much better to form connexions of interest with the women than with the men, because they alone have there that good faith and firmness which, in every other part, is the peculiar heritage of the men.

"Since the course of description has led me to speak of the women of Maracaybo, I ought not to let it be unknown, that they are in their youth paragons of modesty; in marriage, faithful wives and excellent mothers of families. Affection for their husbands, the cares of their households, and the education of their children, are the objects which divide all their moments, and occupy all their solicitude."

As M. Depons does not attempt to account for this very remarkable purity of morals in this particular settlement, we can only express our hope that his account may still be found applicable.

The government of Maracaybo, after it was made a distinct province, was bounded, on the west, by the government of Rio Hacha; southward, it extended more than 100 leagues to that of Santa Fé, but the fertile land does not commence for more than 25 leagues south of the city; on the east, it was bounded by Venezuela. At first, the seat of government was fixed at Merida; but ultimately, Maracaybo became the capital, and gave its name to the province. The districts of Coro, Truxillo, Merida, and Maracaybo, now form separate provinces, comprehended in the department of Sulia.

Truxillo is said to have been one of the most beautiful and opulent cities in the country, before it was pillaged and burned by the pirate Gramont in 1678. The

greater part of the population then fled to Merida. Yet, the salubrity of the air, and the fertility of the soil, Depons says, have gradually attracted thither a population of 7,600 persons. The town is built in a very narrow valley, shut in by two mountains, which allow of only a single street in one part, and of two streets in the widest part. The adjacent lands produce sugar, cocoa, indigo, coffee, and wheat; the mutton is larger and finer than that of any other part of the province; the cheeses are held in high estimation; and the inhabitants are famed for the cleansing and carding of their wool. There is also a considerable trade in preserves, which are made by the women. The intercourse chiefly pursued is with Carora, across the pestiferous *llanos* of Llonay, and with Maracaybo, by the lake. The town contains a parish church, a chapel of Calvary, two monasteries, Dominican and Franciscan, a Dominican nunnery, and a hospital dedicated to Our Lady of Chiquinquira.

Merida, situated to the south-west of Truxillo, was founded in 1558, under the name of *Santiago de los Caballeros de Merida*. It stands in an elevated plain, surrounded by three rivers, the Mucujun (or Mucusin) on the east, the Albarregas on the south-west, and the Chama on the south, which, at the distance of three leagues, receives the other two. None of them are navigable. The climate is temperate, but variable, and liable to heavy rains: it is favourable to the cultivation of wheat, barley, and both the European and tropical fruits and vegetables. The cocoa and coffee raised in the environs are esteemed of excellent quality. Merida is an episcopal city, and possesses a college or seminary; it contained also a parochial church, four chapels, two monasteries, Augustinian and Dominican, and a nunnery of the

order of Santa Clara. The population is stated by Depons at 11,500. It is now reduced to between 3 or 4000. The inhabitants bore a high character for industry and intelligence, and there are said to have been no lazzaroni. There was a carpet-manufactory, and the natives fabricated various cotton and woollen articles.*

PROVINCE OF VARINAS.

It was only so late as 1787, that the city of Varinas was detached from the government of Maracaybo, to become itself the seat of a separate government, comprehending a portion also of the province of Caracas. This fine territory, which, previously to that period, had been almost entirely neglected by the mother country, has since then increased very considerably both in cultivation and population, and contained, in 1807, upwards of 140,000 inhabitants. It still includes, however, besides the capital, only three towns, San Jayme, San Fernando d'Apure, and Pedraza; and may therefore be considered as little better than an immense wilderness. The city of Varinas, situated in lat. 7° 33′ N., long. 70° 22′ W., had a population of 12,000 souls; San Jayme 7,000; San Fernando 6,000; and Pedraza 3,000. "This country, in fact," M. Lavaysse remarks, "is still in its infancy, though its territory is not inferior in fertility to any other part of South America. It is only within the last twenty years, that sugar, coffee, indigo, and cotton, have been cultivated there. Formerly, the inhabitants grew only cocoa and the provisions necessary for their own consumption. Their articles

* See, for a further description, the route from Caracas to Bogota.

of exportation were cattle and tobacco, the latter famous in every market in the world. The inhabitants lead a pastoral life, surrounded with numerous herds. Though in the midst of abundance, great natural wealth, and all the necessaries of life, they have not the means of purchasing any thing belonging to the luxury of dress, furniture, and European liquors, because they have no direct communication with the neighbouring colonies; and being placed in the interior of the country, they are obliged to sell their produce and cattle, at a miserable price, to the smugglers of San Tomé de Angostura, and of Caracas. But, when the present contest terminates, and freedom of trade follows, it will become one of the richest and best-peopled in this part of the world; for, in general, its climate is not less healthy than its soil is fertile. There are few indigenous natives in this province: they are almost all assembled in a mission of the Andalusian capuchins, situated at five or six leagues from San Fernando de Apure. I believe there may be about 600 of them. Other civilised Indians live with the whites and mestizoes in the pastures. There are scarcely 6,000 slaves in the population of the province of Varinas, and these are only slaves in name, for they live in the greatest familiarity with their masters, and are equally well fed, lodged, and clothed."

The principal channel of trade has hitherto been through Valencia to Puerto Cabello. There is a line of communication from Buria, through Merida, to the Lake of Maracaybo; but the distance is considerable, and the road almost impracticable. The communication with Coro through Barquesimeto is easier, but the distance is too great for commercial purposes. "There can be little doubt," Col. Hall

says, "that, in an improved state of the country, the water-carriage by the Apure and the Orinoco will be preferred, from the great difficulty and expense of transporting bulky articles of produce, on mules, to any of the northern ports." From Valencia to Varinas is a distance of 210 miles.* Almost the whole of this extensive tract consists of excellent pasture-lands. The borders of the rivers are finely wooded, and will be adapted, when cleared, to the growth of every species of tropical produce, while the neighbouring mountains furnish the productions of temperate climates. The principal rivers are navigable during the rainy season. The San Domingo and the Masperro descend directly into the Apure. The Bruno, the Guanan, and almost all the smaller rivers, unite with the Portuguesa, which falls into the Apure near San Fernando, whence the navigation is easy and direct to Angostura on the Orinoco.

The road from Valencia to San Fernando is described by Humboldt, who, with his friend Bonpland, traversed these immense savannas, and descended the Apure to its junction with the Orinoco in lat. 7°.

* Col. Hall gives the following itinerary from Varinas:

From Varinas—	Leagues.
To Yucca	2½
— Bananias	1½
— Bocono	4
— Tucupis	4
— Guanare	3
— San Rafael	5
— Ospinos	4½
— Aparicion	3
— Acarigua	4½
— Araure	1½
— Aguas Hamas	2
	35½

Brought over	Leagues. 35½
To San Rafael	2
— La Coyba	4
— San Jose	3½
— San Carlos	6½
— Tinaco	4½
— La Palma	3
— Pinaquilla	3½
— Carabobo	6
— Tomito	2
— Valencia	3
	68½

We shall now again avail ourselves of his interesting narrative.

FROM VALENCIA TO SAN FERNANDO D'APURE.

THE Travellers bade adieu to the Valley of Aragua on the 6th of March (1807), passing over a richly cultivated plain, and crossing ground on the south-west side of the Lake of Valencia, which the waters had left uncovered. The soil was covered with calebashes, water-melons, and plantains. Between the ancient islets of Don Pedro and La Negra, they saw numerous bands of araguatoes, or howling monkeys,* going in procession from one tree to another with extreme slowness. A male was followed by a great

* The araguato of Caripe, Humboldt describes as a new species of the genus *stentor*, to which he gives the name of *alouate ourse*, or *simia ursina*. "It resembles a young bear. It is three feet long, reckoning from the top of the head, which is small and very pyramidal, to the beginning of the prehensile tail. Its fur is bushy and of a reddish brown; the breast and belly are both covered with a fine hair; the face is of a blackish blue, covered with a fine and wrinkled skin; the beard is pretty long; and, notwithstanding the direction of the facial line, the angle of which is only 30°, the araguato has, in the look and the expression of the countenance, as much resemblance to man as the marimondo (*simia belzebath*) and the capuchin of the Orinoco (*simia chiropotes*). Its eye, voice, and gait denote melancholy. I have seen young araguatoes brought up in Indian huts: they never play like the little sagoins; and their gravity was described with much simplicity by Lopez de Gomara in the beginning of the sixteenth century. 'The *Arainata* of the Cumanese,' says this Author, 'has the face of a man, the beard of a goat, and a grave behaviour—*honrado gesto*.' I have observed, that monkeys are more melancholy in proportion as they have more resemblance to man: their petulant gaiety diminishes, as their intellectual faculties appear to increase." — *Pers. Narr.* vol. iii. pp. 170—2. The araguato of Aragua appears to be of the same species: the tongue is placed on a large bony drum, and the air, driven with force into this drum, produces the mournful sound which distinguishes the araguatoes.

number of females, several of which carried their young on their shoulders. The uniformity with which they execute their movements, is described to be very striking. "Whenever the branches of the neighbouring trees do not touch, the male that leads the band, suspends himself by the prehensile part of his tail, and, letting fall the rest of his body, swings himself till he reaches the neighbouring branch. The whole file perform the same action on the same spot." The assertions of Ulloa and other travellers respecting their sometimes forming a chain, in order to reach the opposite side of a river, the learned Traveller considers as unworthy of credit. The Indians have either a hatred or a predilection for certain races of monkeys. The little sagoins are their favourites, but the araguatoes, on account of their mournful aspect and their monotonous howlings, are detested by them. They maintain that there is always one that chaunts as leader of the band; and the observation, Humboldt says, is pretty accurate. "During a long time, one solitary and strong voice is generally distinguished, which is succeeded by another voice of a different pitch. We may observe the same instinct of imitation among frogs and almost all gregarious animals. The missionaries assert, moreover, that when a female araguato is on the point of bringing forth, the choir suspends its howlings till the moment of the birth. I could not myself judge of the accuracy of this statement, but I believe it to be not entirely destitute of foundation. I have observed that, when some extraordinary incident, for instance, the moans of a wounded araguato, fixed the attention of the band, the howlings were suspended for some minutes." In damp and stormy weather more especially, their howling is heard to a considerable distance. A great number will seat

themselves on a single tree in the forests of Cumana and Guiana; and the force and volume of their blended voices are then astonishing.

The Travellers passed the night at the village of Guigue, 1,000 toises distant from the Lake of Valencia,—lat. 10° 4′ 11″. The road then begins to ascend the mountains, and from a table-land of nearly 2,000 feet elevation, the last view is obtained of the valleys of Aragua. At the end of five leagues is the village of Maria Magdalena, and two leagues further, San Luis de Cura. This town, commonly called *Villa de Cura*, stands in a very dry and barren valley,* at an elevation of nearly 1,600 feet above the sea-level, in lat. 10° 2′ 47″. The surrounding country, with the exception of some fruit-trees, is almost destitute of vegetation. The population, in 1800, was only 4,000 souls, but among them were found many persons of cultivated minds. The town is celebrated for the possession of a wonder-working idol, called *Nuestra Senhora de los Valencianos*, which was the subject of a long and scandalous contest between Cura and the neighbouring town of *San Sebastian de los Reyes*. Some grains of gold are occasionally found in the beds of the torrents which traverse the neighbouring mountains.

From the extensive table-land of the Villa de Cura, there are eight leagues of rather steep declivity to the beginning of the llanos, which are a thousand feet lower than the valley of Aragua. The geological features of the country now undergo a striking variation;† the gneiss of the coast being succeeded by

* So says Humboldt. Lavaysse represents it as situated in a fertile, though uncultivated valley, with a clayey soil.

† The *Sierra de Mariara*, in the cordillera of the coast, is a coarse-grained granite. To this, in the basin of Aragua, succeeds

metalliferous, serpentine, and trappean rocks. The road descends toward the bed of the Rio Tucutunemo, the longitudinal valley of which lies east and west, and then turns into a transverse valley, very narrow in several parts, passing the villages of Parapara and Ortiz. After skirting the *Cerro de Flores*, it enters the valleys of *Malpasso* (so called from the badness of the road,) and *Piedras Azules* (blue stones, from the colour of the slate which predominates). At the *Mesa de Paja*, in lat. 9°, the traveller enters the basin of the *llanos*.

THE LLANOS OR PLAINS.

"THERE is something awful, but sad and gloomy," remarks the learned Traveller, "in the uniform aspect of these steppes. Every thing seems motionless. Scarcely does a small cloud, as it passes across the zenith, and announces the approach of the rainy season, sometimes cast its shadow on the savanna. I know not whether the first aspect of the llanos excites less astonishment than that of the Andes. Mountainous countries, whatever may be the absolute elevation of the highest summits, have an analogous physiognomy; but we accustom ourselves with difficulty to the view of the *Llanos* of Venezuela and Casanare, the *Pampas* of Buenos Ayres and Chaco, which recall to mind continually, during journeys of twenty or thirty days, the smooth surface of the ocean. I had seen the plains of La Mancha in Spain, and the real steppes that extend from Jutland, through

gneiss and mica-slate, which, near Guigue and Cura, are auriferous. South of Cura, are found, in succession, transition green slate, black limestone, serpentine and gruenstein, amygdaloid, and phonolite.

Luneberg and Westphalia, to Belgium; but the plains of the West and North of Europe present but a feeble image of the immense *llanos* of South America. All around us, the plains seemed to ascend toward the sky; and that vast and profound solitude appeared like an ocean covered with sea-weeds. According to the unequal mass of vapours diffused through the atmosphere, and the various temperature of the different strata of air, the horizon was, in some parts, clear and distinct, in other parts, undulating, sinuous, and as if striped. The earth was there confounded with the sky. Through the dry fog and strata of vapour, the trunks of palm-trees were discerned at a great distance. Stripped of their foliage and their verdant tops, these trunks appeared like the masts of a ship discovered at the horizon.

"The *llanos* and the *pampas* of South America are real steppes. They display a beautiful verdure in the rainy season, but, in the time of great drought, assume the aspect of a desert. The grass is then reduced to powder, the earth cracks, the alligator and the great serpents remain buried in the dried mud, till awakened from their long lethargy by the first showers of spring. These phenomena are observed on barren tracts of fifty or sixty leagues in length, wherever the savannas are not traversed by rivers; for, on the borders of rivulets, and around little pools of stagnant water, the traveller finds at certain distances, even during the period of the great droughts, thickets of mauritia, —a palm the leaves of which, spread out like a fan, preserve a brilliant verdure.

"The *chief* characteristic of the savannas or steppes of South America is, the absolute want of hills and inequalities, the perfect level of every part of the soil. Accordingly, the Spanish conquerors, who first

penetrated from Coro to the banks of the Apure, did not call them deserts, or savannas, or meadows, but plains, *llanos*. Often, in a space of thirty square leagues, there is not an eminence of a foot high. This resemblance to the surface of the sea strikes the imagination most powerfully, where the plains are altogether destitute of palm-trees, and where the mountains of the shore and of the Orinoco are so distant, that they cannot be seen, as in the *Mesa de Pavones*. A person would be tempted there, to take the altitude of the sun with a quadrant, if the *horizon of the land* were not constantly misty, on account of the variable display of refraction. This equality of surface is still more perfect in the meridian of Calabozo, than toward the east, between the Cari, La Villa del Pao, and Nueva Barcelona; but it reigns without interruption from the mouths of the Orinoco to La Villa de Araure and Ospinos, under a parallel of 180 leagues in length; and from San Carlos to the savannas of Caqueta, on a *meridian* of 200 leagues.* It particularly characterises the New Continent, as it does the low steppes of Asia, between the Borysthenes and the Wolga, between the Irtisch and the Obi. The deserts of central Africa, of Arabia, Syria, and Persia, Cobi, and Casna,† present, on the contrary, many inequalities, ranges of hills, ravines without water, and rocks that pierce the sands.

"The llanos, however, notwithstanding the apparent uniformity of their surface, furnish two kinds of inequalities, that do not escape the observation of an attentive traveller. The first is known by the name of *Baneos*: they are real shoals in the basin of the

* "In strictness from N.N.E. to S.S.W."

† "Or Karak, between the Iaxartes and the Oxus."

steppes, fractured strata of sandstone or compact limestone, standing four or five feet higher than the rest of the plain. These *banks* are sometimes three or four leagues in length; they are entirely smooth, with a horizontal surface; their existence is perceived only by examining their borders. The second species of inequality can be recognised only by geodesical or barometric levellings, or by the course of rivers. It is called *mesa*, and is composed of small flats, or rather convex eminences that rise insensibly to the height of a few toises. Such are, toward the east, in the province of Cumana, on the north of the Villa de la Merced and Candelaria, the *Mesas of Amana*, of *Guanipa*, and of *Jonoro*, the direction of which is south-west and north-east; and which, in spite of their inconsiderable elevation, divide the waters between the Orinoco and the northern coast of Terra Firma. The convexity of the savanna alone occasions this partition: we there find the *divortia aquarum* as in Poland, where, far from the Carpathian mountains, the plain itself divides the waters between the Baltic and the Black Sea. Geographers, who suppose that there exists a chain of mountains wherever there is a line of division, have not failed to mark one in the maps, at the sources of the Rio Neveri, the Unare, the Guarapiche, and the Pao. Thus, the priests of Mongul race, according to ancient and superstitious custom, erect *oboes*, or little mounds of stone, on every point where the rivers flow in an opposite direction.

"The uniform landscape of the llanos, the extreme paucity of inhabitants, the fatigue of travelling beneath a burning sky and an atmosphere darkened by dust, the view of that horizon which seems for ever to flee before us, those lonely trunks of palm-trees which

have all the same aspect, and which we despair of reaching because they are confounded with other trunks that rise by degrees on the visual horizon; all these causes combined, make the steppes appear far greater than they are in reality. The planters who inhabit the southern declivity of the chain of the coast, see the steppes extend toward the south, as far as the eye can reach, like an ocean of verdure. They know, that, from the Delta of the Orinoco to the province of Varinas, and thence, by traversing the banks of the Meta, the Guaviare, and the Caguan, they can advance 380 leagues* in the plains, first from east to west, and then from north-east to south-east beyond the equator, to the foot of the Andes of Pasto. They know, by the accounts of travellers, the Pampas of Buenos Ayres, which are also llanos covered with fine grass, destitute of trees, and filled with oxen and horses become wild. They suppose, according to the greater part of our maps of America, that this continent has only one chain of mountains, that of the Andes, which stretches from south to north; and they form a vague idea of the contiguity of all the plains, from the Orinoco and the Apure to the Rio de la Plata and the Straits of Magellan."

After passing two nights on horseback, (for to travel over these bare savannas in the heat of the day, is next to impossible,) the Travellers arrived before the third night at the little grazing-farm (*hato de ganado*), called *El Cayman* (the alligator), otherwise, *La Guadalupe*. Here they found an old negro slave governing the establishment in the absence of the master. "He told us," says Humboldt, "of herds comprising

* This is the distance from Tombuctoo to the northern coast of Africa.

several thousands of cows; yet, we asked in vain for a bowl of milk. We were offered, in the shell of the tutumo, some yellow, muddy, fetid water, drawn from a neighbouring pool. The indolence of the inhabitants of the llanos is such, that they do not dig wells, although they know, that almost every where, at ten feet deep, fine springs are found in a stratum of red sandstone. After having suffered one half of the year from inundations, they patiently expose themselves, during the other half, to the most distressing want of water. The old negro advised us to cover the cup with a linen cloth, and drink as through a filter, that we might not be incommoded by the smell, and that we might swallow less of the fine yellowish clay suspended in the water. We did not then think that we should afterward be forced, during whole months, to have recourse to this expedient. The waters of the Orinoco are alike loaded with earthy particles, and are even fetid where dead bodies of alligators are found in the creeks, lying on sand-banks, or half-buried in mud."

The Travellers longed for the accustomed refreshment of bathing, but could find only a reservoir of feculent water, surrounded with palm-trees. They had begun, however, to enjoy the comparatively coolness of the water, when a noise on the opposite banks, occasioned by an alligator's plunging into the mud, made them leave their bath precipitately. They now attempted to return to the farm, from which they were only a quarter of a league distant; but they had neglected to observe the direction they had taken, and for two hours they wandered over these pathless plains, till, fortunately, an Indian, in collecting the cattle, fell in with them, and acted as their guide. At two in the morning, they set out for Calabozo. There

was no moon-light, but the masses of *nebulæ* which adorn the southern hemisphere, enlightened, as they set, part of the horizon. "The solemn spectacle of the starry vault, displayed in all its immensity, the cool breeze which blows over the plain at night, and the waving motion of the high grass, all combined to recall to mind the surface of the ocean." At sunrise, the plain assumes a more animated appearance. The cattle, which repose at night along the pools, or beneath clumps of palms, assemble in herds, and these solitudes seem peopled with horses, mules, oxen, and *matacani*, a species of deer, who are seen peacefully browzing in the midst of horses and oxen. The phenomenon of *mirage* displays itself in these savannas under various modifications: in the instances observed by Humboldt, the objects were seen suspended, but not inverted. A drove of wild oxen appeared, part with their legs raised above the ground, the other part resting on it. The magical apparition of large lakes with an undulating surface, is frequently to be seen. In crossing the *Mesa* of Calabozo, the heat was excessive, especially when hot gusts of wind came loaded with dust. The centigrade thermometer would then rise from 31° or 32° to 40° or 41°.

The town of Calabozo, situated between the Rivers Guarico and Unitucu, in lat. 8°. 56′ 8″, long. 70° 10′ 40″ W. of Paris, contained at this period only 5,000 inhabitants, whose wealth consisted in herds, but every thing denoted increasing prosperity. There are five villages, or missions, in its environs. Here, in the very midst of the *llanos*, the scientific Travellers found an individual of a kindred spirit, a M. Carlos de Pozo, who, without having ever seen a philosophical instrument, and with no other instruc-

tion than what he had obtained from De la Fond's Treatise on Electricity and Franklin's Memoirs, had constructed a complete electrical apparatus. Till now, he had enjoyed only the astonishment and admiration produced by his experiments on persons destitute of all information, and who had never quitted the solitude of the llanos. The arrival of the learned Europeans gave him a satisfaction altogether new. They had brought with them electrometers, and a small Leyden phial which could be charged by friction; and M. Pozo could not contain his joy at seeing, for the first time, instruments not made by himself, but which appeared to be copied from his own. Some galvanic experiments, also, highly delighted him by their novelty. "The names of Galvani and Volta had never before resounded in these vast solitudes."

Next to the electrical apparatus of this self-taught philosopher, nothing at Calabozo excited so much interest in the Travellers, as the animated electrical machine, the gymnotus, or American torpedo, on which M. Humboldt made a series of highly satisfactory experiments. These electrical eels inhabit the Rio Colorado, the Guarapiche, and several small streams which cross the Chayma missions, as well as the Orinoco, the Meta, and the Maranham; and in the llanos, particularly in the environs of Calabozo, the pools of stagnant water, and the streams which fall into the Orinoco, are filled with them. They are at once dreaded and detested by the natives. The muscular part of the flesh is tolerably good eating, but the electric organ, which fills more than two-thirds of the body, is slimy and disagreeable, and is, accordingly, carefully separated from the rest. The presence of the gymnoti is considered as the principal

cause of the want of fish in the ponds and pools of the *llanos*. They kill many more than they devour; and all the inhabitants of the waters, lizards, frogs, and tortoises, dread and endeavour to escape from their society. The Indians sometimes take young alligators and gymnoti in the same net, and the latter are never found in that case to display the slightest wound, having evidently disabled the alligators before they could attack them. It was found necessary to change the direction of a road near Uritucu, because these electrical eels were so numerous in one river, that they killed a great number of mules every year as they forded the water.

Desirous of making some experiments on these remarkable fish, the learned Traveller repaired to a stream in which they abound, and where the Indians offered their services in *fishing for them with horses*. Having caught about thirty wild horses and mules, they forced them to enter the pool. "The extraordinary noise caused by the horses' hoofs, makes the fish issue from the mud, and excites them to combat. These yellowish and livid eels, resembling large aquatic serpents, swim on the surface of the water, and crowd under the bellies of the horses and mules. A contest between animals of so different an organisation, furnishes a very striking spectacle. The Indians, provided with harpoons and long, slender reeds, surround the pool closely; and some climb upon the trees, the branches of which extend horizontally over the surface of the water. By their wild cries and the length of their reeds, they prevent the horses from running away and reaching the bank of the pool. The eels, stunned by the noise, defend themselves by the repeated discharge of their electric batteries. During a long time they seem to prove victorious.

Several horses sink beneath the violence of the invisible strokes which they receive from all sides in organs the most essential to life; and, stunned by the force and frequency of the shocks, they disappear under the water. Others, panting, with mane erect, and haggard eyes, expressing anguish, raise themselves, and endeavour to flee from the storm by which they are overtaken. They are driven back by the Indians into the water: but a small number succeed in eluding the active vigilance of the fishermen. These regain the shore, stumbling at every step, and stretch themselves on the sand, exhausted with fatigue, and their limbs benumbed by the electric shocks of the gymnoti. . . .

"In less than five minutes, two horses were drowned. The eel, being five feet long, and pressing itself against the belly of the horses, makes a discharge along the whole extent of its electric organ. It attacks at once the heart, the intestines, and the *plexus cœliacus* of the abdominal nerves. It is natural, that the effect felt by the horses should be more powerful than that produced upon man by the touch of the same fish at only one of his extremities. The horses are probably not killed, but only stunned. They are drowned from the impossibility of rising amid the prolonged struggle between the other horses and the eels.

"We had little doubt that the fishing would terminate by killing successively all the animals engaged; but, by degrees, the impetuosity of this unequal combat diminished, and the wearied gymnoti dispersed. They require a long rest and abundant nourishment, to repair what they have lost of galvanic force. The mules and horses appear less frightened; their manes are no longer bristled, and their eyes

express less dread. The gymnoti approach timidly the edge of the marsh, where they are taken by means of small harpoons fastened to long cords. When the cords are very dry, the Indians feel no shock in raising the fish into the air. In a few minutes, we had five large eels, the greater part of which were but slightly wounded.

"It would be temerity to expose ourselves to the first shocks of a very large and strongly irritated gymnotus. If by chance you receive a stroke before the fish is wounded, or wearied by a long pursuit, the pain and numbness are so violent, that it is impossible to describe the nature of the feeling they excite. I do not remember having ever received from the discharge of a large Leyden jar, a more dreadful shock than that which I experienced by imprudently placing both my feet on a gymnotus just taken out of the water. I was affected the rest of the day with a violent pain in the knees, and in almost every joint.

"Gymnoti are neither charged conductors, nor batteries, nor electro-motive apparatuses, the shock of which is received every time they are touched with one hand, or when both hands are applied to form a conducting circle between two heterogeneous poles. The electric action of the fish depends entirely on its will; whether because it does not keep its electric organs always charged, or, by the secretion of some fluid, or by any other means alike mysterious to us, it is capable of directing the action of its organs to an external object. We often tried, both insulated and uninsulated, to touch the fish, without feeling the least shock. When M. Bonpland held it by the head, or by the middle of the body, while I held it by the tail, and, standing on the moist ground, did not take each other's hand, one of us received shocks

which the other did not feel. It depends upon the gymnotus to act toward the point where it finds itself the most strongly irritated. The discharge is then made at one point only, and not at the neighbouring points. If two persons touch the belly of the fish with their fingers, at an inch distance, and press it simultaneously, sometimes one, sometimes the other, will receive the shock."

The torpedo of Cumana and of Europe cannot be compared, in its electric powers, with the true gymnotus, although it is able to cause very painful sensations. They differ also, specifically, in some of their characteristics. In both the torpedo and the gymnotus, however, the action is a vital action, dependent on the will of the animal. It cannot be passively discharged like a Voltaic pile or a Leyden phial, but must be irritated to induce the shock. The Spaniards give them in common the name of *tembladores*, tremblers, *i. e.* producers of trembling; and it is remarkable, that the electrical fish of the Nile is called *rhadd*, which is said to signify what causes trembling.*

On the 24th of March, the learned Travellers quitted Calabozo, and proceeded southward. The ground became more bare and parched, and the palm-trees disappeared as they advanced. They forded the Uritucu, which abounds with alligators of remarkable ferocity, and on the following day, traversed the *Mesa de Pavones* — a level so perfect and so bare of trees, that, as far as the eye can reach, not a single object fifteen inches high can be discovered. They passed the night of the 25th near the small mission of *San Gèronymo del Guayaval*, on the banks of the Guarico, which falls into the Apure. On the 27th, passing

* Humboldt, Pers. Narr. vol. iv. pp. 345—77.

over low grounds often inundated, they reached the Villa de San Fernando, the capital of the Capuchin missions in this province, where their journey over the llanos terminated. The following three months, April, May, and June, they passed on the rivers.

"It will scarcely be believed," remarks the learned Writer, "that the Villa de Fernando de Apure, only fifty leagues distant in a straight line from that part of the coast of Caracas which has been the longest inhabited, was founded only in 1789. Its situation, on a large navigable river, near the mouth of another river that traverses the whole province of Varinas, is extremely advantageous for trade. Every production of that province, hides, cocoa, cotton, and indigo, passes through this town towards the mouths of the Orinoco. During the rains, large vessels ascend from Angostura as far as San Fernando, and, by the Rio San Domingo, as far as Torunos, the port of the town of Varinas. At that period, the inundations of the rivers, which form a labyrinth of branches between the Apure, the Arauca, the Capanaparo, and the Sinaruco, cover nearly 400 square leagues. Every thing here recalls the inundations of Egypt, and of the Lake of Xarayes in Paraguay. The swellings of the Apure, the Meta, and the Orinoco, are also periodical. In the rainy season, the horses that wander in the savanna, and have not time to reach the rising grounds of the *llanos*, perish by hundreds. The mares are seen, followed by their colts, swimming during a part of the day to feed upon the grass, the tops of which only wave above the waters. In this state, they are pursued by the crocodiles, and it is by no means uncommon to find the prints of the teeth of these carnivorous reptiles on their thighs. The carcasses of horses, mules, and cows attract an innu-

merable multitude of vultures. The *zamuros* are the ibises, or, rather, the aquiline vultures of this country. They have the mien of *Pharaoh's chicken*, and render the same service to the inhabitants of the *llanos*, as the *vultur perenopterus* did to the inhabitants of Egypt." *

There is a road, mentioned by Humboldt, from Valencia to Varinas, which leads through Guanare and Misagual, and appears partly different from the itinerary furnished by Col. Hall. The district of Misagual is noted for its indigo. Guanare is described by Lavaysse as a handsome town, situated in a magnificent plain on the banks of a river of the same name; ninety-three leagues S.W. of Caracas, and fifty-four from Valencia. It was founded as early as 1593, and contained within its district, in 1807, 20,000 inhabitants, who derived considerable wealth from their tobacco-plantations, till the cultivation was made a royal monopoly. Twenty leagues north-west of Guanare, on the Valencia road, is the town of Araure, situated between two branches of the river Acarigua, the right branch of which is navigable. This little town also is stated to be well built, and to have a handsome church, "the temple of a miraculous Madonna," who, it seems, has, since 1757, started into competition with the Virgin of Guanare. The priests of Guanare declare, however, that the Madonna of Araure is only a Capuchin fraud, and has never performed a miracle! This town and its district had, in 1807, a population of 11,000 persons. It is erroneously placed by the Spanish geographers in lat. 9° 15′, long. 70° 20′. According to Col. Hall's map, it stands in lat. 8° 45′, long. 69° 10′; and

* Pers. Narr. vol. iv. pp. 391—4.

Guanare, which Lavaysse states, on the authority of the Spanish writers, to be in 8° 14′ of N. latitude, and long. 72° 5′, stands in lat. 8°, long. 69° 35′ W. of Greenwich. From Varinas, two roads lead westward, one by the ravine of Callejones, to the *paramo de Mucuchies* and the mountains of Merida; the other to Pedraza, which stands at the foot of the mountains which separate the plains of Varinas from the basin of the Rio Sulia.

In the tract of country which forms the entrance to the llanos, on the banks of the Uritucu, and, more especially, in the districts of San Sebastian de los Reyes, and near Guigue, is grown some of the finest chocolate in Caracas. The *cacao*, or chocolate-tree (commonly, but incorrectly written, cocoa-tree),* is found wild in the forests south of the Orinoco; but there is reason to believe, that no beverage prepared from the seeds was in use among the natives prior to the arrival of the Spaniards, who first introduced cacao-plantations into Caracas. They obtained their knowledge of the use and cultivation of this tree from the Mexicans, who, in the time of Montezuma, not only cultivated it, but had even learned to reduce the chocolate to cakes. The savages of the Orinoco, on the contrary, only suck the pulp of the pod, and throw away the seeds, which are often found in heaps where they have passed the night. Down to the sixteenth century, travellers differ widely in their opinions respecting chocolate. Benzoni, in his History of the New World, published in 1572, styles it a drink fitter

* *Theobroma cacao.* The Mexicans called it *cacahuatl.* The small seed of the species called *Tlalcacahuatl*, were used as currency. Cortes calls them cacap-trees. In Humboldt's Political Essay, the tree is also written *cacari*, or *cavava quahuitl.* (Vol. iii. p. 23.) His Translator calls it the cocoa-tree.

for hogs than for men; and the Jesuit Acosta, speaking of the excessive fondness of the Spanish Americans for chocolate, says, that one must be accustomed to that black beverage, not to be sick at the mere sight of its froth, which swims on it like yeast on a fermented liquor. "The cacao," he adds, "is a prejudice (*una supersticion*) of the Mexicans, as the coca is of the Peruvians." Cortes praises it as an agreeable and nutritious drink. "He who has drunk one cup," says the page of the great *Conquistador*, "can travel a whole day without any other food, especially in very hot climates, for chocolate is by its nature cold and refreshing." The Mexicans, it seems, prepared the infusion cold, mixing with it a little maize-flour, some vanilla, and a spice called *mecaxochitl*. The Spaniards introduced the custom of preparing it by boiling water with the paste; but they have a strong dislike to the mixture of vanilla with the chocolate, deeming it unwholesome. Humboldt bears testimony to the salutary properties of the beverage. "Alike easy to convey and to employ as an aliment," he says, "it contains a large quantity of nutritive and stimulating particles in a small compass. It has been said with truth, that in Africa, rice, gum, and *shea*-butter, assist man in crossing the deserts. In the New World, chocolate and maize-flour have rendered accessible to him the table-land of the Andes and vast uninhabitable forests." The cacao harvest is very variable and precarious. The plant is extremely delicate, liable to be injured by sudden changes in the temperature, though only of a few degrees, or by irregular showers, and exposed to various animal and insect depredators. The new planter may have to wait eight or ten years for the fruit of his labours, for the plantations do not begin to yield till the sixth, seventh, or

eighth year, and they cease to be productive after forty years. But, on the other hand, the plantations require a much smaller proportion of labour than most others. One slave is sufficient for a thousand trees, which may yield, on an average, twelve *fanegas* of cacao, worth from twenty-five to forty-five piasters the *fanega* (about a cwt.). The crops are gathered twice a year, at the end of June and December. They vary much, yet less than the produce of the olive and the vine in Europe. The provinces of Venezuela are supposed by Humboldt to furnish nearly two-thirds of the chocolate that is consumed in the western and southern parts of Europe. The annual produce, from 1800 to 1806, of the whole captain-generalship, is believed to have amounted to very nearly 200,000 *fanegas*, of which 145,000 found their way to Europe, while 60,000 were annually exported from Guayaquil. The total value of the exports of *cacao* is estimated by Humboldt at nearly 2,000,000 sterling.*

Before we take leave of the provinces of Venezuela, we must not forget to mention the very remarkable vegetable production that is indigenous to the cordillera of the coast, particularly from Barbula to Maracaybo, called the *palo de vaca*, or cow-tree, and (at Caucagua) the *arbol de leche*, or milk-tree. It belongs, apparently, to the genus sapota. As all the milky juices of plants are acrid, bitter, and more or less poisonous, it was not without some incredulity

* Humboldt, Pers. Narr. vol. iii. p. 192; vol. iv. pp. 231—42; Pol. Essay, vol. iii. pp. 23—6. The learned Writer gives, as the result of a great number of local statements, the computation, that Europe at present consumes annually, of chocolate, 23,000,000 of pounds weight; of tea, 32,000,000; of coffee, 140,000,000; of sugar, 450,000.

that Humboldt heard of the extraordinary virtues of this tree; but he found that they were not exaggerated. "On the barren flank of a rock," he says, "grows a tree with dry and leather-like leaves; its large woody roots can scarcely penetrate into the stony soil. For several months of the year, not a single shower moistens its foliage. Its branches appear dead and dried; yet, when the trunk is pierced, there flows from it a sweet and nourishing milk. It is at sunrise that this vegetable fountain is most abundant. The blacks and the natives are then to be seen hastening from all quarters, furnished with large bowls to receive the milk, which grows yellow and thickens at its surface. Some empty their bowls under the tree, while others carry home the juice for their children. This fine tree rises like the broad-leaved star-apple. Its oblong and pointed leaves, tough and alternate, are marked by lateral ribs: some of them are ten inches long. We did not see the flower. The fruit is somewhat fleshy, and contains a nut, sometimes two. The milk obtained by incisions made in the trunk, is glutinous, tolerably thick, free from all acrimony, and of an agreeable and balmy smell. It was offered to us in the shell of the *tutumo* or calebash-tree. We drank a considerable quantity of it in the evening before we went to bed, and very early in the morning, without experiencing the slightest injurious effect. The viscosity of this milk alone renders it somewhat disagreeable. The negroes and free-labourers drink it, dipping into it their maize or cassava-bread. The *major-domo* of the farm (at Barbula) told us that the negroes grow perceptibly fatter during the season when the *palo de vaca* furnishes the most milk. This juice, exposed to the air, presents, on its surface, a membranous and strongly

animalised substance, yellowish, stringy, and resembling cheese, which, when separated from the aqueous liquid, is elastic, almost like India rubber, but undergoes, after some time, the same phenomena of putrefaction as gelatine. The people call the coagulum that separates on contact with the air, cheese: this coagulum grows sour in five or six days."* The viscosity observed in the fresh milk is, no doubt, adds the learned Writer, occasioned by the caoutchouc, which is not yet separated, and which forms one mass with the albumen and *caseum*, as the butter and *caseum* do in animal milk. The caoutchouc, or oily part, may therefore be considered as the butter of this vegetable milk; and in this combination of the albuminous and oily principles, it bears the closest analogy to the milk of mammiferous animals. The butter-tree of Bambarra, mentioned by Mungo Park, is suspected to be of the same genus as the *palo de vaca*.† It remains for future travellers to pursue the inquiry respecting the genus and habits of this remarkable natural production, and to ascertain how far it will admit of being extended by cultivation.

We must now for the present part company with this indefatigable and truly philosophical Traveller, in order to explore the western provinces of Colombia, and penetrate the recesses of the Andes.

FROM VALENCIA TO BOGOTA.

THE anonymous Author of the Letters from Colombia is the only modern traveller who has made the public acquainted with the route from Caracas to

* *Caseum*, the basis of cheese, has been recently detected in the emulsion of almonds.

† Humboldt, Pers. Narr. vol. iv. pp. 212—226.

Bogota. This journey, a distance, according to the computation of the country, of 1,200 miles, he performed in two months, without experiencing any sensible fatigue or other inconvenience. Disclaiming all literary or scientific pretensions, he has given an unadorned, but distinct and interesting account of his journey.

He left Caracas on the 22d of February, 1823. On the 25th he reached Valencia, distant from Caracas thirty leagues and a half. Here he obtained three additional saddle-mules, and on the 27th, the party, who formed a small cavalcade, set out for the capital. An almost suffocating ride of three leagues across a savanna, brought them to Tocuyito, a pretty village in the midst of haciendas. Along this road, the Spaniards had a little before been pursued with considerable slaughter, after their signal defeat at Carabobo. By the road side, and scattered over the plain, were still to be seen the remains of the unfortunate *Godos* (Goths, so the Spaniards were called by the Patriots) who were killed in the retreat. The road beyond Carabobo becomes very precipitous, either winding along the side of mountains, or descending into deep dells, the beds of mountain rivulets. At six leagues from Tocuyito, is a solitary hovel called *El Hayo*, where the wearied party halted for the night. The animals being fastened to a cane fence, the hostess, a "half-starved Indian woman," made a fire, and prepared the chocolate which the Travellers had brought with them, ("a great resource, by the by," says the Writer, "in this land of bad living,") which was served up in calebashes: they then slung their hammocks in the small room which served for a kitchen, and slept as they could. From this place,

it is a distance of four leagues, along good roads, to Tinaquilla, and six leagues and a half further to Tinaco, another large village, which the Travellers reached in the evening. In this day's journey, the Writer's admiration was excited by the various and beautiful plumage of the birds, "the commonest of which would be considered as curiosities in Europe." Parrots and paroquets were seen in large flocks; also, the mocking-bird, the macaw, the scarlet cardinal, the guacharaca (a species of pheasant), and a small dove extremely tame. In every place, the population appeared to be decreased by the war, to the lowest ebb.

The third day, they only proceeded to San Carlos, a distance of four leagues and a half. The approach is very picturesque. Several white steeples and the remains of large edifices are seen rising above the rich foliage; in the immediate vicinity is a good deal of cultivation, chiefly indigo-plantations; and on the right, the lofty cordillera of the coast is seen stretching along to the north-east. "We were quartered," says our Traveller, "in one of the best houses in the town, exhibiting, in its gilded mouldings, the remains of former riches. Its principal inhabitants are now bats and spiders. The owner, Don Andres Herrera, a name distinguished among the conquerors of the New World, was one of the richest men of the place, but is now reduced to comparative poverty, from the depredations of one party, and the necessary exactions of the other for the support of their cause. The resources of this town were formerly immense; indeed, I am told, almost incredible, as there were individuals possessing wealth beyond their power of computation, from the amazing and incalculable increase in cattle,

the principal source of their prosperity; but a most destructive warfare has proved that the spring was not inexhaustible. There now barely remains a sufficiency for the common purposes of freight and conveyance; and unless timely measures be adopted to replenish the breeding stock, the country will sustain a most serious loss in the extinction of this branch of traffic. There are several churches in San Carlos, of neat and rather elegant exterior, one of which was built at the sole expense of an individual of the town. Some large houses have withstood the earthquake; more are in ruins, as well as the greater part of the town; but should the time arrive when the government or individuals may be enabled to rebuild or renovate this place, it may be made one of the prettiest towns in the province. The principal objection to it as a residence, is the excessive heat which prevails. During our stay, the glass was at 96°, a heat beyond any we have yet experienced. At times, I understand, it is much higher. The oranges grown here are considered by the natives as the best in the world; they are excellent, but not, in my opinion, equal to European fruit. The population is computed at 5 or 6,000, including, probably, the adjacent villages."*

At less than a league's distance from this town, is the village of San José, and four or five leagues further is another small hamlet, called La Ceyba. The road passes for the most part over rich savannas, intersected by numerous rivulets, bounded by a range

* According to Lavaysse, San Carlos contained, in 1807, more than 15,000 inhabitants, consisting chiefly of settlers from the Canary Islands. The town is situated, he says, on the small river Aguare, which falls into a branch of the Apure. It was founded by the missionaries.

of low but picturesque hills. It then enters on a finely undulating country, which presented a "park-like scenery, enlivened by numerous birds of the most brilliant plumage, with wild deer browsing at a distance on the verdant hillocks." At the *Quebrada* (ravine) *de Camouraka*, five leagues from San Carlos, the road to Merida turns off to the westward from the great road to Varinas. At nine leagues from San Carlos is the straggling Indian village of Camaroucama. Here, the road enters a thick forest, and in about a league, crosses the *Rio Claro*, or *Cojedes*, at a ferry. Soon after, begins the ascent of the very difficult and precipitous pass over the Altar-mountain. The party passed the night at a miserable pulperia, twelve leagues from San Carlos, where the only refreshment they could obtain, was cassava-bread and guarapo, and the animals were reduced to feed on the thatch of the hovel. This mountain is covered with a thick forest of palms and other trees, whose interlaced branches the sun, in some places, cannot penetrate: hence, marshy spots occur, which, in the rainy season, are frequently impassable.

Another fatiguing day's journey of twelve leagues brought the Travellers to Barquesimeto. After emerging from the gloomy forests of *El Altar*, an undulating country, partially cultivated, extends to *La Morita*, a distance of four leagues. On the left, a range of mountains, the lower ridge of the cordillera, extends north and south. Beyond *La Morita*, the road enters on the rich valley of the *Rio Claro*, crossing the river five or six times, before it begins to ascend the hills. Extensive plantations of indigo, cocoa, and sugar-cane, give a flourishing aspect to the vale; and the large and neat village of Augare (qu. Caudares?)

presented the very uncommon appearance of a redundant population.*

In no part of Venezuela did the disastrous earthquake of 1812 occasion such appalling ravages as at Barquesimeto, — not even in Caracas. Scarcely a house remained entire; and of its comparatively small population, the Writer was informed that 1,500 persons were buried in the ruins. "The inhabited part is now comparatively small, having been built since the awful visitation, from the materials that abound in every direction; and still, its fallen edifices present a mournful picture of desolation. The town is situated at the extremity of an extensive table mountain, which is again enclosed by still higher eminences, the fertile valleys intervening: hence, perhaps, the cause of the severity of the shock. Situated on this *plateau*, it has the benefit of constant breezes, which cool in some degree its excessively hot climate." The population of Barquesimeto and its environs, is now supposed to be between 8 and 10,000 persons, of whom by far the larger portion inhabit the adjacent villages.† The remnants of the town were at this time filled with refugees from Coro

* Col. Hall gives the following itinerary of the road from San Carlos to Barquesimeto:

	Leagues.		Leagues.
From San Carlos —		Brought forward	21.
To the Quebrada de Camouraka	5	To Caudares	1
— Camouracama	4	— Barquesimeto	1
— El Altar	2		23
— Gamalotal	4	Add the distance from Valencia to San Carlos, as given at page 222	23½
— La Morita	4		46½
— Rastrajos	2		
	21		

† Lavaysse estimates the population of the town, in 1807, at 15,000 persons.

and the borders of Lake Maracaybo, who had fled before the marauding bands of Morales.

At the miserable place called *Seritos Blancos*, the road again descends. From *Los Horcones*, three leagues from Barquesimeto, an arid tract stretches to the village of Chibor, the prickly pear, the aloe, and the dwarf-cedar, being the only vegetation. Here our Traveller found a great many more emigrants from Coro and other towns on the coast. The village itself presented symptoms of improvement: a neat church had been recently erected, and houses were undergoing repair, or rising from their ruins. The same uninteresting country extends beyond Chibor, till the road descends by a winding ravine to the bed of the Tocuyo, where the traveller finds himself enclosed on all sides by mountains, and the heat becomes excessive.

The Writer was detained at Tocuyo from the 5th to the 11th of March, in consequence of his luggage not having arrived from Caracas. He describes the site of the town as, next to Caracas, the best chosen of any he had seen; but the climate, he says, is at least ten degrees hotter, as there is seldom much air stirring. The mean heat during his stay, was 86° Fahr.* Yet, excellent wheat is grown in the district, together with the sugar-cane, maize, and plantains. The plain is about three leagues long by one in breadth. The river Tocuyo winds through it at the back of the town, between which and a chain of high calcareous mountains running N.E. and S.W., there is a considerable tract of fertile land. The town is regularly

* Lavaysse states, that the climate of Tocuyo "is cool, even cold, from November to April, while the wind blows from the north."

built, but contains few good houses. It formerly contained three churches and two convents, Franciscan and Dominican. Since the suppression of the monasteries, the Franciscan convent, which is described as the finest religious edifice which the Writer had seen in the country, with the exception of the cathedral at Caracas, has been converted into the *parroquia*, the churches having suffered from the earthquake. The population at present does not exceed from 3 to 4,000 persons.* In the evenings, there was a sort of *rendezvous* at the river, where the females make no scruple of bathing at the same time and place as the men. Tocuyo was formerly noted for the superior wool of its sheep, and for its tanneries, which formed a considerable branch of its trade.

Beyond Tocuyo, the most difficult passes commence. The road is level and good for the first four leagues, winding through a defile of rich, varied, and cultivated land, abundantly watered. The sugar-cane, maize, and plantains are the chief productions, but there are a few cocoa-plantations. A range of sterile mountains on either side of the rocky bed of the river, rise gradually in height as the traveller approaches Olmucaro Abaxo, a small Indian village of about forty detached huts. On these mountains is found "a species of wild lilac, of a fixed and much brighter colour than the European." Olmucaro is situated at the extremity of the plains, shut in on all sides by mountains, and immediately at the foot of one of immense perpendicular height, but at a considerable elevation above the bed of the river from which the ascent begins: the temperature was found to be

* Depons states the population at 10,200. He represents the inhabitants as singularly prone to suicide.

8° cooler than at Tocuyo. The next day's journey, from Olmucaro to *Agua de Obispos* (bishop's water), is a difficult and fatiguing one. The road descends by a steep and craggy path, till it again meets the river Tocuyo at the bottom of a deep ravine. A rude bridge, formed by the trunks of trees lashed together, has been raised on stone buttresses at a considerable height above the stream, which, issuing from fissures in the mountains, foams down a rocky bed. It takes its rise a little above, receiving several tributary torrents which likewise issue from the mountains. The road now ascends a narrow defile, "threatened by overhanging rocks and cloud-capped mountains." The Writer had visited Wales the preceding year, and had seen some magnificent passes, with a greater body of water foaming down the rocky precipices; but, compared with this scene, he says, they dwindled into insignificance. The further he advanced, the greater was the admiration excited, as he wound "along avenues of luxuriant foliage of the most varied description, among which, overhanging the stream, were trees of gigantic size,—some loaded with a white kind of moss dropping from the branches, like pendent icicles, others covered with ivy, or festooned with arches of bignonia, stretching from tree to tree in verdant arcades, and forming rich contrasts with those bearing orange-coloured and deep-blue flowers; while flocks of paroquets, doves, tropiales, &c. added to the novelty and interest of the scene. We had now begun the ascent of one of the highest and most difficult passes in the route. The more ground we gained, the more distant appeared the summit we had yet to climb; but the sublimity of this mountain scenery would have repaid any fatigue. After four hours of continual ascent, we reached some sheds about the

middle of the mountain, which had been erected by Morillo as a covering for the troops who secured the pass. Here we made a halt, and had recourse to our canteens. The temperature was cool and agreeable, and we found a spring of delicious water close at hand." In three hours and a half more, they reached the summit, which afforded a stupendous prospect: mountain below mountain extended in lessening gradations beneath them, while clouds rolled on the lower eminences. After descending for an hour and a half, they reached the few detached huts called *Agua de Obispos*, near which are some patches of cultivation. The thermometer here fell, in the night, to 60°, — a difference of 36° between this place and San Carlos.

The next day's stage is to Carache. For an hour, the road is a steep ascent: it then lies along a ridge of high mountains, gradually descending for three hours by an even but narrow road, through scenery of the grandest description. At times, the pathway is so narrow, that a false step would precipitate the traveller down an almost perpendicular steep of incalculable depth. About midway, the narrow vale of Carache opens on the view, picturesquely embosomed in mountains, and reminding our Traveller of the valley of Chamouny. The descent to the town occupied three hours. No place through which the Writer had hitherto passed, presented so striking an appearance of desolation as this little village, which, having been occupied at different times by both of the contending armies, had been reduced to the lowest misery. Many of the houses were deserted, the inhabitants having sought shelter in the woods; and in the huts which were still occupied, there was scarcely an article of furniture, — in some not even a

door. With difficulty the Travellers obtained provisions of any kind, and they were informed, that "there was not in the town wine enough for the communion service."

The vale of Caracbe, which may be about three leagues in extent, terminates at a high mountain, over which the road passes, and then descends into another valley lying nearly parallel, about four leagues in extent by one in breadth, watered by a small river, but apparently of much richer soil. At its further extremity is the Indian village of *Santa Ana*, containing at this time not more than fifteen or twenty families. Wheat, maize, potatoes, and plantains thrive under the mild temperature. Another summit, enveloped in clouds, had to be surmounted, to complete a hard day's journey of ten leagues to the miserable village of Mocoy, which lies at the foot of the mountain, and is reached by a most fatiguing descent of two hours. The road from this place lies southward along a rich valley, which opens as the traveller approaches Panpanito, a distance of two leagues and a half. This is the point of the road nearest to Truxillo, which lies a couple of leagues out of the route to Merida. An advanced guard from that city, consisting of a troop of cavalry, were stationed here. Their fine, athletic appearance ill agreed with their wretched accoutrements. Most of them were half-naked; none had either stockings or boots; and the principal badge of their profession was a kind of helmet made of bullock's hide, with a strip of blacked sheep-skin for a cockade. The Travellers now found the heat again oppressive, — the thermometer at 84°. The valley continues to expand, and exhibits signs of tolerable cultivation and the highest fertility. "The *coup-d'œil* of its full basin, from a wooded eminence at the

further extremity, heightened by the warm tints of the evening sun, was rich almost beyond precedent. In fact, this fine valley," says the Writer, " is hardly surpassed in beauty by those of Aragua." A *pulperia*, situated on an elevated *plateau* of considerable extent, called *Savanna Larga*, afforded lodging for the night. From this mountain plain, a winding road leads down to the bed of the river Motatan, flowing to the Lake of Maracaybo. The village of Valera, through which the road passes, is not more than ten leagues distant from the lake. Near that village, is an extensive cocoa-*hacienda*, and the whole tract is interspersed with fine estates, and others that have been suffered to go to decay, but which attest the richness of the soil. This day's stage terminated at the poor Indian village of Mendoza. Two leagues further, the road again enters the mountains. The first summit is of moderate elevation; and the road being tolerably good, the ascent occupied only two hours. The magnificence of the scene which presented itself when they had gained the highest point, the Writer says, is almost unequalled. " Beneath us, at an immense depth, lay the verdant vale of Timotes, through which we could trace for leagues a serpentine river. Rising above this is a range of hills of moderate dimensions, but almost perpendicular acclivity, — the summits, which are extensive table-lands, cultivated in parts, with the village of *La Mesa* at the eastern extremity. A second chain of immense height rises abruptly from the *Mesa* (the eminence so called), covered mostly with forest, but terminating above the clouds, which appeared to rest midway, in rocky and craggy summits of various forms." It occupied nearly four hours to descend into the vale. The mountain which they had for the next day's journey to cross, rises to the

height of a *paramo*. The ascent, though by a good road, occupied nearly four hours; and at the summit, the thermometer fell to 42° 30′. Beyond the straggling village of Chachopo, all useful vegetation ceases, "the only covering to the stony mountains being a kind of moss, and a plant somewhat resembling the aloe, but of a more woolly appearance. The morning," our Traveller adds, "was extremely favourable for crossing, being perfectly clear: at other times, the passage is often dangerous, and in stormy weather impracticable. The view from the height comprised a mass of barren and rugged mountains, more wild than interesting. Hence we descended by a gradual slope, and a tolerably good road, for four hours. The scenery possesses no novelty, except, indeed, the abundant sources of various rivers which take their rise in these mountains; and it is interesting to watch the increasing velocity of the currents as they proceed, receiving reinforcements from every ravine." At the end of eight hours, they reached Mucuchies, situated in the midst of a bare, uninteresting tract: not a tree is to be seen, but a considerable quantity of corn is grown here. The town has a neat church, and formerly contained 3,000 inhabitants; but the war, emigration, and the small-pox had lamentably diminished their numbers. The thermometer, which stood at 66° here in the day, fell at night to 46°,—a change of twenty degrees in a few hours; and the cold was very sharp. The descent from this town, which follows the channel of the River Chama from its source, rolling over its rocky bed with great velocity as it approaches the small village of Mucucubar,—soon placed the Travellers again in the temperature of summer heat. The country had gradually become more fertile, and the scenery increases amaz-

ingly in richness and grandeur as the traveller draws near "the delightful city" of

MERIDA.

THIS city, of which we have already given a brief description, is commonly considered as about half-way between Caracas and Bogota; but the Traveller whom we are following, states, that there is, he believes, no accurate computation of the distance.* Next to Caracas, this was by far the largest city in Venezuela. At least two-thirds of it are now in ruins, the effect of the same awful convulsion of nature that desolated the capital. From 12,000 persons, the number of inhabitants in 1804, the Writer supposes that the population is now reduced to probably not more than a fourth of that number. "The distance is nearly 500 miles, and yet, the convulsion was simultaneous. Merida, in proportion to its size, has suffered more than Caracas: with the exception of two streets, at least a mile in length, it presents an unvaried picture of ruin and desolation.† Before the calamity of 1812, it possessed five convents and three parish churches: at present, one only of the former remains, the Dominican, which, since the abolition of religious orders by the decree of Congress, has been converted into the cathedral. A convent of nuns, of the order of St. Clara, still, however, exists; there is also a hospital and a public college, in which sixty students are instructed in Spanish, Latin, Natural Philosophy, and Theology." The site of this city, the Writer represents as the most delightful spot the imagination can

* As far as we can gather from the Writer's own computation by time, Merida must be about 83 leagues W. of Barquesimeto, which would make its distance from Caracas 160 leagues, and it is about 150 from Bogota.

† A similar catastrophe reduced the city almost to ruins in 1644.

paint. "What might not be made of it," he says, "if peopled by European families of enlightened ideas, and with sufficient capital to rebuild and beautify the city as its situation deserves!" Seated on an elevated table-land, three leagues in length and one in breadth, surrounded by three rivers, it unites with extraordinary felicity the three choicest gifts of nature,—a fertile soil, a temperate climate, and beauty of situation. Within view of the city, the land yields cocoa, coffee, and cotton, maize, plantains, and the tropical fruits, wheat, barley, and potatoes. In the vale of the Chama, at the foot of the mountains, the temperature is between 89° and 90° Fahr., while, immediately fronting the town, the summits of the mountains rise into the region of perpetual snow. The ascent to the city from the valley, is by a very steep, abrupt, and narrow pass. Having gained the summit, you are almost immediately in the city, which commences at the eastern extremity of the plateau, covering at least half a square league. On the north, south, and east, the sides of the mountain are perpendicular, having at their base the Rivers Macujun, Albarregas, and Chama. To the west, the table-land tends slightly to an inclined plane. On every side tower chains of lofty mountains; those to the south are the highest, and their snowy summits are seen rising out of a zone of dark green forests. In the immediate vicinity of the city, there is a great deal of land on the *Mesa*, which might be converted into beautiful gardens and pleasure grounds. The mean temperature here is from 67° to 70°.* The city is regularly laid out, like all

* According to Alcedo, the city enjoys, every twenty-four hours, the four seasons; viz. twelve hours of cold, from six in the evening till six in the morning; four hours of vernal warmth, from six to ten, A.M.; and eight of summer heat from ten, A.M. to six, P.M.

the Spanish towns; the streets intersecting each other at right angles, each having in the centre a clear stream of running water. The abundance of mountain rivulets presents every facility for mills and other species of machinery; and should it be found practicable to render the Chama navigable, the city would enjoy, from its proximity to Lake Maracaybo, almost the advantages of a maritime situation. The excessive insalubrity of that part of the lake where the Chama falls into it, is assigned, however, in Alcedo's Dictionary, as the reason why the difficulties of the river navigation have not been overcome. "It is indeed impossible," we are told, "to pass two hours at that place without catching a fever, the malignity of which generally proves fatal." Yet, how unhealthy soever the shores, the influence of the *malaria* could hardly extend to the craft on the waters. It remains, too, to be ascertained, whether this is uniformly the case, or only during the hottest season, or possibly, when, in the season of drought, the waters of the lake may retire, and leave a marshy tract uncovered. Butcher's meat is good and cheap at Merida, being supplied from Varinas and Pedraza. In the vicinity, according to Alcedo, there are gold mines, but they are not worked. The greatest drawback on the natural advantages of the situation, is its liability to earthquakes, from which it has repeatedly suffered; but this fearful condition of prosperity attaches to it only in common with Caracas, Valencia, and Bogota, with Guatimala and Lima, with Smyrna and Aleppo.

On the 23d of March, the Writer again set out, commencing what he terms the third division of his

These transitions are sometimes, however, rapid and severe, and occasion disorders. The west wind is especially dreaded. The rains fall at all seasons, and are very heavy.

long journey. The road proceeds westward along the plateau, till, at the end of about two leagues, it leads, by a short but steep and stony descent, to the vale of *Exjido*, crossing the Albarregas and the Montauban. This rich valley, about a league in extent, is in a state of pretty uniform cultivation. At the end of it, mountainous passes succeed; and a fatiguing ascent up a very rugged road, traversed by two or three rapid torrents, conducted the Travellers to the village of San Juan. Here there was formerly a convent of nuns, but the sisterhood have been dispersed in consequence of the party feelings introduced by the Revolution, and the building is in ruins. The *Godas* retired to Maracaybo; the patriotic sisters have found an asylum at Merida. In this neighbourhood, we are told, is a small lake, from four to five fathoms in depth, in the bed of which is found "a kind of salt of a rocky consistency, called *urado*, which, when mixed with *chimon*, an extract from tobacco, possesses very valuable properties, and is much used by the natives in fattening cattle, and for a variety of other purposes. The Indians obtain it in small portions by diving to the bottom of the lake, and detaching it from the bed. In this dangerous service many have perished, and it is only surprising that, for a few reals a day, they subject themselves to the risk. The *urado* is not known to exist in any other part of the Republic." What sort of salt it really is, it is impossible to gather from this vague account, evidently derived from hearsay information. Alcedo does not mention this remarkable production, though he refers apparently to this lake. "In the vicinity of Merida," he says, "is a mountain in which is a lake, and which is called the *Cerro de las Flores* (the mountain of flowers), from the variety which it produces, together with

laurels and other trees and plants, which cover it, and render it pleasing to behold, its charms being heightened by a great variety of birds." Our Traveller, describing the mountain-road to San Juan, says: "The acacia is in great abundance, together with wild jasmine and other beautiful mountain flowers, spreading a delicious fragrance."

The next five leagues, from San Juan to the *hacienda* of Estanques, comprise one of the most difficult and dangerous passes in this part of the country, over a double chain of mountains, between which, at a considerable depth, the Chama rushes along a rocky bed. The road, which runs from N. to S., alternately ascending and descending, consists of a narrow pathway cut in the almost perpendicular sides of the mountains, barely wide enough for the passage of the animals. The rocky summits on either side increase in height and wildness of aspect as the traveller advances. In one part, the defile is so narrow, that the slightest false step would precipitate the mule and the rider down a precipice of many hundred feet into the Chama, which flows at the bottom. The river is crossed by two curious bridges, consisting simply of long strips of hide, fastened on either side to poles fixed in the earth. "On the surface of these is placed a square piece of hide, on which the traveller seats himself, and, with the assistance of a cord to which it is fastened, pulls himself across." The river, though not deep, runs with such violence, that it would be impossible to ford it.

The *hacienda* of Estanques is a cocoa and coffee-plantation of considerable extent. "The agriculturalist in this country," remarks the Writer, "has an excellent method of availing himself of the services of his slaves, almost free of any expense. Each man,

or family, receives a certain portion of land, called a *conuco*, which he cultivates for his own support; for this purpose he is left at liberty a day in each week. A taste for husbandry is hereby acquired, which in the end is beneficial to the estate. Five days are devoted to the *hacienda*, and on Sunday they are again free. After hearing mass, in which they are very punctilious, the rest of the day is devoted to dancing, a recreation which the blacks are passionately fond of.

"Amongst the most liberal laws adopted by the first national congress, is that of abolishing slavery after the present generation. A fund is also established for the purpose of annually redeeming a certain number from bondage, so that in a few years the unnatural distinction will no longer exist. From the period of passing the decree, the children of slaves are declared free, but bound to indemnify the master, who has been at the expense of clothing and feeding them, either by a certain number of years of personal servitude, or an equivalent to the expense incurred.

"We were seated at dinner on the balcony which surrounds the house, when all the children belonging to the estate, to the number of about sixty—the boys in one line, the girls in another—descending by a winding path from the village, approached the church, singing in very good time a hymn or evening prayer: when in front of the house, they all knelt down in the same order, and, lifting up their hands, prayed aloud. All religious ceremonies are impressive; and in the present instance, that feeling was greatly enhanced by the *situation*—as it were, in the midst of the wilderness. Taken by surprise, the effect of so many young creatures addressing their Creator

in the same words and tone, joined with the consideration, how inestimable a blessing the introduction of Christianity, although so disfigured, is amongst a race of beings but lately barbarians, made it the most impressive sight I recollect to have witnessed."

The Writer does not mention the temperature of the valley, but, if it were not sufficiently indicated by the nature of the produce, the circumstance of our Traveller's being kept awake by "myriads of mosquitoes," in alliance with a small fly called *ejen*, more diminutive, but not less persecuting, than a flea, precludes the necessity of reference to the barometer. Heavy rains detained the party here next day till about noon. They then commenced their route by entering a forest, and fording a small river, which intersects the road by its windings at least a dozen times. But torrents of rain soon overtook them, and compelled them to halt for the night, at the end of two leagues, at Vijagual — an "Indian cottage," in the most romantic spot imaginable. "Situated on a gentle rise, it commands a view of the mountainous forest that encompasses it on all sides, for the most part impervious to man, and the residence of animals hostile to his nature. The gloomy silence is here broken by the impetuous course of the River Macuti, now much swollen by the rains." In this cottage in the wilderness, the Travellers met with the most hospitable treatment on the part of the inmates. A tolerably level and good road, following the course of the river, through the same magnificent forest scenery, conducts to the *parroquia* of Bayladores, a distance of six leagues. Here, for the first time, the Writer saw the tobacco-plant in cultivation, which is still a government monopoly; but the restrictions are to be

repealed as soon as the financial exigencies of the state will admit of it. A considerable quantity is grown in this neighbourhood, and there is a government establishment in the town for the manufacture of segars and snuff. This circumstance may possibly account for the reputed attachment of the inhabitants to the *Spanish interest*. A division of Spanish troops, under La Torre, was quartered here for eleven months. Another league brought the Travellers to *La Cebada*, so called from the quantity of barley grown there. Two ridges of wooded mountains enclose an extensive vale running E. and W., the greater part of which is sown with grain, leaving patches of rich pasturage. Several detached farm-houses, of neat appearance, add to the picturesque effect of the scenery. But in none of these could be found an inhabitant, and the Travellers were obliged to proceed to the extremity of the vale, called *La Pleyta*, where they were more fortunate. The owner of a solitary farm-house in this retired spot, proved to be the individual to whom they were furnished with recommendations from the family at Vijagual. Here, towards evening, they found it very cold; the thermometer was, at one time, as low as 55°. The next day's journey lay over the small *paramo* of Portachuelo to La Grita,—a distance of only five leagues, but the descent through the forest which clothes the declivity, is extremely tedious and fatiguing. La Grita, at one time the head town of the province of Maracaybo, was founded in 1576, with the dedicatory title of *Espiritu Santo* superadded to the name given to it by the natives in their battles. It is rather prettily situated on an eminence commanding the view of a large and cultivated valley, hemmed in by mountains. The district used to yield abundance of cocoa

and sugar, and large herds of cattle are bred in the pastures. The town is now too large for the population: many of the houses were found deserted. The women are for the most part tall, very plain, and much disfigured by goitres; a disease very prevalent throughout this line of mountainous country. The river which rises opposite the city (for it bears this title), runs N.W., and falls into the Sulia.* A good and level road along the valley for five leagues, leads to *El Cobre*, so called from the copper mine in its neighbourhood.† The road then passes over the *paramo* called *El Zumbador* (the hummer), from the incessant violence of the wind on the summit, which often renders the passage extremely dangerous, driving the mules sideways, and frequently threatening to hurl both mule and rider into the abyss below. Our Traveller was, however, disappointed at being balked of the anticipated difficulties of the passage: the wind was calm, the temperature as high as 60°. The view from the summit is very grand, comprehending an immense tract of country, terminating in a high chain of mountains running S.W. and N.E., and apparently the highest from the level of the plain of any that the Writer had seen, not excepting, he says, the Silla of Caracas. At the foot of the mountain, on the other side, is a solitary house called *Los Caneis;* but, this being occupied, the Travellers pushed on to *Savanna Larga*, distant ten leagues from La Grita.

The rich and picturesque valley on which the Tra-

* In Alcedo's Dictionary, La Grita is stated to be forty-six miles from Merida, and sixty-seven from Pamplona. It must be at least eighty miles from the former, and 100 from the latter.

† Alcedo mentions mines of copper in the district of La Grita, which, he says, are not worked; also, quarries of "a blue stone in high request among the painters."

vellers had now entered, is watered by the River Tormes. They halted at the village of Tariva, and in the evening proceeded three leagues further, to the village of Capachio, seated on an eminence commanding the whole vale. The next day, they passed the village of San Antonio de Cucuta,* and, a little beyond, crossed the Tachira, — a river that formerly divided Venezuela from New Granada. At the end of twelve leagues from *Savanna Larga*, they had the satisfaction of finding themselves at

CUCUTA.

"*Rosario de Cucuta* will ever be famed in the annals of Colombia, as the town in which the first general congress was held, and where the constitution was formed. In 1820, the deputies of Venezuela and New Granada assembled here: their session, which lasted three months, was held in the sacristy of the parish church. At present," adds the Writer, "there is nothing to commemorate this important event; but the church in which it took place, is by far the neatest and in the best preservation of any we have hitherto seen: the architecture is somewhat in the Moorish style, and would do honour to a country more advanced in the arts. It is kept in the nicest order, — the least respect that can be paid to its important history. Amidst a quantity of trash, it contains a Madonna and child, painted by a Mexican artist of the name of Paez, and evidently copied from Raphael's *Madonna del Pesce*, which surpasses what one might expect from a South American artist. It is

* This is apparently an error for *San Antonio de Tachira*, the name given it by Alcedo.

the offering of a late archbishop of Caracas, and was painted in 1774. The appearance of the town is extremely pleasing. Surrounded by rich *haciendas* in excellent cultivation, it stands, as it were, in the midst of a delightful garden. The perspective at the extremity of each street, terminates in a beautiful vista, with high mountains in the back ground. The town, which is not large, is neat and well built. It has not suffered from the earthquake. The houses, though not large, have a clean appearance. The streets are paved, and have a current of water running through the middle. The inhabitants appear to be very fond of dancing. Every evening, they assemble in the square to the number of fifty or sixty, and figure away with great animation to the most deafening music, by the light of paper lanterns, and the glare of innumerable segars. The chief instruments are calabashes filled with Indian corn, which are rattled to the thrumming of guitars."

This scanty information is all that we are able to furnish respecting this interesting spot, the Washington of the Colombian Republic; for this little town, the very name of which does not occur in Alcedo's Dictionary,* is understood to have been fixed on as the future capital of Colombia, under the name of THE CITY OF BOLIVAR. The department itself to which it belongs, (it is in the province of Pam-

* This town, however, is apparently referred to under the designation of *San Josef de Cucuta*, "a settlement within the jurisdiction of Pamplona; of a hot temperature, but healthy, and of great commerce, owing to the cacao with which it abounds. It contains," (it is added,) "more than 100 rich Indians, but is infested with snakes, lice, and other noxious insects and reptiles." In a description of the province of Pamplona by a native writer, given in the Appendix to Mollien's Travels, San Josef and Rosario de Cucuta are, however, mentioned as two different towns.

plana,) has received the appellation of *Boyaca*, in commemoration of the memorable victory gained on the field of Boyaca, in the province of Tunja, where the Spanish cause in New Granada received its death-blow from the hands of the Liberator, "aided by his brave British auxiliaries." Its central situation and, perhaps, its very inaccessibility, appear to have recommended it, in the first instance, as the Congress city. The idea of founding a capital as a monument of the National Independence, is a magnificent one. By a decree, however, dated the 8th of October, 1821, the Congress of Cucuta directed its sittings to be transferred to Bogota, reserving "for happier days to raise the city of Bolivar."*

At the distance of about a league to the N.W. of the town, a hot spring bubbles up the midst of a swamp. "The surplus water finds a drain under ground, and re-appears at twenty yards distance, of course cooled in its passage; but even here, the heat is so great, that you cannot bear your hand in it many seconds. The spirits of wine thermometer only indicated heat as high as 120°, to which it immediately rose on being immersed. I have no doubt," adds the Writer, "that, in the middle, an egg might be boiled. It evidently partakes of mineral properties; iron, I should think, both from the taste and the ferruginous sediment that is left in its course. It is singular, that vegetation is remarkably strong immediately round the spring. When its properties are correctly ascertained, it will, in all probability, be of important use. At present, it excites no attention." The Writer does not state, whether any vapour is formed on the surface of the water; but the spring would

* Why not give the name of Bolivar to Bogota?

seem, from this account, to be nearly as hot as the *Aguas Calientes* of La Trinchera, near Valencia, which Humboldt states to be one of the hottest springs in the world, and which is surrounded, in like manner, by a luxuriant and verdant vegetation.*

The road from Cucuta, in each direction, lies through verdant avenues, passing rich plantations of cocoa, sugar-cane, coffee, and cotton. Grapes of very good quality are grown in the neighbourhood. The climate is hot, and, to a European, therefore, or a native of the mountain *plateaus*, a less desirable residence than the cities which are built at a higher elevation. The cocoa of the valley of Cucuta is very highly esteemed: the greater part descends to Maracaybo by the Sulia, being brought by land to the bridge of Cachos, near the village of Limonsito, a distance of six leagues, and an extremely bad road. But part of the produce descends the Magdalena to Monpox and Cartagena, on which account the cocoa is called Magdalena cocoa. This road, however, is unhealthy and inconvenient. A regular intercourse is carried on through San Christoval† with Varinas, where a considerable quantity of specie, drawn from the province of Pamplona, is expended in the purchase of mules and cattle. Although pasturage is abundant, oxen are not bred in these valleys.‡ Salt is obtained from Chita in Casanare, or Zipaquira, near Bogota, but some is brought from the coast.

* See page 197.

† This city, which is not found in the maps, lies 20 leagues N.E. of Pamplona. It was founded in 1560. Alcedo states the population at 400 housekeepers. It was included in the government of Maracaybo, and is now in decay.

‡ Mollien's Travels, Note I. pp. 429—30. Alcedo states, that Cucuta was famed for an excellent breed of mules, who fed chiefly on "wild marjoram."

A steep and rocky ascent from the valley of Cucuta, leads to a beautiful plain about a mile in extent, at the extremity of which is the village of Carillo. Though this is higher ground, the place is much infested with a multitude of snakes of various descriptions and sizes, as well as with those tormentors of travellers—mosquitoes. The country people do not stir out after dusk without flambeaus to scare the reptiles. A new road, made within a year or two, leads from Carillo to Pamplona,—"the only effort of the kind," says our Traveller, "we have met with." A tolerable wooden bridge has been thrown across the River *San José*, which has its source in the mountains that the Traveller has now to climb. A very fatiguing and long ascent leads to a table-land enclosed by lofty summits. The Travellers halted, the second night after leaving Cucuta, at a place called Gallinazo, about five leagues from Carillo. The road continues gradually to rise, the mountains on either side receding, as far as the village of Chopo: it then winds round the hills, till, on turning the point of an eminence, the traveller suddenly comes in view of the city of Pamplona, situated in a vale about a league in extent, and "hemmed in on all sides by high hills of variously coloured earth. A great many churches enliven the effect; and to each house is attached a portion of garden-ground, which, at a distance, has a very pretty appearance. The surrounding fields are enclosed by stone walls in a very regular manner, giving an air of proprietorship which is not often met with. Several streams run through the vale from north to south.* The very picturesque effect from

* This should be, evidently, from south to north: the Pamplona river is the *Rio del Oro*, a branch of the Sulia.

the distant eminence was hardly realised on descending to the town; for many of the houses are abandoned, the streets are overgrown with grass, and the gardens are neglected."

The city of Pamplona was founded by Pedro de Ursua, in 1549. It derived its former wealth and importance chiefly from the gold and copper mines in the vicinity. The gold mines of *Veta*, which are within two days' journey of the city, have not been regularly worked for the last century; but the Indians occasionally bring grains to sell of a considerable size. Our Traveller was told by the commandant, (the city is now a military station,) that he had forwarded to the capital the preceding year, a mass of gold weighing upwards of six pounds. The parish church is reckoned one of the handsomest in the kingdom. It is a good deal ornamented, but the only article of merit or taste is a painting of St. Francis. The other churches contain nothing remarkable. The Jesuits had a college here; the Franciscans, Augustinians, and Dominicans, each a monastery; and there is a nunnery of the order of Saint Clara. All the convents, except the latter, are now vacated. The sisterhood, thirty-two in number, have the reputation of being very rich; their church has a most splendidly ornamented altar-piece, and a multitude of indifferent paintings. These edifices, and the whole city, are stated (by Alcedo) to have suffered much from the earthquake of 1644. The population is now computed to be about 3,200, among whom are seen many objects frightfully deformed by goitres. It had recently been made a *depôt* for invalided soldiers, and upwards of 300 were at this time in the different hospitals. The climate is reckoned by the natives extremely cold. Our Traveller states the mean temperature of the day

at about 60°: at night, it became as low as 42°. It is about 180 miles W.S.W. of Merida, 131 W. of Varinas, and 270 N.E. of Bogota.

South of Pamplona, the country assumes a sterile appearance. The soil glitters with a species of mica, "so brilliant as to have all the appearance of silver." On the summit of a mountain, at the distance of three leagues, just above the "miserable village of Cacota," is a small lake in which the River Apure is said to have its source: the Writer did not observe any outlet, but a small current was observed at the foot of the hill. At two leagues from Pamplona, he had passed a delicious spring of cold water, which issued from the mountain. At the end of nine leagues, he arrived at the village of Chitaga, "situated on a high spot, commanding the vale." The River Chitaga is one of the heads of the Apure; but, as the elevation of these several spots is not given, it is impossible to decide which has the best claim to be considered as originating the Apure. That river, according to Depons, after running for forty leagues toward the S.E., bends more directly eastward, and finally turns to the south, to join the Orinoco, after a course of 170 leagues, 60 of which are navigable. The *serrania*, or mountain-ridge, over which the road now continues alternately to ascend and descend, is cold and barren. Nothing can be more dreary and sterile, says our Traveller, than the tract becomes after losing sight of Chitaga. It is an ascent of five hours to the summit of the *paramo* of Almocadero, which is much dreaded on account of the inclement state of the atmosphere which often prevails there. This is supposed to be the highest ground in the whole road from Caracas. Many a traveller, we are told, who has fallen a victim to the severities of the passage, lies buried on the

summit. "Human bones were even then lying about, and some hundreds of rude crosses have been erected by the passing traveller, either to commemorate a friend who had been *emparamado* (fallen a victim to the paramo), or as a grateful offering for having escaped the danger." * The only inconvenience which the Writer suffered, however, was chapped lips. The sun shone with cloudless splendour, and the glass did not fall below 62°. But at *Hato Jurado*, a farm and *pulperia* which he reached after a gradual *descent* of an hour and a half, the thermometer fell, during the night, to 52°.

The country gradually improves in fertility and cultivation, as the traveller descends to the valley of the Tequia. At a short distance from *La Concepcion*, is "a considerable formation of sulphur, which impregnates the surrounding atmosphere," but no use is made of it. At *Llano Anciso*, where the Tequia is crossed by a rude bridge, the Travellers were repeatedly saluted, as they rode through the village, with the exclamation, *Mira! no tienen gotos;* meaning, we are told, "See, they have no goitres,"—the almost universal disease in this place. A handsome premium

* In crossing the *paramo* of Chisba in 1819, many of the British and other troops in the patriot service miserably perished. "On this *paramo*, the air is so exceedingly rarefied, that it is very difficult to breathe, and those who are affected by it (or *emparamados*) become benumbed, froth at the mouth, and lose their senses, tear out their hair, and, bereft of every sense of feeling by degrees, ultimately perish. The natives recommend eating sugar and drinking water, in preference to spirits, on passing these places, and flagellation to those who shew symptoms of being affected, not letting them stop for an instant. Ignorant at the time of these remedies, and all except the flagellation being out of their power, fifty Englishmen, besides two officers, and upwards of a hundred of the native troops, fell a sacrifice, without the possibility of assistance being given them."—COCHRANE's *Travels*, vol. i. p. 480.

is said to have been decreed by the legislature for the discovery of a remedy or antidote for this frightful disease. The road from this place, after leaving the Tequia, which continues to wind amid arid, rocky mountains, crosses two parallel ranges, to the valley of the Chichamache. Here, again, at the small village of Capitanejo, a large proportion of the inhabitants were seen disfigured by goitres, together with a species of elephantiasis, by which the limbs are swelled to an unnatural size. A new church had lately been built here, and a pretty bridge thrown across the muddy river, the water of which was found intolerably bad,—the only place where this had been observed. The Travellers were here "entertained" with a new species of vermin, called *cucurachos*, about the size of a large beetle, which found their way into their hammocks. The temperature varied, during their stay, from 82° to 86°. The following day, passing over another low mountain, they reached Soata. "The approach to this town," we are told, "is one of the most imposing sights imaginable. At the back of the town, which is situated mid-way on a sloping eminence, the land, divided by hedges, like the sections of a map, is cultivated to the very summit. The mountains here appear to concentrate their chains, forming a vast amphitheatre of prodigious height and magnitude: one mass rises above another, till their heads are lost in the clouds." A storm was impending over their dark summits as the Travellers approached the town; and the effect of the thunder, rolling from one chain to another, was extremely grand. In itself, Soata possesses little worthy of note. They were hospitably received by the alcalde, but all pleasurable feelings were neutralised by the unsightly objects which several of his family presented, through the

effect of goitres. At Satiou, which they reached early the next day but one, a village situated on an elevated plain backed by a semicircular mountain, the Travellers noticed, with high satisfaction, the comparative absence of this deformity.* It was Sunday and market-day; the village was consequently all bustle; and among the crowd, some pretty faces were distinguishable through the blue mantles worn by the women over the head and shoulders, and surmounted with a straw hat. The *tout ensemble* of this costume, with blue petticoats and sandals made of cord, is not unlike the dress of the Welch peasantry.

A gradual and slippery descent from this elevated plain, leads to the vale of Serinza. "Thus far," says our Traveller, "there is a striking difference between Venezuela and New Granada: the former is more wooded, less thickly peopled, and, generally speaking, more fertile. But, as we now gradually leave the chain of the Andes, the soil is better cultivated, numerous huts and cottages present themselves, each possessing a portion of ground more than sufficient to support the inhabitants; and the roads continue to improve as we advance. We descended into the vale of Serinza, presenting a different aspect from any of the varied scenes that have occurred during the journey. The contrast is most striking. An extensive and perfectly even flat, varying from a quarter to half a mile in breadth, is

* These endemic glandular complaints are very prevalent in many parts of Brazil, particularly on the banks of the Paraïba, and in the mining districts. — See Mod. Trav. *Brazil*, vol. i. p. 246; vol. ii. p. 39. Almost all travellers agree in attributing them to the properties of the waters of the rivers, which are, for the most part, charged with earthy particles. The exclusive use of spring water, and plenty of salt, are recommended as the best preservatives.

bounded on each side by a range of moderately high mountains of arable land. The valley is in general cultivation, and remarkably fertile, producing fine crops of maize, wheat, beans, potatoes, peas, &c. &c. all of which were in a state of spring-like verdure, and cultivated with the utmost regularity and cleanliness. Verdant meadow-lands intersect the tillage; the River Serinza (lower down, called the Chiquito,) slowly winding through the midst, with a placidity more resembling 'the soft-flowing Avon,' than a mountain-stream in America. The whole extent of the valley, which, with different windings, may be three or four leagues in length, is extremely well peopled. Many of the cottages were adorned with flowers, and very neat. The land belonging to each individual is partitioned off by mud-walls or hedges, giving a further appearance of civilisation and independence; and the pasturage is abundantly stocked with sheep, oxen, and horses. It is, upon the whole, a most interesting tract, and gives a favourable opinion of the kingdom of New Granada. We took a slight repast at the house of the village curate, which is about half-way in the vale. According to his account, the parish contains a population of upwards of 3,000 persons. In the early part of the Revolution, these people made extraordinary exertions in the cause of the patriots. When Bolivar arrived with his army, worn out with fatigue, from the banks of the Apure, they clothed them, remounted their officers and a great part of the cavalry, and supplied them with necessaries at their own expense. Its known patriotism brought upon it, during its subsequent occupation by the Spaniards, the greatest hardships and contributions without number."

The village of Serinza has, according to Alcedo, the

pompous dedicatory title of *Nuestra Senhora de Belen del Valle*. Three leagues further is the large and populous village of Santa Rosa; and two leagues beyond, in a rich and productive plain, the straggling village of Duitama. This place was formerly the head of a distinct *corregimiento*, and, previously to the conquest, is said to have been "a great and rich city of the Mozca nation, the capital of Tundama, one of the most powerful princes in the kingdom, who was routed in the battle of Bonza by Quesada in 1538, and afterward became tributary to the crown of Castile." Three leagues beyond Duitama, is the village of Paypa, where the Spaniards had their head quarters previously to the affair at Bargas, which was followed, a few days after, by the decisive battle of Boyaca, which opened the way to Bogota. Four leagues further, the Travellers quitted the road, and crossed the plain to the village of Tuta. The next day, (the 11th from Pamplona, one of which was passed at Soata,) they reached the city of Tunja.

TUNJA.

This provincial capital, founded in 1539, was, at one time, one of the most opulent cities in the kingdom, and its inhabitants boasted of being descended from the first conquerors. The province of Tunja, (bounded on the S. by that of Bogota, on the W. by the River Magdalena, which divides it from Mariquita, on the E. by Casanare, and on the N. by Pamplona,) formed, prior to the conquest, the kingdom of Hunzusta, whose *zaques* (or sovereigns) were independent of the monarchs of Bogota and Zipa. Though generally of a cold and dry climate, it is fertile in

grain, and has yielded tobacco of excellent quality; it abounds also in salt-petre, on which account the only government powder-manufactories were established here; and it was celebrated for its gold mines and emeralds. The city is seated on an eminence in the same valley in which the Indian capital was placed; and it is seen at a considerable distance, surrounded with stony heights and swampy meadows. Our Traveller was much disappointed on a nearer examination of the town. There is little worthy of notice except the churches and convents. The architecture of these edifices is of the simplest, frequently the rudest kind. The portal to the parish church of Santiago is, however, an exception; it is carved in stone, and is of tolerable execution. In the interior are several very old pictures of some merit, apparently by Spanish masters. Alcedo mentions two other churches, Santa Barbara and Las Nieves, and three hermitages, dedicated to San Lorenzo, Santa Lucia, and Nuestra Senhora de Chiquinquira. The lofty plain on which the last of these is built, is called *Los Ahorcados* (the gallows), "on account of its being, in the times of paganism, ornamented with the bones and skulls of persons offered in sacrifice." There are two monasteries, Franciscan and Dominican; and two nunneries, one of Santa Clara (a rich order), and one of La Concepcion. A third monastery, of the order of San Juan de Dios, has been converted into a military hospital, under the inspection of the order, who profess medicine, and give advice and medicine *gratis*. None of the religious orders appear to have been suppressed at Tunja. The monks, our Traveller says, shewed with alacrity all that was to be seen in their respective monasteries, the ornaments of which consist chiefly in a profusion of images and gilt work, very rich and

gaudy, and a great number of pictures, the larger part mere trash, but some few of merit. Besides these institutions, there have lately been established here, a public college called the *Colegio de Boyaca*, in which the higher classes are taught philosophy, mathematics, and divinity, and, for the poor of the town, a school on the Lancasterian plan. The latter was visited by our Traveller, who was struck with the regularity with which it is conducted, and the fine appearance of the youths, sixty in number, several of whom had made considerable progress. There is a salt-petre manufactory here, which formerly employed more than 200 persons. The earth from which the salt is extracted, is found in abundance in the vicinity, but the proportion of the mineral is only one per cent. The temperature of the air at Tunja was found very pleasant, varying from 58° to 70°; but, in taking exercise, the whole party experienced an oppressive sensation at the chest from the rarity of the atmosphere. Alcedo says, the climate is dry and cold, being continually refreshed with winds, but healthy. There is a deficiency of fuel and water: the only supply of the latter is conveyed by an aqueduct from the height commanding the city. It is reckoned 54 miles N.N.E. of Bogotá.

At two leagues from Tunja, on the road to the capital of New Granada, is the memorable field of Boyaca. The whole of this tract of country is bare and open. "The Spaniards had their centre in the plain, protected in front by a small river and ravine, their right occupying a rising ground, beyond which was the bridge of Boyaca, defended by the artillery. Here it was that their position was first forced by the English troops, who gained the bridge, and charged up to the mouths of the guns, all of which were taken,

together with the Spanish general Barreira, his staff, and a great number of prisoners."*

Beyond Boyaca, the country improves, spontaneous vegetation re-appears, the roads are good and free from stones, and the soil is cultivated and tolerably peopled. Beyond the village of *Alto Viego*, the country widens into a rich plain, well cultivated with wheat and other grain, in the middle of which is the village of Choconta. The road then descends to the rich pasture-lands of San Vicente, watered by the River Bogota; these in some parts are very marshy, and abound with herons of beautiful plumage. After passing through several villages called the *pueblos*, the road at length turns the foot of a range of hills running N. and S., and enters the line of plain that conducts to the capital. It is of considerable width, and presents the appearance of high cultivation. In the midst runs the Bogota, while the horizon is bounded by distant mountains. The first glimpse of the capital is caught from an eminence four leagues distant from it. From the village of Susaquia, distant only four miles, is obtained a splendid view of the city and the plain which extends in front of it; but, as the traveller draws nearer, he is astonished at the neglected state of the valuable land in its immediate vicinity, and the bad state of the roads. At length, on the 23d of April, our Traveller had the satisfaction of finding himself in the capital of the Republic, after a journey of two months, forty-six days of which were spent on the road,† having completed a journey of

* This battle was fought on the 8th of August, 1819. The royalists are said to have lost 2,000 men in killed, wounded, and prisoners. On the 10th, Bolivar entered Bogota in triumph.

† The public despatches are generally forwarded from Caracas to Bogota in forty days. They are conveyed by men who travel on foot day and night, but are relieved at every village.

above 300 leagues from Caracas.* Before, however, we proceed to give a description of the city itself, we shall

* We have given at pp. 222 and 249, the itinerary from Valencia to San Carlos, and from San Carlos to Barquesimeto. Thus far the distances seem pretty well ascertained, viz.

	Leagues.
From Caracas to Valencia	30½
From Valencia to San Carlos	23½
From San Carlos to Barquesimeto	23

From Barquesimeto to Merida, the distances may be reckoned as follow:

From Barquesimeto—

To Tocuyo	15	leagues.
— Olmucaro	9	*hours.*
— Aguno d'Obispos	9½	
— Carache	7	
— Mocoy	10	leagues.
— Panpanito	2½	
— Mendoza	8	
— Timotes	7½	*hours.*
— Mucuchies	7½	
— Merida	7	
	—	83

From Merida to Cucuta thus:

To San Juan	6	leagues.
— Estanques	5	
— Bayladores	8	
— La Grita	7	
— Savanna Larga	10	
— Cucuta	12	
	—	48
		208
From Cucuta to Bogota, according to Col. Hall		103
		311

This ill coincides with the general computation of the country (p. 245) of 1,200 miles. The discrepancy arises, probably, from the equivocal meaning of the league. In Alcedo's Dictionary, the distance between Merida and Pamplona is stated to be only 112 miles. This is, perhaps, an error for 212, which is nearer the truth. Pamplona appears to be in fact about 12 leagues from Cucuta, and consequently 60 from Merida. We flatter ourselves that the above itinerary will be found sufficiently correct to serve the purpose of travellers.

trace the route of two other Travellers who reached Bogota, by way of Monpox, from Santa Marta and Cartagena.

CARTAGENA.

In Nov. 1822, M. G. Mollien, a French Traveller already known to the public by his travels in the interior of Africa, landed at Cartagena. The port is a magnificent one. The bay is one of the largest and best on the whole coast, extending two leagues and a half from N. to S.; it has capital anchorage, though the many shallows at the entrance require a careful steerage; and, being completely land-locked, is so smooth, that vessels ride here as on a river. The better to defend the approach, the Spaniards have blocked up the *Boca Grande*, by sinking old vessels in it. *Boca Chica* is a great distance from the anchorage. "Men-of-war," Capt. Cochrane says, "sometimes anchor off the north side of the city, and send their boats in through *Boca Grande*, having previously obtained permission of the governor. So great was the fear of the Spaniards, lest they should be surprised by a foreign enemy, that they would rarely allow the boats to use this passage, wishing to keep all foreigners in ignorance of such an entrance; and, as an additional means of preventing vessels from passing in by this mouth, they sunk several ships, which blocked it up, only allowing depth sufficient for row-boats. There is no doubt that the Colombians will now remove these impediments to the entrance, by the use of proper machinery to raise the stones, and weigh the vessels which contain them; which being done, the current will soon carry off the accumulation of sand, and afford easy access to the city, by the *Boca Grande*, to vessels bound to the port. In

consequence of the blocking up of this entrance, ships are compelled to go round by *Boca Chica*, a circuit of thirty miles, to gain the usual road-stead for frigates, and which is three or four miles from the town. If a jetty were thrown out, or a chain-pier erected on the north side of the city, which is very feasible, constant communication might be kept up between vessels lying at anchor on that side of the town, and landing be easily effected." The *Boca Chica* (narrow mouth) is defended by two strong castles. The bay abounds with fish and excellent turtles. Sharks are so numerous as to render bathing highly dangerous, and they have been known to attack even boats. The Indian name of the place was *Calamari*, which signifies, we are told by Alcedo, the land of cray-fish. The city is built on a small peninsula, originally a sandy island, but now connected with the continent by an artificial neck of land. It has a suburb, called Xiximani, almost as large as the city, built on another island, and communicating with it by means of a wooden bridge. Both the city and the suburb are surrounded with strong fortifications of free-stone. At a short distance from the town, on the main land, is a hill commanding these fortifications, on which is a strong fort. This eminence, which is about 150 feet high, communicates on the east with a range of more elevated hills, terminating in a summit 550 feet above the sea, on which stands the Augustinian monastery of *Nuestra Senhora de la Popa*. "The height of *La Popa* is not fortified, which," says Capt. Cochrane, "is unaccountable, as it has several times been the cause of the fall of Cartagena, without almost a single shot being fired. The Colombians have now some idea of fortifying it. I found lying there a large brass eighteen-pounder that had been brought by Morillo,

and the remains of a fascine and mud-battery erected by Bolivar when he attacked Cartagena. Had Admiral Vernon landed a few cannon, and had them dragged here by a body of seamen, he must have captured the place, as the possessors of this point will always be masters of the city. On the summit, at the western extremity, is the Augustin convent of *Nuestra Senhora de la Popa*, which was formerly very rich. I saw the room where Bolivar was sitting during the siege, when a shot entering at the window, shattered the shutter, passed over his head, struck the wall, bounded back, and then, striking the side wall, bounced out at another window, without doing Bolivar any injury. The monastery is now almost in ruins, and is tenanted by one solitary friar, who occasionally makes a little money by letting one or two rooms to people who wish to enjoy cooler air than that of the town, which would be insufferable were it not for an almost constant sea-breeze."

The town produces by no means a pleasing impression, in contrast with the cheerful sea-ports of the United States, from which the French Traveller had recently sailed. "Cartagena, in fact," he says, "presents the melancholy aspect of a cloister. Long galleries, short and clumsy columns, streets narrow and dark, from the too great projection of the terraces, which almost prevent the admission of day-light; the greater part of the houses dirty, full of smoke, poverty-stricken, and sheltering beings still more filthy, black, and miserable;—such is the picture at first presented by a city adorned with the name of the rival of Rome. However, on entering the houses, their construction, singular at first sight, appears afterwards to be well contrived, the object being to admit the circulation of the fresh air. The rooms are nothing

but immense vestibules, in which the cool air, unfortunately so rare, might be respired with the utmost delight, were it not for the stings of thousands of insects, and for the bats, whose bites are not only more painful, but are even said to be venemous. A table, half a dozen wooden chairs, a mat bed, a large jar, and two candlesticks, generally compose the whole stock of furniture of these habitations, which are built of brick, and covered in with tiles. Two sieges which Cartagena has undergone, have ruined the resources of the majority of its inhabitants.

"Cartagena is very strong, and of vast extent. Nine thousand men at least would be required to defend it at all points. The immense cisterns contained within its walls, are justly objects of admiration; and the water preserved in them is excellent. Cartagena is, therefore, rather a fortified than a commercial town, and will entirely cease to be the latter, when it is no longer the entrepôt of Panama. At a distance of 200 leagues from the equator, its temperature is hot and unhealthy, and the yellow fever makes frequent ravages there. The population of Cartagena, about 18,000 souls, is, for the most part, composed of people of colour, the greater proportion of whom are sailors or fishermen.* Many keep shops for the sale of mercery or eatables, others follow useful trades: they display a nascent industry, which, to prosper, requires, perhaps, only encouragement and emulation. Their shell-works are beautiful. They are skilful jewellers, good carpenters, excellent shoemakers, tolerable tailors, indifferent joiners, blacksmiths rather than whitesmiths, masons destitute of all ideas of proportion, and bad painters, but impassioned musicians.

* The population was formerly estimated at from 24 to 25,000.

"The dangers of the sea, and an industry often praised and always well paid, have inspired the people of colour with a pride which often gives occasion for complaint. Their petulance and vivacity form a singular contrast with the indifference and mildness of those who are called Whites, so that, notwithstanding their idleness, they appear active and laborious. The contraband trade is exclusively confined to them, and the heartiness with which they engage in it, is a reproach to those whose duty it is to put a stop to the illicit traffic.

"The women of colour, the offspring of negresses and white men, are tall, and much more agreeable than the mulattoes of our Antilles, who are generally too corpulent: daughters of the Indians and negroes, their physiognomy possesses greater delicacy and expression. If, on the one hand, the races become more enervated under the tropics as they become fairer, on the other, their personal appearance is improved. Thus it is, that the female mulattoes are very inferior in beauty to the whites, and lose much when seen near them, which often happens with the Spaniards, in whose churches there are no privileged places, as in those of the United States. With the Spaniards, all pray to God in common, without regard to colour; and an insurrection would doubtless be the consequence, should the following notice be officially affixed at the church-doors: *To-day instruction for men of colour.*"

Cartagena was founded by Pedro de Heredia in 1533. It was made an episcopal city in 1534. Owing to its fine situation, it soon attracted the attention of foreigners, particularly the French. It was sacked by a Corsican pirate in 1544. In 1583, Sir Francis Drake, after pillaging it, set it on fire, but it was rescued from the flames by a ransom of 120,000 ducats paid

him by the neighbouring colonies. It was invaded and pillaged a third time, by the French, in 1697. In the year 1741, it was invested by the English under Admiral Vernon and Sir Charles Ogle, who succeeded in destroying the forts; but, owing, as it is said, to a misunderstanding between the naval and military commanders, and a mortality among the troops, the enterprise was precipitately abandoned with considerable loss. It has suffered much in the revolutionary contest. The climate is very hot, especially during the rainy season, which lasts from May to November, and is attended by a continued succession of tempests and thunder-storms. The streets have then the appearance of rivers, and all the cisterns and tanks are filled, to which the inhabitants are indebted for their only supply of sweet water. From December to April, the weather is fine, and the heat is tempered by north-east winds. The black vomit is almost as fatal here to strangers as at Vera Cruz. The inhabitants are very subject to leprosy. Bats are so numerous, that they cover the streets in an evening, in clouds, and there is not a house in which these nocturnal visiters are not found. Beetles, centipedes, scorpions, *niguas*, and *morcielagos*, are among the insect annoyances of the place; besides which, Alcedo mentions the *culebrilla*, which breeds under the skin, causing a swelling which often terminates in gangrene, and produces convulsions. Merchandise is very liable to be destroyed by the moth. The inhabitants have in general a very unhealthy appearance, and yet, there are said to be many instances of longevity. Cartagena was the residence of the bishop, and of a captain-general dependent on the viceroy of Santa Fé. One of the

three tribunals of the Inquisition in America, was also established here: the two others were at Mexico and Lima. The Jesuits had a college here; the Franciscans, the Augustinians, the Mercedarians, the barefoot Carmelites, and the orders of San Diego and San Juan de Dios, had each a convent; there is a nunnery of the order of San Clara, and a hospital for lepers. It stands in lat. 10° 26′ 35″ N., long. 75° 26′ 45″ W.

On the 10th of Jan. (1823), the Author set out on his journey for Bogota, and proceeded as far as the village of Turbaco, six leagues from Cartagena. According to the travelling custom of the Spanish Americans, he had provided himself with a kettle, a frying-pan, and all the utensils and provisions not procurable on the road, together with a Spanish travelling-bed, contained in a small trunk easily carried by a mule. Turbaco is situated nearly 1,000 feet above the level of the sea, at the entrance of a majestic forest of vast extent. It is the site of the Indian capital of Calamari, which is said to have contained upwards of 200,000 inhabitants. The situation is delightful, and the temperature mild and salubrious. "All night long," says M. Mollien, "I felt it very cool; a proof that this place is very healthy for Europeans, who, from fear of the climate of Cartagena, should remain here till their vessels are ready to sail." In the neighbourhood of this village, there is said to be a singular marsh, (though it is not mentioned by this Traveller,) embosomed in a forest of palms, tolu-trees, &c. from which rise eighteen or twenty little conical mounts, twenty or thirty feet above the level of the swamp. They are formed of blackish clay, and each has a small crater filled with water at its apex.

" On approaching this pool, a hollow moaning is heard at intervals, followed in a few seconds by an explosion of gas. Five of these detonations take place in about two minutes, frequently accompanied with an ejection of muddy water. These cones are called *Los Volcanitos de Turbaco*, and are situated about three miles and a half east of the village, at the elevation of more than 160 feet above it. The people say that the plain formerly sent forth flames, but that a priest of great sanctity succeeded, by frequently casting holy water towards it, in extinguishing the fire, after which it became a water volcano." This phenomenon is evidently of the same description as the *hornitos* of Jorullo.*

On the fourth day after leaving Turbaco, our Traveller reached Burranca, the town at which travellers ascending the Magdalena, embark in the dry season.† " Although, on the road from Cartagena to Barranca, there are neither rugged mountains nor deep rivers to cross, yet, the suffocating heat which prevails in the forests he has to traverse, occasions much suffering to the European traveller. It is true," adds M. Mollien, " that, to make up for these evils, he is sure to meet with hospitality; nor is it a trifling advantage, to find, in the deserts of the New World, a lodging, a

* See Mod. Trav., Mexico, vol. ii. p. 123.

† In the rainy season, the Dique, a branch of the Magdalena, is navigable, by means of which a water communication is effected with Cartagena; but it can only be passed, at present, from four to six months in the year. From Cartagena, the goods go by water to Mahates, and are then forwarded on mules to Barranca, where they are shipped on board *champans* for Honda. A Mr. Elbers, however, a German gentleman, has undertaken to complete the water communication with Cartagena by rendering the *Dique* navigable during the whole of the year; and he has obtained an exclusive grant for navigating the river with steam-boats for a period of twenty years.

kitchen, and the power of procuring, at a small expense, fowls, eggs, and bread: beef is very seldom to be met with. The aspect of these countries is interesting to the admirers of wild and savage scenery. Trees of immense height and a rich vegetation cover the whole country; and the shade thus afforded would be delicious, could it be penetrated by cooling breezes. The mahagua (bombax) is especially worthy of engaging the traveller's attention. The trunk of this tree is very lofty, and bears upon its top a foliage extremely thick; the fruit contains a woolly substance, which the negroes gather very carefully for the purpose of stuffing their pillows. But few things have been planted on these vast tracts by the hand of man. A few cotton and maize fields, or a few square feet planted with indigo, compose the whole of their agricultural riches. Under a kind master, the negro here gives himself up to the idleness to which he is invited by the heat of the equinoctial line, and the multiplicity of his religious festivals. Bound to pay his landlord a fixed and moderate rent, he is punctual in discharging it, as much labour is not required to obtain its amount. Thus, in the space which separates Barranca from the seas, a territory is found, which is cultivated and inhabited similarly to those which I had traversed in Africa. I should even have been sometimes tempted to believe that I was still travelling upon that continent, had I not every where seen the authority in the hands of the Whites, or of people who affect that title, without possessing any real right to it. The road, although convenient enough, is not very level; the ground is hilly, so that the traveller is frequently ascending and descending. As this road is, during the dry season, the principal line of communication between the capi-

tal and the coast, its traffic is considerable. Yet, notwithstanding, no rich towns are to be met with. There are a few cattle, but, at this season, they are very poor. All animals in the tropical plains, like the plants, require the rains to invigorate them: these being over, they again droop and languish. Jaguars, monkeys, and parrots make the air re-echo with their cries; and stags and wild hogs abound in the woods. Nothing picturesque is to be found in these extensive forests, the dull uniformity of which is only now and then varied by numerous tribes of flowers. Upon approaching the Magdalena, the prospect becomes more inviting; the long tracts of granite (*grès*) which impart so sombre a character to the road from Cartagena to Barranca, disappear; alluvial lands seem to invite the inhabitants to bestow a better cultivation upon them; the verdure, more frequently watered, is less sickly; while the cattle, feeding upon more juicy pastures, are fatter and more prolific."

The noble river by which the provinces of Neyva, Popayan, Mariquita, Antioquia, Santa Marta, and Cartagena communicate with each other, (named the Magdalena from its being first discovered by Rodrigo Bastidas on St. Mary Magdalen's day, 1525,) issues from the lake of Papas, in the *paramo* of Guanacas, in the province of Popayan, in lat. 1° 5′ N., long. 14° W. During almost the whole of its course, upwards of 300 leagues in length, it flows along the same meridian, gathering the waters of numerous confluents, some of which are considerable rivers. Of these, the principal is the Cauca, which rises in the mountains of Mariquita further southward, and which would present similar advantages for navigation, did not its bed become gradually narrower, as it approaches the point of junction with the Magdalena,

which renders its course dangerous and in many parts impracticable. The Magdalena, on the contrary, becomes wider as it flows onward. Nature seems to have designed this river, remarks M. Mollien, as a channel of communication between the mountains and the sea; yet, it would have been nothing better than an unnavigable torrent, had not its course been arrested in many parts by masses of rock so disposed as to break its violence. Three very different temperatures prevail on this river. The sea-breezes blow from its mouth as far as Monpox. From that town to Morales, not a breath of air tempers the heat of the atmosphere, and, but for the abundant dews which fall at night, it would be insupportable. From Morales to the sources of the river, land-breezes from the south moderate the heat of the day, and render the navigation practicable. Along the whole course of the river, however, innumerable insect tormentors wage war upon the lord of the creation. Mosquitoes near the sea, and, further up, enormous flies called *tabanos*, "glut themselves with his blood." Should the traveller wish to bathe, he is in danger of being devoured by alligators; and if he venture on shore, he has to dread the bite of venomous serpents. Nothing, therefore, according to this Traveller, can be more alarming than a voyage up the Magdalena. "Even the eye," he says, "is rarely gratified; for the fertile banks of this river, which ought to be covered with cocoa, sugar, coffee, indigo, cotton, and tobacco plantations, and which should present the thirsty traveller with the delicious fruits of the tropics, are covered with thick bushes, bindweed, and thorns, from the midst of which shoot up the cocoa and other palm-trees. The solitude of the forests on its uncultivated borders, the heat that we experienced, and the blacks

who, at considerable intervals, were seen seated in their cabins of reeds, surrounded by fields of maize, or cleaving the current of the river in hollow trees, transported me in imagination to the wilds of Africa." The river in many respects reminded our Traveller of the Senegal. Other travellers, however, speak in very different terms of the scenery on the banks.* The confluence of the Cauca and the Magdalena, below Monpox, is especially interesting. "For a river scene," we are told, "nothing can be more grand than the junction of these two majestic streams, whose waters seem to contend with each other for the superiority; and it is not till after a distance of several leagues, that the clearer stream of the Cauca is ultimately engulfed in the more muddy Magdalena. At the point where they meet, the scenery is strikingly beautiful; the banks of each being clothed with wood. The picturesque little village of Pinto, built in a grove of cocoa-nut trees, and characterised by two mango-trees in the centre, (a peculiarity observable in most of the villages on the river,) forms a beautiful object on the west bank, at the spot where the rivers meet. Fine rising woodlands to the S.W., and the mountains to the N., add greatly to the grandeur and majesty of the scene."†

In the latter part of its course, the Magdalena divides the provinces of Cartagena and Santa Marta,

* The Author of Letters from Colombia, who descended the river from Honda to Santa Marta, thus speaks of the scenery which it presents: "This majestic river, in itself a mine of wealth to the luxuriant and universally fertile country through which it runs, surpasses, in its natural richness and grandeur of scenery, all that can possibly be imagined, studded with numerous beautiful islands, and receiving innumerable and magnificent tributary streams." p. 199.

† "Letters from Colombia," p. 195.

giving its name to the department which comprises those two provinces together with that of Rio Hacha, so named from the river which forms its eastern boundary. The provinces of Rio Hacha and Santa Marta, which are separated by no natural boundary, comprise together a tract of country about two degrees in longitude, and one and a half in latitude, intersected by the *Sierra Nevada* of Santa Marta. Between this lofty ridge and the sea, extend fertile and for the most part unoccupied lands, which it is thought would present eligible situations for foreign settlers. The Brazil-wood abounds in Rio Hacha, and might be rendered a very profitable article of commerce. "Another tract of country scarcely less advantageous," says Col. Hall, "lies between the Ocana and Santa Marta mountains, to the north and south, and the towns of El Valle and Chiriguana to the east and west. It communicates with the Magdalena by a series of small lakes; with the interior, by the Ocana mountains; and with the sea-coast by Santa Marta and Rio Hacha.* It contains a length of about thirty

*Col. Hall gives the following itinerary of the route from Rio Hacha to Santa Marta:

From Rio Hacha —	Leagues.	Brought forward	Leagues. 51
To Moreno	7	To Hato de Chimeles	8
— Fonseca	8	— San Carlos or Fundacioro	9
— San Juan	3½	— Rio Aricutaca	8
— Badillo	6	— Rio Tacarinca	3
— El Valle	4½	— Rio Riguenca	5
— Valencia de Jesus	3	— Rio Frio	5
— Hato de Comperuche	9	— Serillano	3
— Guaycaras	10	— Ceinaga	1
(across the Alto de Minas)		— Santa Marta	7
	51		100

The greater part of the road is level, through thick forests, broken by occasional savannas. Mountain roads branch off from Fonseca and Valencia de Jesus.

leagues, with an indefinite breadth towards the mountains, consisting of alternate woods and savannas, watered by abundant streams. The climate, though warm, is healthy, and untroubled by the insects which swarm near the great rivers. Between Chiriguana and the Indian village of the *Cienaga*, on the sea-coast near Santa Marta, is a third tract of almost uninhabited country, extending about seventy leagues from north to south, nearly covered with superb forests, and abounding with lands of excellent quality, especially on the rivers, which descend from the snow mountains into the *Cienaga* or lake. The river Magdalena forms its western boundary. The few villages and farms scattered over it, though not numerous enough to impede fresh settlements, are sufficient to afford them such aid as their infant state necessarily requires.

"The province of Cartagena contains excellent lands, especially on the banks of the Magdalena. There is, however, one spot which peculiarly claims attention: this is the port of Savanilla, at the mouth of the Magdalena. The lands here are finely timbered, and the temperature is refreshed by strong breezes; but the principal advantage consists in its being the natural port of the Magdalena, in which capacity there is little doubt it will one day become the emporium of the whole trade of the interior, though it is closed at present by order of the Government, for the purpose of favouring Santa Marta, which would be abandoned, should the commerce be left to its natural channel; the communication between the latter and the river being troublesome and circuitous, through the canals which unite with the *Cienaga*, whereas Savanilla is the mouth of the river itself. Its chief defect as a port is, the shallowness

of the river immediately above it, which is caused by the number of mouths through which the Magdalena discharges itself into the ocean. Even flat boats have, in the dry season, some difficulty in ascending from Savanilla to Barranquilla. It is probable, this defect might be remedied, by closing up the mouth called *Boca Vieja;* but the country is not, at present, ripe for such an undertaking." While the Author of Letters from Colombia was at Bogota, the project of building a town at Savanilla, and making it a free port, was before the Congress; but "strong interest was opposed to the measure." If carried into effect, he says, it will most materially injure both Santa Marta and Cartagena, but it will prove at the same time a general benefit to the interior. The main trade had lately been carried on from Santa Marta, on account of the facilities it afforded to the contraband trade; but, since the Colombian Government has organised its custom-house system, the people of the interior are less inclined to go there, and it is thought that Cartagena will eventually become the preferable port.

SANTA MARTA.

Captain Charles Stuart Cochrane, who visited Colombia in 1823-4, landed at Santa Marta:—he thus describes the port. "The bay is small, and best adapted to the reception of merchant vessels of light draught of water, which are moored head and stern close in shore, with one anchor from the stern to the beach. Larger ships are much exposed to N.E. winds, by which they have sometimes been blown out through the passage between the castle and the island of the *Moro*. The castle is admirably situated for the defence of the bay, being on the summit of an almost

perpendicular insulated rock, above the angle at which a ship's guns could have much effect: it commands the town and the entrance to the harbour. Its importance seems, however, not to have been duly appreciated by the natives, as they have only a few guns mounted; and they abandoned it when attacked by the Indians a few months before my arrival, although it might have defended the town as long as its provisions and water lasted. There is a small battery on the level of the sea, in front of the town, mounted with five guns: another formerly existed at the N.W. extremity of the bay, but is now dismantled. The appearance of the town, as seen from a vessel standing into the bay, is neat and pretty, the houses being white-washed and, in general, covered with red tiles. To the eastward is a range of hills, steep and of conical form. The wind rushes with great violence through the intervals between them into the bay, and thus contributes to its insecurity. The town presented the most deplorable scenes of ruin. The Indians, who had kept possession of the place for three weeks, until General Montilla came down and retook it, had committed every species of wanton mischief, and had literally torn the place to pieces. The population, which formerly amounted to 8,000, is now reduced to a few hundreds, and the once flourishing commerce of the place has been annihilated."*

* Cochrane's Travels, vol. i. pp. 55—9. The Author of Letters from Colombia, who was at Santa Marta in July 1823 (a few months later), states the population at between 4 and 5,000 souls. The causes of its decline which he assigns are, the desolation produced by the war, and the number of families banished for their adherence to the Spanish cause. "Now," he adds, "there are not above a dozen merchants of any note in the place, and the business carried on is comparatively trifling." This looks, however, as if the state of things was improving.

The city of Santa Marta was founded in 1525, and was made an episcopal city four years afterward. The bishopric was suppressed by Paul IV. in 1562, but re-established by his successor in 1577. The place was repeatedly sacked by foreign pirates during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The last time, Alcedo says, was in 1672, by an English and a French privateer, when the town was completely pillaged, and they had the wickedness to carry off the bishop. Latterly, however, it had risen into considerable importance as a commercial city, enjoying almost the exclusive importation of manufactures for the capital. The town contains some good houses. The cathedral is a very conspicuous object in the approach both by land and sea, but neither its architecture nor its internal decoration is deserving of notice. The Franciscans and the Dominicans had each a convent here. This city has one advantage over Cartagena, in being supplied with an abundance of sweet water from the River Gaira, which flows near the city. Alcedo states, that it enjoys a salubrious temperature, less hot than that of Cartagena; but the Author of Letters from Colombia, who was there in the month of July, complains of the excessive heat of the place, which, he says, is seldom below 90°, and prevents your stirring about by day. "The only recreations," he states, "are bathing morning and evening, and walking either on the beach or in extensive labyrinths of wood at the back of the town, which are cool and agreeable, but harbour a great variety and abundance of snakes. They extend for some miles in an easterly direction, and are terminated by mountains of a great elevation, which gradually rise till they attain the height of 16,419 feet above the level of the sea, the elevation of the

nevado. These form a back-ground to the town, all of them clothed with fine timber or brush-wood. The intermediate flat is interspersed with numerous *rosas*, or *quintas*, where fruits and vegetables are grown to supply the market; but, as they belong chiefly to poor people, few of them are in any kind of order. On ascending the head-land which protects the harbour from northerly winds, on the one side is a highly picturesque and panoramic view of the town and bay; on the other, a great extent of ocean, with the bold coast of Terra Firma stretching to windward. We used very much to enjoy the breezes on this spot, it being many degrees cooler than the town. Within a league of the city, are some natural salt-pits, from which salt is obtained in sufficient quantities to render it capable of being made an important article of trade. Silver, also, is said to have been found in the vicinity, and a mine of lead has been discovered under the citadel. Some particles of this, or some other metal, are sometimes found mixed with the fine sand of the beach. At the village of Ocana, 220 miles S. of Santa Marta, copper ores are found; but the mines in this province are either of little importance, or have hitherto received very inadequate attention.

From the port of Santa Marta, it is a distance of seven or eight leagues along the coast to the *Cienega* (the lake),* near which is the Indian village of *Pueblo Viejo*, whence there is a water-communication, through a succession of lakes and canals, to the villages of Barranquilla and Solidad. These two

* The lagoon, or *cienega*, of Santa Marta, has a communication with the sea by a channel sometimes navigable for canoes. These lagoons are navigated by canoes, and are so shallow, that, though drawing only two feet water, the canoes sometimes ground.

places, situated on navigable canals communicating with the Magdalena, are depôts for goods brought from Santa Marta to be conveyed up the river. Solidad is a place of considerable extent, built of sun-dried clay, containing nearly 2,000 inhabitants. The exports consist chiefly of cotton, which is exchanged for Osnaburg shirting, Russia duck, hard-ware, &c. The heat is almost intolerable by day. Here, on the 3d of April, Captain Cochrane embarked for Honda. There is a tolerable road, mostly through thick palm forests, from Barranquilla to Barranca; but, beyond the latter place, there is no tolerable route by land.*

VOYAGE UP THE MAGDALENA.

THE only craft employed on the Magdalena, are *piraguas* and *champans*. The former are, in general, employed by travellers who have not much baggage, and by the government-couriers: they are merely trees hollowed out with an axe. A *piragua* from sixteen to twenty varas in length, costs 200 dollars. Those which are engaged at Barranca or at Santa Marta, do not ascend higher than Monpox, a distance of forty-six leagues and a half from the former town, which occupies from three to five days; and more than twenty are required to go from Monpox to Honda. It is not at all uncommon, indeed, we are told, after the rainy season, to be delayed from fifty to sixty days in navigating from Santa Marta to Honda, owing to the violence of the current; whereas, in descending the

* The route from Barranquilla to Barranca is given by Col. Hall. The distance is twenty-five leagues and a half. At three leagues from Barranquilla, the road separates to Cartagena, distant thirty-four leagues. The next five leagues are over a level tract, which is subject to inundation in winter.

river, the post generally reaches the coast in seven days. *Champans*, which are employed in the conveyance of merchandise, are flat-bottomed boats, about the size of the fruit-boats used on the Seine, covered in with bamboos to preserve the cargoes from rain: this roof serves also as a deck for the *bogas*, or boatmen, on which they place themselves to push along the boat with their poles. A champan usually carries a hundred loads (*cargas* = 10 *arrobas*, or 250 lb.), the freight of which, from Monpox to Honda, is nine or ten dollars per load. Down the river, the freight is only a dollar and a half. The crew of a champan consists of twenty-four *bogas*, at the rate of 20 dollars each, besides their "keep" and the hire of the boat, which is about four dollars a day. These *bogas* are represented as the very refuse of the population, —a mixture of individuals of every colour, who have retained nothing but the vices of their respective castes, and who, when dissatisfied with their passenger, have been known to abandon him on the shore, and take to the woods. This tedious, expensive, and inconvenient mode of navigation will be soon superseded, should it be found practicable to realise the project of establishing steam-vessels on the Magdalena. This wonderful invention is probably destined to accelerate, to an incalculable degree, the cultivation and civilisation both of the provinces of the Cordillera, and those of the vast plains of the Orinoco.* The navigation will not only be less

* The English, M. Mollien says, have entreated a license for ten years, to establish steam-boats both on the Orinoco and the Sulia. The Orinoco presents the double advantage of having a wide and deep stream, and of discharging its waters into the Atlantic. "Who knows," exclaims this Traveller, "if even the Orinoco

tedious and precarious, but the inconveniences will be not a little alleviated by the comforts which will, by this means, be placed within the reach of the European traveller. The following is the equipment for the voyage recommended by Captain Cochrane:—a small portable bedstead, with a *toldo* or covering of strong linen, to keep out the mosquitoes and sandflies,—price, at Solidad, fifteen dollars; pillows, sheets, and blankets should be brought from Europe; two or three dresses of Holland sheeting, with footing of the same material, instead of stockings; shoes of strong Holland, with leather soles, and a pair of English shooting-shoes for landing in the mud; two broad-brimmed straw hats; a saddle with holsters; a sword, a dirk, and a pair of pocket pistols; two good mats,—one to lie on in the canoe, the other fitted to the sacking of the bed, to prevent the mosquitoes from penetrating it at night; cooking utensils—*e. g.* a large copper chocolate-pot, a copper vessel for making soup, ditto for stews, ditto for frying eggs, two block-tin plates, three dishes, two tin cups for drinking, and a small tin measure for serving out spirits to the *bogas*, who will not work well without a dram every morning of the anise of the country, of which a jar or two must be provided; *item*, knives, forks, spoons, and small duck table-cloths; *item*, "all wine, tea, coffee, chocolate, sugar, salt, dried beef, hams, tongues, live fowls, eggs, biscuits, *torcino*, or cured pork-fat, for frying eggs, and plantains and dried salt meat for the *bogas*." Some of these articles, our French Traveller, who had explored the shores of the

shall not one day be the only means of communication between the ocean and the cordillera?" The navigation of the Atrato is also likely to prove of high importance.

Senegal, does not appear to have found indispensably necessary; but Captain Cochrane is writing for *Englishmen*, who, as well as the *bogas*, must eat. "Our ordinary repast," he says, "consisted of bread, soup, fried eggs, and sausages. At each place, for a quarter-dollar, we procured a female cook, which relieved us from all trouble on that score."

Ten leagues is reckoned, in ascending the river, a "good day's journey." At noon on the eighth day, the city of Monpox appeared in sight, pleasantly situated on the left bank of the river. At a distance, the white houses with their red roofs have a neat and clean appearance; but, on a nearer approach, this is exchanged for the general distressed look of Spanish cities. The town is above a mile in length; the streets are of a good breadth, crossing each other at right angles, and some are even furnished with foot-ways. The only decent-looking houses, however, are in the centre of the place, the rest being mere sheds. The population is about 10,000 souls.* "It formerly contained 18,000; but the miseries of an exterminating civil war have reduced the inhabitants to the present number." The country surrounding the city is entirely in a state of nature. Captain Cochrane could not discover a cultivated spot near the place. All is rich and luxuriant, but not through the labour of man. The chief exports are corn, hides, and Brazil-wood, in return for which are taken European commodities. Pamplona and Cuenta transmit some tobacco, sugar, and chocolate, to this *entrepôt*; Antioquia sends her gold, and Bogota, the produce of the Upper Magdalena. Were the expenses

* Including the neighbouring villages, the Author of Letters from Colombia says, it is estimated at 15,000.

attending the transmission of merchandise lessened, this place would most probably recover, in a very short time, its commercial importance. It is, at present, the grand *rendezvous* of the *bogas*, whose numbers on the banks of the river amount to nearly 10,000. This part of the population, it will be of no small advantage to the place to disperse, should steamboats be introduced. But nothing can make Monpox a desirable residence. "The climate," says M. Mollien, is burning, the thermometer ranging from 25° to 30° (of Reaumur);* the inhabitants consequently pass the evenings seated in the streets, to breathe the fresh air, and to escape the stings of the mosquitoes. The sky is constantly cloudy, and scarcely a day passes without showers. The nights, on the contrary, are beautifully clear and truly delicious. It is then a great pleasure to promenade the streets, and observe the lively parties which present themselves before the doors of the houses. Loud bursts of laughter are heard on every side, in which the passenger takes part without the least ceremony. Far from this familiarity being offensive, it gives great satisfaction, for the frankest cordiality presides at these meetings. Thus passes the life of the inhabitants of Monpox. The day is spent in their hammocks, the night in the street; and nothing would trouble their peaceable existence, were they not afflicted with goitres, which disfigure them in a horrible manner. Without this infirmity, which usually attacks them at the age of thirty or forty, they would possess an agreeable figure, though, indeed, with less lively expression than the inhabitants of Cartagena, and with

* Captain Cochrane says, "the thermometer in the shade was, on the average, at 96°."

less of that soft-coloured tint which distinguishes the natives of Bogota. The manner of living of the people of Monpox, differs little from that which the inhabitants of the *tierras calientes* of South America have adopted. All classes have a destructive fondness for ardent spirits." The town is surrounded with swamps, and is liable to inundations. In 1762, the inhabitants were obliged to desert their houses, and take to their canoes. Alligators come up to the very banks, to feed on the offal thrown from the city. Several gun-boats are stationed here for the protection of the navigation.*

From about a mile and a half above Monpox, to the village of Santa Margarita, distant five leagues, the country is tolerably well cultivated for a tract about 200 yards in breadth, and the shore is bordered with orange and lemon-trees. The villages have a pretty effect, embowered in trees, and give the river a more cheerful aspect. At Piñon, the mountains of the interior, which the traveller is now approaching, add a new feature to the scenery. Considerable difficulty is now found in poling along the shore, as the depth of the water increases, and, frequently, the bogas are obliged to lay the poles in and haul along by the trees. In passing the rapids, some of the men have to land

* We give the following distances from Col. Hall's volume:

From Barranca—	Leagues.	Brought forward	Leagues. 26½
To Barranca Vieja	1½	To Pinto	2
— Yucal	1	— Santa Ana	9
— Tenerife	10	— San Fernando	2
— Plato	4	— San Zenon	2
— Sambrano	1	— Monpox	5
— Tacamuche	9		46½
	26½		

and haul the canoe by a hawser; while others remain to pole, and keep her head from being carried out by the stream. "If once the stream is allowed to catch the head of the canoe, it will be turned round, hurried into the midst of the current, where no pole will reach the ground, and rapidly carried down the stream a considerable distance, before the oar can be got out to enable it to regain the bank." At sunset, it is customary to moor the canoe for the night. The third day, the traveller may reach *Rio Viejo;* the fourth day, Morales, where it is usual to allow the men a day's rest. This is a miserable place, but well situated upon an island shaded with cocoa-palms: the neighbouring country produces a large quantity of palm wine. The climate here is more approaching to temperate than at Monpox, but still, the air is most oppressive, and the mosquitoes extremely troublesome. Beyond Badillo, the boundary of the departments of Magdalena and Cundinamarca, the shores begin to exhibit occasionally signs of cultivation; bananas and cocoa-plantations are now to be seen, and the number of alligators begins to diminish.* At San Pablo, a

* "Nothing so much bespeaks the inadequate population of this country, as the neglected and wild state of so desirable a tract of land as that watered by the Magdalena, capable of growing the most valuable produce, and with every facility for its exportation. In the space of some hundred miles that I have now descended (from Honda to Badillo), there are probably not more than thirty isolated and poor huts, none of which have above an acre of cleared land, over and above a few small villages."—*Letters from Colombia*, p. 190. The unhealthiness of these shores may perhaps in part account, yet not altogether, for their being abandoned to the wretched population who are found here, consisting of "bogas advanced in years, and weary of navigating the river, some enfranchised slaves, and deserters, of all races, or rather of all colours." These people, says M. Mollien, are very poor and wretched: "out of the ten plagues of Egypt, they have

clean-looking village on a gravelly soil, it is necessary to purchase provision for four days, as there is no other market between this point and San Bartolome. The Travellers found every thing here double the price it bore at Morales, and were informed, that as they proceeded, provisions would increase in cost. From San Bartolome, a bad road leads to the province of Antioquia. Near this place, the stream of the Magdalena is darkened by the muddy and fetid waters of a tributary river.* A little further is the promontory of *Remolino Grande*, which, when the waters are low, is doubled with difficulty, owing to the violence of the current. The *choro* or rapid of Angostura is also very dangerous when the river is either very high or very low, the current then forming several deep whirlpools. The rock is very lofty, and projects so far into the river as to narrow it considerably. A short distance higher up stands the town of Narie, the most frequented port of Antioquia, and a sort of *entrepôt* for the produce of the western cordillera, which is brought down by the river Juntas. Like most other places, Narie has suffered much from the war, and is almost desolate. No other place worthy of notice occurs, till, having passed the mouth of the river Miel, whose limpid waters contrast with the muddy stream of the Magdalena, and, some leagues further, that of the Rio Negro issuing from the mountains of Zipaquira, the traveller reaches the hamlet of Guarumo.

at least five,—putrid water, ulcers, reptiles, large flies, and the death of their first-born, for, in fact, they rear their children with great difficulty."

* "We here procured," says Capt. Cochrane, "a branch of the shrub called *alambre*, by putting about eight inches of the stem of which into water, it causes all the mud and earth held in solution to sink to the bottom, and leaves the water sweet and clear."

From this place, a new road was being made to Bogota, which will be of great advantage to the commerce of the country: "it is a better line of direction than the present road from Honda, and can be performed in the same time, thereby saving water-carriage of two or three days." The river, beyond Guarumo, becomes much narrower, and is filled with stones that roll from the tops of the mountains. Choked up between rocky heights, it impetuously pours forth its waters through the narrow channel it has opened for itself; and it would be impossible for the piraguas to stem the force of the current, were it not for the numerous angles formed by the projecting arms of the cordillera. At length, on the thirty-first day from Monpox, Capt. Cochrane landed at Honda. The distance is 115 leagues, which, in descending the river, may easily be accomplished in six days. By means of steam-boats, working day and night, the whole course of navigation upward from Barranca to Honda, might probably be effected in eight or nine days. "To persons navigating this river in a conveniently rigged vessel," says the Author of Letters from Colombia, "and so as to be protected from the heat of the sun, the voyage would be interesting and delightful beyond description, as its course is continually serpentining either through high chains of mountains, rocky passes, or the most luxuriant woods." Sometimes, the river assumes the aspect of a large lake, bordered with forest-trees. These forests abound with a variety of birds of beautiful plumage, with wild turkeys, guacharacas (the American pheasant), flamingoes, herons, parrots, macaws, and smaller birds, together with hordes of monkeys, who make a constant uproar with their howlings. Jaguars also are numerous, and they are formidable enemies

to the alligators, whom they frequently surprise asleep on the banks. If a young alligator, he is sure to fall a victim: the larger ones sometimes succeed in running with their antagonist into the river, where he is conquered by the numbers by whom he is immediately surrounded. Another inhabitant of this magnificent river is the turtle, which, as well as its eggs, is preyed upon both by the cayman and the jaguar.

Honda is prettily situated on rising ground enclosed by mountains. It was formerly flourishing, but was almost destroyed by the earthquake, and the civil war has greatly diminished its commerce. The convents (Alcedo enumerates four) and churches are now in a dilapidated state; and the population, which is said to have amounted to 10,000, now scarcely exceeds 3,000 persons. The temperature is very hot, but not unhealthy. A custom-house is established here. All large boats stop at the *bodegas*, or warehouses, on either bank, half a mile from the town, to avoid passing the mouth of the Guale, a foaming torrent which rushes down the neighbouring mountains of Mariquita to join the Magdalena in the centre of the town. This torrent is crossed by a wooden bridge of one arch, boldly constructed on fragments of rock which serve as piers, but now in a very precarious state.

The distance from Honda to Bogota, is reckoned twenty-two leagues: it is a four days' journey. The worst parts of the road from Caracas to Bogota, cannot, we are told, compete in difficulty with the passes which occur in this high road to the capital, the most frequented, probably, in the country. It can scarcely indeed be called a road, being more like the bed of a mountain torrent. "You have every moment to climb rocks, many of which the mule can hardly reach with her fore-feet." On the summit of the *Sarjento*,

is an inscription, stating the elevation which the traveller has gained, to be 860 toises (5,160 feet) above the sea, and the distance from Bogota eighteen leagues. The descent to the picturesque valley of Guaduas is in some places equally difficult. This place, situated about 3,800 feet above the sea, enjoys a mild and salubrious temperature, and is famed for its excellent water. It is styled by Captain Cochrane, the Cheltenham of Bogota, being visited by the citizens of the capital for the benefit of their health. A manufactory of straw hats is carried on here, and a fine breed of horses and mules is reared in the neighbouring pastures. Rice, bananas, coffee, sugar, and oranges are grown in this district.* The steep summit of the *Alto del Triga* has next to be surmounted by a zig-zag road, which has been paved, but is now out of repair: the descent conducts the traveller to the town and plain of Villietas. The *paramo* of Cerradera is an ascent not less difficult: from its summit, the traveller has the satisfaction of looking down on the plains of Bogota. The *venta* at the foot of the *paramo* is nine leagues from the capital, and about 7,500 feet above the level of the sea. Two leagues further is the small town of Facatativá, a day's journey of seven leagues (M. Mollien says, above ten French leagues) from the capital. The road now lies along a plain for the most part bare, and entirely level; in many places frequently inundated. At a distance of about twelve miles is gained the first glimpse of the capital. The white towers of the cathedral and the monasteries of Montserrat and Guadalupe, seated on lofty peaks in the back-ground, are

* "At the distance of three days' journey from Guaduas, is Palma, a village containing gold, iron, and emerald mines, which it is intended to work."—Mollien, p. 61.

first discerned. Being built on rising ground, the city forms a sort of amphitheatre. The ascent to it is by an *alameda* or public walk, which was formerly beautifully planted, but the trees were cut down during the revolutionary contest. Altogether, the first appearance of Bogota is very imposing, and worthy of the capital of the Colombian Republic.*

BOGOTA.

THE city of Bogota (its former dedicatory title of Santa Fé is suppressed) was founded by Gonzalo Ximenes de Quesada, who, in 1538, built twelve huts, in honour of the twelve apostles, on the skirts of the two mountains which now bear the names of Montserrat and Guadalupe. It is situated on an elevated plateau 8,615 feet above the level of the sea, in lat. 4° 10′ N., long. 73° 50′ W., at the base of mountains towering nearly 17,000 feet above the sea. It was created a city, and made the seat of a royal *audiencia*, in 1548. In 1561, it was advanced to the honours of a metropolitan see. It was the capital of the kingdom of New Granada, and the residence of the viceroy. From its extreme boundaries, it extends about a mile in length, and, in the widest part, about half a mile in breadth, the ends tapering off to a single line of houses. The streets are generally narrow, but regular; all of them are paved, and the principal ones have foot-paths. "When seen from

* "The most important town of Colombia," says M. Mollien, "is Panama; the best fortified, Cartagena; the most agreeable, Santa Fé (Bogota); the best built, Popayan; the richest, Guayaquil; the most lively, Zipaquira; the best situated, Maracaybo. Caracas is said to have eclipsed them all, but Caracas is now in ruins. Quito is, by all accounts, more populous than any."

the mountains at the back, the city has a very pretty effect. The streets, built at right angles, present an appearance of great regularity, and have a stream of water constantly flowing down the middle; there are also several handsome public fountains. Great as is the extent of the city, the churches and convents cover nearly one-half of the ground. Many of the convents are in part, and others wholly deserted since the Revolution. The ground that some of them cover is immense." There are nine monasteries and three nunneries; those of the Dominicans and of San Juan de Dios are the best endowed. Four-sixths of the houses in the city are said to belong to them. "The architects of Santa Fé," says M. Mollien, "have an excuse to justify the deformity of their edifices in the nature of the soil, which, being so frequently convulsed by earthquakes, compels them to sacrifice elegance and majesty to solidity. Thus it is, that the houses are so low, although the walls are prodigiously thick. The public buildings are also obliged to have enormous foundations, and the shafts of the columns of the churches are less in proportion to the weight they have to sustain, than to the shocks which they are required to resist.

"The architecture of some, however, is in a purer style. The cathedral in particular, erected in 1814, is remarkable for the simplicity of its interior, redeeming, in some degree, the bad taste to which its façade is indebted for an accumulation of lines produced without harmony, and intersecting each other without the least symmetry.

"The other churches of Bogota, to the number of twenty-six, are, on the contrary, resplendent with gold; no temple of the Incas was ever so dazzling. But, although the magnificence of the cathedral itself

is not so great, the treasures it possesses are more valuable. "One statue of the Virgin alone, out of the many which adorn the altars, is ornamented with 1,358 diamonds, 1,295 emeralds, 59 amethysts, one topaz, one hyacinth, 372 pearls, and its pedestal is enriched with 609 amethysts: the artist was paid 4,000 piastres for his labours."

Some of the convents have hospitals dependent upon them, but they are in a most loathsome and disgusting state. There are three colleges, which are conducted in a superior manner: the principal one is that of the Jesuits, in which the majority of the professors are monks, a few only being laymen. The pupils are instructed in Latin, mathematics, natural and moral philosophy, and divinity. "Besides these, there is now forming a school of mineralogy, under the auspices of Dr. Mariano di Rivero, a most sensible, scientific, and clever man, a native of Peru, educated in the schools of England, France, and Germany, and recommended by Baron Humboldt to the Government. This gentleman, who is particularly skilled in the practical knowledge of the best methods of mining in all its branches, is also founding a national museum, which has, under his hands, made considerable progress, and for which he has travelled to increase the collection already amassed: out of the 4,000 dollars per annum allowed him by the Government, he has generously resigned 1,000 to augment the funds of the museum. They have established here a Lancastrian school on the most liberal principles, for which the natives are principally indebted to the praiseworthy exertions of the vice-president, General Santander, through whose strenuous endeavours to put in force the commands of the Congress, these schools have been established not only in

the capital, but in the most remote villages of the republic.

"It might be imagined," says M. Mollien, "from the pompous title of palace, given to the ancient residence of the viceroys, which is now occupied by the president of the republic, that a sumptuous edifice would present itself; it is, however, nothing more than a house with a flat roof: two adjoining ones, much lower, ornamented with galleries, together with the prison, constitute the whole of its dependencies; here are also the offices of the ministers of state. Upon entering the palace, stair-cases without the least pretensions to elegance, and galleries equally devoid of taste, present themselves; no hall leads into the presence-chamber: it is entered either from the president's bed-room, or from a small anti-chamber. A few sofas covered with red damask, a worn-out Segovia carpet, some lamps suspended from the cross beams, which, for want of a ceiling, give this part of the saloon the appearance of a barn, would make it difficult to conceive of its being a palace, were not the apartment decorated with a throne covered with red damask, a few looking-glasses, glazed windows, and some wretched paintings. The idea of regality is still further increased by a troop of twenty hussars guarding the avenues: these, notwithstanding their want of boots and horses, and the wretched plight of their uniforms, give the stranger a hint that he is within the precincts of royalty.

"The place dignified with the name of the palace of the deputies, is nothing but a large house, situated at the corner of a street, the ground-floor of which is let out in shops for the selling of brandy. The first objects which attract attention upon ascending the stair-case, are two Fames painted upon the wall, at

the foot of which is this inscription: 'No country without laws.' Having gained the inner gallery, the noise which escapes through a small door, indicates it to the visiter to be that of the hall of assembly. This consists of a long and narrow room, in the middle of which has been erected a wooden balustrade, upon which the spectators lean; for no one is seated but the representatives, who are economically placed upon arm-chairs made of polished wood, with leather bottoms, ranged in long rows: within the balustrade, eight chandeliers, glazed windows, and a matting, compose the decorations of the palace of deputies.

"Upon quitting this, it is only necessary to cross the street to enter the palace of the senate, which is, perhaps, still more simple than that of the representatives. The Dominicans having granted this body one of the wings of their convent, it was fitted up in a similar manner to the hall of the deputies; the walls are, however, ornamented with emblematical figures. Under one of these, which represents Justice, the ignorant painter has written *Policy*. There is neither *salle de réception*, hall, nor ante-chamber; and when the ministers attend to make any communication, they are obliged to wait upon the staircase till the usher of the house, who is at the same time manager of the theatre, comes to disengage them of their umbrella, and invite them to enter.

"In their places of confinement, the Spanish Americans have established a system of excessive indulgence. The prisons are on the ground-floor, and the windows are sufficiently low to allow the passers-by to converse with those incarcerated: as to state prisoners, they are treated with greater severity."*

* Mollien, pp. 194—6.

"The mint is a large, plain building. In consequence of the mistaken policy of the Government, in giving merely a debenture for the uncoined gold brought to them by the natives, instead of returning, as in former times, a proportionate quantity of coined metal, the machinery, &c., of this place is at a stand-still, and its treasury entirely exhausted. If, as formerly, they gave their coined gold for the gold dust brought to them, they would soon form a rich treasury from the quantities that would be produced by the people; who now keep back their gold, and, consequently, can only dispose of it at a very great loss, or else keep it in hand, which prevents them from hiring more negroes to work their mines, or even to support those they have. In fact, this measure paralyzes every branch of the state, inasmuch as it gives a check to industry, and creates mistrust.

"There are three sets of barracks, formed from the old and forsaken monasteries; and two *quartels*; one for the militia in the grand *plaza* on the left of the cathedral, the other in the square of San Francisco, for the president's body-guard when off duty. There is a *mestranza*, or artillery depôt, where all military furniture and equipments are made, but in a style which would be much benefited by the aid of European workmen to direct and improve the whole. This is the only place in Bogota where any repairs can be done to articles of European fabric.

"The theatre is a well-constructed building, and its interior arrangements are better than might be expected: it is not difficult to hear in any part of it. The boxes are all let to families; but, for two reals, you gain admission to the pit, which is half covered with chairs, and the back part left for standing-room. The company is mixed, but orderly and well behaved.

A soldier parades up and down during the performance, but I never witnessed any opportunity for his interference. It is the custom to walk from the pit to the boxes, and chat with any parties you may know; and all strangers of respectability pay their compliments during the evening to the vice-president. The performances are on feast-days only; the actors are decidedly bad. Sometimes the students of the college perform, and, of course, attract a crowded audience. The natives are much attached to theatrical amusements." *

The principal streets are the *Calle Real* and the *San Juan de Dios*. The former has a footway on both sides of the road, and is well paved; and, "*as there are no carts or vehicles of any description*,† the traffic being hitherto carried on exclusively by mules, it does not require frequent repair. The ground-floors of the houses are occupied by shops, with one story above, each habitation having a large wooden balcony, painted green." These two streets, which lead to the *alameda*, are the chief resorts of the loungers and fashionables of Bogota. The streets running east and west from the mountains, have streams of water flowing down them, which empty themselves into the small rivers of San Francisco and San Augustin, over which there are five bridges. At one extremity of the *Calle Real*, is the principal

* Cochrane, vol. ii. pp. 20–22.

† For this, there is an obvious reason: there is no passing in any vehicle more than a mile or two out of Bogota. "The viceroy had formerly a carriage, but there is none now in the country, and only two gigs in the capital. There are, in the plains, a few clumsily contrived cars, with solid wheels, for carrying timber, but these can only be used from Facatativa to Bogota, and even there frequently stick fast in the mire."

plaza, where the daily market is held: one side is occupied by the cathedral, another by the palace of the president, &c.; on the north side, are private houses with shops beneath, and on the south, are the *quartel* of the militia and the record-office. The market is well supplied with beef, mutton, and pork, poultry, some few vegetables, and fruits of every climate (they reckon thirty sorts), in considerable perfection.* European manufactures are sold, for the most part, at extravagant prices: the merchants obtain them from Jamaica.

All the houses are low, in consequence of the apprehension of earthquakes: they are built of sun-dried brick, white-washed, and covered with tiles. "As to the interior," says M. Mollien, "the houses are not better arranged than ours were at the time of the discovery of America. Windows, very small, and always barricadoed by large wooden bars, are seen by the side of others of an immense size; the beams are rarely concealed by a ceiling; the walls have enormous projections; the doors are of all heights; the use of locks is scarcely known: at least, those manufactured in the country afford but little security. The use of glazed windows is but of recent introduction; a less barbarous taste is, however, observable in the construction of many modern habitations, and several improvements begin to appear. Light and convenient balconies have superseded the enormous heavy galleries; the ceiling is no longer disagreeably intersected by beams; the windows are without barri-

* Beef is 3*d*. per pound; mutton 1*s*. per quarter; a large chicken 6*d*.; fruit, "reasonable." For the unfurnished house he inhabited, Captain Cochrane paid at the rate of 300 dollars *per annum*. A hat is 16 dollars, a pair of boots the same; a coat of inferior cloth, 30 dollars; of superfine cloth, 60 dollars.

cadoes, the street-doors better painted: a general neatness is, indeed, being introduced through all classes. In general, two gates are to be passed before arriving in the court-yard. The entry which separates it from the street, is but too often a receptacle for the uncleanliness of the passengers. A gallery generally runs round the court, if the house consists only of a ground floor; but if of two stories, a covered terrace. The staircase is generally of stone, and of very rude construction. On the wall of the first square is generally painted a giant, carrying in one hand a child, and in the other a ball; this is St. Christopher, the household god of the country. Round the inner gallery is along suite of rooms, which only receive daylight through the door. Every house has at least one saloon and an eating-room; for it is considered unpolite to receive friends, or to entertain them, in a sleeping-room. The kitchen is always of an immense size, less on account of the quantity of provisions cooked, than the number of useless servants assembled there: there is no chimney, as stoves only are used. No houses are seen without carpets: the ancient straw mats of the Indians are no longer used by fashionable people, but are superseded by carpets of European manufacture. Both of these are designed, if there be no fire, to warm the apartments, and to conceal the inequalities of the floor, where, unfortunately, the negligence of the servants permits the most loathsome insects to swarm in immense numbers. Some persons cover the walls of their chambers with dyed paper; and numbers have garlands of flowers and genii drawn upon it, in a style alike indicative of the bad taste of the painter and his employer. The furniture is simple, and usually consists of nothing more than two sofas covered with cotton, two small tables, a few

leathern chairs, after the fashion of the fifteenth century, a looking-glass, and three lamps suspended from the ceiling. The bed is tolerably well ornamented, but feathers are never used; it is formed of two wool mattrasses. With some slight difference, all the houses resemble each other; nothing serves to distinguish those of the ministers, and it would be difficult to recognise the president's, were it not for the guard at the entrance."

"The shops are crowded together, dirty, and dark; the only admission for day-light is by the door. These, however, are places of resort for the idle. Seated upon his counter, smoking incessantly, and giving laconic answers to his customers, the Colombian merchant in many respects resembles those of Smyrna or Aleppo. Bogota cannot boast of ten merchants who can command 100,000 piastres, nor of five individuals living upon a revenue of that amount. The most common incomes are from 5 to 10,000 piastres. Almost every inhabitant" (not in the employ of government, in the church, or in the army) "is a shopkeeper."

The streets are very badly lighted. A paper lanthorn, placed at the end of each *quadra*, just serves to render darkness visible. A proposal, however, has been laid before the Government by Colonel Manby, for lighting the city with gas. There is not a common-sewer in the city. It was a saying of one of the viceroys, that Bogota had four police-officers to keep the town clean; the *gallinazos* (carrion vultures), the rain, the asses, and the pigs. But the streams of fresh water which flow down the streets would cleanse them, M. Mollien says, still more efficaciously, "if, at eight o'clock in the evening, the idleness of the inhabitants did not convert them into filthy and

infectious sewers." In many of the streets, the grass has grown so plentifully, from the thinness of population, as to afford grazing ground to the stray cattle.

"The costume of the people is remarkable, particularly that of the females. There is no distinction between rich and poor in the style of walking-dress. The mantilla, black or light blue, made *à la mode Espagnole*, is worn; a piece of blue cloth envelops the head, and frequently conceals the whole of the features except the eyes: this reaches to the waist, and the whole is surmounted with a broad-brimmed beaver hat. This is generally allowed to be a preposterous and unbecoming dress; but, as yet, no fashionable lady has had the courage to set a new style for the example of her countrywomen. They are sedulously careful to deck their feet in the most becoming manner, and with studied coquetry, as they are in general well formed and extremely small. Their step is very peculiar, all from hip to ancle without bending the knee, and a sidling motion of the body. How far this adds to the grace of appearance and ease of deportment, I will leave to abler judges to decide. The lower classes are generally barefooted, except the peasantry of the plains, who wear *alpargatés*, a kind of Roman sandal, made of the fibres of a tree. They wear likewise a full, large mantle, called *roana*, or *roquilla*, made of the cloth of the country; the head passes through a hole in the centre, and the *roquilla* falls loosely and gracefully over the shoulders, completely covering the body, and concealing the arms. The *tout ensemble* is elegant, as it droops in easy and becoming folds. Some of the females assume a very peculiar garb; a petticoat of Spanish brown stuff, with a mantilla of white kerseymere, a black

beaver hat, and, round the waist, a broad, black, leathern girdle, one end of which hangs down from the hip nearly to the ancle. They are called *béates*, and attire themselves in this manner for many reasons, such as the commands of a confessor, the sickness of a husband, father, or any other relative; but, by many, it is worn merely from the desire of attracting attention.

"The Colombians have many repasts during the day. At seven in the morning, they have chocolate; at ten, a meal of soup, eggs, &c.; they dine at two, take chocolate again at five, and sup at an early hour. From about three to half-past four, they take their *siesta*, during which time all the shops are shut, the streets deserted, and the whole city is in profound silence. Business is carried on from nine till half-past one, and from half-past four to half-past five. Every house has silver goblets, in which the water is handed round to the guests. Napkins are not used, and the table-linen is coarse. It is the custom to wash hands after dinner; then smoking is introduced. The servants are generally females, very sluttish and dirty, of a race between the Indians and Mulattoes. There are very few male domestics, as all the able men were taken off for the supply of the armies. The emancipation of slaves has been very great at Bogota, and but few remain."*

"Bogota is subject to a dreadful nuisance; every Saturday, the poor rush into the town as if to take it by assault; they besiege every door, and, to gain admittance, endeavour to excite compassion by the exposure of the most revolting infirmities. Old men, led

* Cochrane, vol. ii. pp. 35—30.

by children, form numerous groupes, which throughout the day obstruct the streets, and even block up the thresholds of the houses.

"In the neighbourhood of Bogota are some very agreeable walks, which, although shaded by willows, and ornamented with rose-trees and the beautiful cardamindum, are little frequented; the preference being given to a few select streets, the *trottoirs* of which offer a commodious promenade, as from them gentlemen on horseback may be seen traversing the town at full gallop. The greater part of these horsemen are bedizened with gold, and glittering in military uniforms; some with round hats ornamented with plumes of feathers, others with cocked ones, and a still greater number wearing *shakos* and helmets. Although their own appearance is upon the whole striking, that of their horses, which resemble Norman poneys, is so wretched as to lessen the effect considerably."

The general routine of the day at Bogota, commences with mass, which is attended by females and old men. The men in general, we are told, do not give themselves much trouble on this score, unless they have some particular object in view, more attractive than devotion. The greater part of the day, the ladies lounge on their sofas. At half-past five, they attend the *alameda*, whence they return to receive visits till between nine and ten o'clock, at which hour they retire. *Tertulias*, or evening parties, balls, masquerades, and the numerous religious processions, are their chief amusements. The number of saints' days and feast days, including Sundays, amounts to 180; "but the Congress have it in consideration to reduce them as nearly as possible to the number of festivals celebrated in Protestant countries."

"Corpus Christi day is that which is celebrated with the greatest magnificence at Bogota; it is announced the preceding evening by artificial fire-works. At each corner of the grand square, through which the procession is to pass, are erected four richly ornamented altars, while by a singular mixture of the sacred and profane, *mats de cocagne*, puppet-shows, and a great number of cages full of rare and curious animals, are ranged on all sides. The rejoicings and games cease the moment the bell is heard announcing the approach of the procession. Every one takes off his hat and kneels down in the streets.

"At the head of the procession, are chariots dragged along by men; in one is king David, with the head of Goliath in his hand; in another, Esther; in a third, Mordecai; Joseph next makes his appearance upon a horse richly caparisoned, and followed by a great number of guards; these, however, are only mounted on pasteboard chargers. All these personages are the children of the principal inhabitants of the city. To obtain the honour of acting a part in this imposing spectacle, is a great desideratum; and those who are honoured, by having their children nominated, neglect no kind of expense: rivalling each other in splendour, they lay pearls, diamonds, emeralds, and rubies under contribution, and put their imagination to the rack, in order to render the dresses of the actors more magnificent. The clergy advance slowly amid the crowd of the faithful, with which the square is thronged. The most beautiful girls in the city walk between two rows of priests, some carrying the ark, and the show-bread, others incense or baskets of flowers. To these succeed young Indians, who, to the sound of a flute and tabor, perform wild fantastic dances. The procession is closed by a

detachment of troops, with arms and colours reversed."

Bull-fights, cock-fights, the theatre, and gambling are the chief amusements of the gentlemen.

"As far as I had an opportunity of judging," says the Author of Letters from Colombia, "Bogota is the most justly celebrated place in the whole Republic for beautiful women.* The change is the more striking, after the hideous population one meets with in many of the towns and villages in the great extent of country between the two capitals. It is not from a few instances that one is led to form such an opinion, the majority of the female sex here being fairly entitled to this reputation. From the coolness of the climate, their complexions are naturally fair and very clear. They inherit, at the same time, the fine, expressive, dark eyes and regular features of the Spanish women, although partaking but in a slight degree of their elegant figures, owing to their careless manner of dressing and setting off their persons. They have, however, pretty feet, and an easy carriage. From the superiority of their personal appearance, there is the more reason to regret the absence of those endowments of mind, and that conduct, which alone render beauty permanently attractive. There are, perhaps, few cities, (it is to be hoped so, at least,) where the

* Capt. Cochrane says: "The majority of the women are by no means handsome: they certainly have fine eyes and dark hair; but neither features, complexion, nor figure are good, when compared with those of Europeans. Some few have, when young, a little bloom on their cheeks; but, in general, a sallow or Moorish cast of face meets the eye. Occasionally, you do meet a young lady whose pretensions to beauty would be allowed even in Europe." The men, taken generally, he says, "are far handsomer than the women, and their dark complexions are more agreeable to the eye. They are also better educated, being generally able to *read and write!*"

women are so generally depraved; and although there are, no doubt, individuals of uncorrupted morals and virtuous conduct, it is too evident that their number is but small." Captain Cochrane expresses his apprehension that morality in Colombia is at a low ebb. After marriage, the ladies of Bogota deem themselves for the most part entitled, especially if their husbands are out of the way, to act exactly as inclination prompts. He admits that exceptions exist, and that there are many highly respectable, virtuous, and honourable families.

The capital is at present full of priests, monks, and clergy, in consequence of a decree abolishing all monasteries which did not contain above a certain number, and directing their inhabitants to reside in Bogota. This is considered as a stroke of policy, having for its object not merely to apply the revenues of the suppressed monasteries to the exigencies of the state, but to bring the clerical body more immediately under the eye of Government, and counteract the more easily their disposition to political intrigue. "It is not easy," M. Mollien says, "to say what are the political opinions of the inhabitants of Bogota. Like all those who reside in capitals, they are oppositionists, because they see the machine of government too near; but, after having given the revolutionary impulse, this capital will, for the future, receive it from the provinces."

The population of Bogota is said to have amounted, in 1800, to 21,464 inhabitants, "exclusive of strangers and beggars, whose residence was not known." The births exceeded the deaths in the same year by 247. The present population is estimated at from 30 to 35,000 souls. There exists a difference of opinion as to the superior eligibility of the site of the two capi-

tals, Bogota and Caracas. The Author of Letters from Colombia gives his decided opinion in favour of the former. The climate here is more congenial to English constitutions, and is favourable to great bodily exertion. The extreme rarity of the atmosphere, however, owing to the great elevation of the plain, is at first very oppressive to strangers, occasioning a difficulty of breathing, and an unpleasant sensation at the chest. After a few days, this subsides. The seasons here are divided into rainy and dry, forming two winters and two summers. The dry season begins with the solstices; the wet, with the equinoxes, varying ten or fifteen days. March, April, May, September, October, November, are reckoned winter months, during which fall almost incessant rains. The mornings, from day-break to eight o'clock, are then piercingly cold, the thermometer frequently down to 47°, though it in general keeps between 58° and 63°. In summer, during the warmest time, it varies from 68° to 70°. June, July, and August are showery. N.N.W. winds invariably bring storms. But, during the dry season, the heavens are for the most part beautifully serene and unclouded, and the dews are so light, that the usual lounge of the inhabitants is by moonlight. Upon the whole, the climate may be regarded as salubrious. Epidemics are unknown, and the diseases to which the natives are subject, are attributable to other causes than the air.

FALL OF TEQUENDAMA.

"THE elevated plain on which Bogota stands," says M. Humboldt, "resembles, in a variety of circumstances, that which is surrounded by the Mexican lakes. Each of these plains is higher than the summit

of St. Bernard, the first being about 8,800 feet, and the second 7,440 feet above the level of the ocean. The valley of Mexico is bounded by a circular wall of mountains of porphyry, and its centre is covered with water; for the numerous torrents which rush into the valley found no outlet, until the Europeans had dug the canal of Huehuetoca. The plain of Bogota is also encircled with lofty mountains; and the perfect level of the soil, its geological structure, the form of the rocks of Suba and Facatativa, which rise like small islands in the midst of the savannas, seem all to indicate the existence of an ancient lake. The River of Funzha, usually called the *Rio de Bogota*, into which flow the waters of the valley, forced its way through the mountains to the south-west of Bogota. Near the farm of Tequendama, this river rushes from the plain by a narrow outlet into a crevice, which descends towards the basin of the River Magdalena. Were an attempt made to close this passage, which is the sole opening out of the valley of Bogota, these fertile plains would gradually be converted into a sheet of water like the Mexican lake."

This wonder of the country, the celebrated fall of Tequendama, was, of course, visited by each of our Travellers. The road to it lies across the plain, in a S.W. direction, to the village of Soacha, distant three leagues and a half, in the neighbourhood of which are said to have been found some fossil remains of elephants. Here there is an inn. About half a league farther, the traveller arrives at the River Bogota, on the banks of which is a village where he may be accommodated with fresh horses and a guide. From the river to the fall is nearly a league. The road lies over a ridge of mountains bounding the plain to the

south-west, from the summit of which is gained a commanding view of the level country. A large portion of it being inundated at the time that one of our Travellers visited it, it had all the appearance of an extensive lake, with variously-shaped hills rising abruptly from its waters. Having ascended the heights of Chipa, the country becomes all at once most luxuriant in wood, and wild shrubs of peculiar beauty. A long, winding descent leads from the corn-lands through a dark thicket, in which the oak, the elm, and other trees which recall the vegetation of Europe, mingle with the cinchona (bark-tree), the bigonia, and others peculiar to these regions. Here, at a considerable distance, is heard the roaring of the waters. Suddenly the traveller discovers, as from a terrace, far beneath him, a tract of country producing the palm-tree, the banana, and the cane. A quarter of a mile from the *Salto*, you leave your horses, and descend by a precipitous pathway to the brink of the precipice, where the river, which at a short distance is 140 broad, having contracted itself into a narrow but deep bed of only 40 feet in width, precipitates itself with violence down a perpendicular rock, at two bounds, to the immense depth of 650 feet. "This overwhelming body of water," says our Traveller, "when it first parts from its bed, forms a broad arch of a glassy appearance; a little lower down it assumes a fleecy form; and ultimately, in its progress downwards, shoots forth into millions of tubular shapes, which chase each other more like sky-rockets than any thing else I can compare them to. The changes are as singularly beautiful as they are varied, owing to the difference of gravitation and the rapid evaporation which takes place before reaching the bottom. The noise with which this immense body of water falls, is

quite astounding; sending up dense clouds of vapour, which rise to a considerable height, and mingle with the atmosphere, forming in their ascent the most beautiful rainbows. The most conclusive proof of the extraordinary evaporation, is the comparatively small stream which runs off from the foot of the fall. To give you some idea of its tremendous force, it is an asserted fact, that experiments have more than once been made of forcing a bullock into the stream, and that no vestige of him has been found at the bottom, but a few of his bones. To give due effect to this mighty work, nature seems to have lavished all the grand accompaniments of scenery, to render it the most wonderful and enchanting of objects. From the rocky sides of its immense basin, hung with shrubs and bushes, numerous springs and tributary streams add their mite to the grand effect. At the bottom, the water which runs off rushes impetuously along a stony bed, overhung with trees, and loses itself in a dark winding of the rock. From the level of the river, where you stand to witness this sublime scene, the mountains rise to a great height, and are completely covered with wood; and at one opening is an extensive prospect, which, on a clear day, encompasses some distant mountains in the province of Antioquia, whose summits are clothed with perpetual snow. Hovering over the frightful chasm, are various birds of the most beautiful plumage, peculiar to the spot, and differing from any I have before seen."

The crevice into which the river throws itself, communicates with the plains of the *tierra caliente*, and a few palm-trees have sprung up at the foot of the cataract; so that, while the plain of Canoas is covered with grain, and other productions of the temperate zone, in the ravine beneath are seen the trees

of the equinoctial valleys; and the inhabitants of Bogota tell you, that the river falls at once from a cold climate to a warm one. The mere difference of height, however, Humboldt remarks, is not sufficient to account for this difference of temperature. It takes three hours to descend to the ravine of *La Povasa*. "Although the river loses, in falling, a great part of its water, which is reduced to vapour, the rapidity of the lower current* obliges the spectator to keep at the distance of nearly 450 feet from the basin dug out by the fall. A few feeble rays of noon fall on the bottom of the crevice. The solitude of the place, the richness of the vegetation, and the dreadful roar that strikes upon the ear, contribute to render the foot of the cataract of Tequendama one of the wildest scenes that can be found in the cordilleras." The column of vapour, rising like a thick cloud, is seen from the walks round Bogota at five leagues' distance.

The fall is not, Humboldt says, as is commonly believed, the loftiest on the globe, but there scarcely exists a cataract which, from so great a height, precipitates an equal mass of waters. The combination of sublimely picturesque scenery which it presents is absolutely unrivalled; and the traveller is not surprised, that the rude tribes of the aborigines should have ascribed the whole to a miraculous origin. The following is the legend connected with the place.

"In the remotest times, before the Moon accompanied the Earth, according to the mythology of the Muysca or Mozca Indians, the inhabitants of the plain of Bogota lived like barbarians, naked, without agriculture, without any form of laws or worship.

* From the termination of the fall, the river assumes the names of *Rio de la Mesa*, *Rio de Tocaymá*, and *Rio del Colegio*. It has still a fall of nearly 6,900 feet before it reaches the Magdalena, which is about 450 feet in every league.

Suddenly there appeared among them an old man, who came from the plains situate on the east of the Cordillera of Chingasa, and who appeared to be of a race unlike that of the natives, having a long and bushy beard. He was known by three distinct appellations, Bochica, Nemquetheba, and Zuhé. This old man, like Manco-Capac, instructed men how to clothe themselves, build huts, till the ground, and form themselves into communities. He brought with him a woman, to whom also tradition gives three names, Chia, Yubecayguaya, and Huythacá. This woman, extremely beautiful and not less malignant, thwarted every enterprise of her husband for the happiness of mankind. By her skill in magic, she swelled the River Funzha, and inundated the valley of Bogota. The greater part of the inhabitants perished in this deluge; a few only found refuge on the summits of the neighbouring mountains. The old man, in anger, drove the beautiful Huythaca far from the Earth, and she became the Moon, which began from that epoch to enlighten our planet during the night. Bochica, moved with compassion for those who were dispersed over the mountains, broke with his powerful arm the rocks that enclosed the valley on the side of Canoas and Tequendama. By this outlet, he drained the waters of the Lake of Bogota. He built towns, introduced the worship of the Sun, named two chiefs, between whom he divided the civil and ecclesiastical authority, and then withdrew himself, under the name of Idacanzas, into the holy valley of Iraca, near Tunja, where he lived in the exercise of the most austere penitence for the space of 2,000 years."*

In this Indian fable, there is a remarkable analogy to the traditions found among many nations of the Old Continent; and Bochica answers to the Quetzal-

* Humboldt, Researches, vol. i. pp. 72—5.

coatl of the Mexicans, the Mango-Capac of the Peruvians, and the Paye Zome of the Brazilian tribes.

LAKE OF GUATAVITA.

ANOTHER of the natural curiosities in this province is the Lake of Guatavita, situated in a wild and solitary spot on the ridge of the mountains of Zipaquira, and supposed to have been held in religious veneration by the Indians, who repaired thither for the purpose of ablution. In this lake, according to tradition, lie concealed immense treasures, which the natives are said to have thrown into it when Quesada appeared with his cavalry on the plain of Cundinamarca; and the draining of it has always been a favourite project. Señor Pépe Paris, who is at present the director of the draining, has expended large sums of money in the process. The Spaniards had once got within fourteen feet of the bottom, when the sides fell in with a tremendous crash; and the lagoon having springs in it, the waters began to rise. But, by examining the banks, and washing the mud and soil, they procured a sufficient sum to pay the Government a quinta of 170,000 dollars (a quinta is three per cent); and one emerald procured, and sent to Madrid, was alone valued at 70,000 dollars.

An old Spaniard, sounding in the centre, drew up with the lead a small branch of a tree, covered with mud, in which was found a golden image worth about 100 dollars. This is the image, we apprehend, which the Author of Letters from Colombia saw at a gentleman's house at Bogota, and which had been recovered from the lake: "it was about three inches in height, and resembled the objects of Hindoo worship." "Having paddled round the shores of the lake," con-

tinues Capt. Cochrane, "we landed, and commenced examining the works which were now going on, as a kind of tunnel. We found the strata to be chiefly slate and grey sand-stone; but saw no volcanic appearances. I at once perceived why the sides had fallen in. The slate strata lay in flakes, at about twenty degrees from the perpendicular, against the edges of which the water struck, and gradually carrying away piece by piece, undermined the sides, which consequently fell in. I pointed it out, and proposed planking the sides, in which Señor Rivero concurred; but we could not persuade our friend Pépe that this was requisite. The distance required to be cut, I found to be about forty yards, which might easily be done with proper care, and an expense of perhaps 2,000 dollars."*

On the edge of the conical summit in which the lagoon is situated, our Traveller saw "two of the sepulchres of the caciques hewn in the sand-stone." Capt. Cochrane subsequently visited "innumerable spots where the Indians used to bury their dead, and found," he says, "that the burial-places of the chiefs had been always chosen on commanding summits overlooking the plains, and that they were generally interred singly; whereas the lower class were buried in large caverns formed for that purpose some hundreds of feet below." He obtained permission to open a considerable number of these *guacas* or sepulchres, and he describes one which appears to have been made for a chief. "The spot was indicated by a small hollow appearance in the ground. After removing about a foot of turf and earth, we came to an amazingly large stone, about twelve feet long, eight feet wide, and

* Capt. Cochrane succeeded, by opening the canal, in lowering the lake ten feet, but he did not stay to complete the undertaking.

nine inches thick; it was a kind of sand-stone; this we were obliged to break, and with great difficulty removed, when in two pieces. It had rested on a shelf piece all round; the grave was formed in sand-stone. We at first came to earth, and then to finely variegated sand, rammed down so hard, as to appear almost an integral part of the sand-stone, but manifestly different, as it crumbled to fine dust when once broken out, whereas the natural strata adhere more firmly together. After digging down for about eight feet, we came to earthenware, of a rough description, and rudely painted, some of which had been used for water, others for cooking utensils, from the evident marks of fire on them; the whole contained nothing but sand. I was obliged to erect a windlass, and use buckets to send the sand up in. At about fourteen feet depth we met with some human bones, the thigh and arm-pieces, but no scull or teeth; and after continuing our labour to the depth of thirty feet, we reached the original native strata. All the graves I opened, yielded nothing but earthenware, called by the natives *losa*; from which I am led to believe, that, on the death of an Indian, all his riches were thrown into the Lake of Guatavita, in honour of the deity; for in other parts, where they have no holy place of worship, their wealth has been found buried in their graves with them. In Peru, large fortunes have been made, by discovering the cemetery of a chief; and some were so deep, as to render it necessary to work them by candle-light."* And here, tradition reports,

* The geological character of this cavernous tract of country deserves to be investigated. Some of these Indian caves contain nitre. The fact of their being used as places of sepulture by the aborigines is highly curious. The whole formation is probably sand-stone, which prevails in this neighbourhood.

that there exists a cave, connected with the worship of the lagoon, at the entrance of which formerly stood "two golden figures as large as life." A Spanish soldier who first wandered to the place, cut off one of the fingers, when he was attacked by the natives, wounded, and with difficulty made his escape. Having related what he had seen, a strong party proceeded to the spot, but no figures were to be found, nor could they discover the entrance to the cave! From this spot there is a magnificent view,—"verdant plains stretching at your feet, various collateral ridges of mountains in parallel lines appearing to the westward, and the rear closed by the Andes themselves." At the village of Yousa, distant a day's journey, are two salt springs: the waters from the evaporation of which the mineral is obtained, come from the direction of the famous rock-salt mines of Zipaquira. Both these springs and the salt mines were about to be worked by Col. Johnston and Mr. Thompson, under whose management they were expected to be rendered extremely profitable. Fine emeralds have been found in this neighbourhood.* At the village of Muniquira, near the small town of Liva, are copper mines, which, Captain Cochrane thinks, might be rendered very valuable. The ore is rich, yielding from sixty to seventy per cent. It is about three days' journey from Bogota. Not far from Liva is the celebrated church and monastery of Chiquinquira, round which

* The emerald mines of Muso have been granted by Government on lease to Senor Rivero. "Small emeralds," Captain Cochrane says, "are so plentiful, that it is a common thing to purchase poultry, merely to kill them in search of emeralds, which they are fond of: several are often found in the entrails of a large fowl, and sometimes in a very pure and perfect state, though most generally flawed and very small, consequently of no intrinsic value."

a small town has sprung up, with a population of 1,000 souls. The church is a handsome building, but inferior to the cathedral of Bogota. The miraculous picture of the Virgin, which is the object of devotion to pilgrims, is a very bad painting, stuck over with a profusion of very small emeralds and some still smaller diamonds. It is concealed by a rich veil, which is drawn up with much ceremony to gratify the eyes of pilgrims. By this craft, the friars are said to gain immense wealth in presents of jewels, which, as trustees for the Virgin, they convert into cash as soon as they can, taking care to save appearances, by sending them for sale to some distant province. The hall of the monastery is hung round with some fifty or sixty small paintings, representing miracles performed by Our Lady of Chiquinquira. On leaving this place, Captain Cochrane had proceeded about a league, when he met several persons dismounted and on their knees, their faces turned towards the towers of this famous sanctuary. He was told that it was customary for pilgrims to dismount at every mile, after coming in sight of it! A fine plain, about twenty leagues long by five broad, commences at this distance from Chiquinquira, the greater part of which is occupied by a shallow lake, called the Lake of Foucany, which it is proposed to drain and cultivate.

NATURAL BRIDGES OF ICONONZO.

At two days' journey from Bogota, in the road to Popayan, are the famous natural bridges of Icononzo, described by Humboldt in his Picturesque Atlas. This spot was visited by M. Mollien. The road, which lies in a S.E. direction, is one of the most difficult and least frequented in the whole country. "The

traveller," says M. Humboldt, "must feel a passionate enthusiasm for the beauties of nature, who prefers the dangerous descent of the desert of San Fortunato, and the mountains of Fusagasuga, leading towards the natural bridges of Icononzo, to the usual road by the *Mesa de Juan Diaz*, to the banks of the Magdalena." Climbing, after much fatigue and difficulty, the *Alto de Honda*, M. Mollien arrived, at the end of two days, at the village of Mercadillo (or Pandi), founded a few years ago for the purpose of attracting thither the scattered Indian population of these burning valleys. In an hour from this place, he reached the bridge; but we must take our description of it from Humboldt.

"The valley of Icononzo,* or Pandi, is less remarkable for its dimensions than for the singular form of its rocks, which seem to have been carved by the hand of man. Their naked and barren summits present the most picturesque contrast with the tufts of trees and shrubs, which cover the brinks of the crevice. The small torrent which has made itself a passage through the valley of Icononzo, is called *Rio de la Suma Paz*: it falls from the eastern chain of the Andes, which divides the basin of the Magdalena from the vast plains of the Meta, the Guaviare, and the Orinoco. The torrent, confined in a bed almost inaccessible, could not have been crossed without extreme difficulty, had not nature provided two bridges of rocks. The deep crevice through which it rushes, is in the centre of the valley of Pandi. Near the bridge, the waters keep their direction from

* "Icononzo is the name of an ancient village of the Muysca Indians, at the southern extremity of the valley, of which only a few scattered huts now remain."

E. to W., for a length of between 4 and 5,000 yards. The river forms two beautiful cascades at the point where it enters the crevice on the west of Doa, and where it escapes in its descent towards Melgar. This crevice was probably formed by an earthquake, and resembles an enormous vein from which the mineral substance has been extracted. The neighbouring mountains are of grit-stone (*sand-stein*), with a clay cement. In the valley of Iconouzo, this grit-stone is composed of two distinct rocks; one, extremely compact and quartzose, with a small portion of cement, and scarcely any fissures of stratification, lies on a schistous grit-stone with a fine grain, and divided into an infinite number of small strata, extremely thin, and almost horizontal. It is probable, that the compact stratum resisted the shock which rent these mountains, and that it is the continuity of this stratum which forms the bridge. This natural arch is forty-six feet in length and nearly forty in breadth: its thickness in the centre is about seven feet. Experiments carefully made, gave us 312 feet for the height of the upper bridge above the level of the torrent. The Indians of Pandi have formed, for the safety of travellers, (who, however, seldom visit this desert country,) a small balustrade of reeds, which extends along the road leading to this upper bridge.

"Sixty feet below this natural bridge is another, to which we are led by a narrow pathway, which descends upon the brink of the crevice. Three enormous masses of rock have fallen so as to support each other. That in the middle forms the key of the arch; an accident which might have given the natives an idea of arches in masonry,—as unknown to the people of the New World as it was to the ancient Egyptians. I shall not attempt to decide the question, whether

these masses of rock have been projected from a great distance, or whether they are the fragments of an arch broken on the spot, but originally like the upper natural bridge. The latter conjecture seems probable, from a similar event which happened to the Coliseum at Rome, where, in a half-ruined wall, several stones were stopped in their descent, because, in falling, they accidentally formed an arch. In the middle of the second bridge of Icononzo is a hollow of more than eight yards square, through which is perceived the bottom of the abyss. The torrent seems to flow through a dark cavern, whence arises a lugubrious noise, caused by the numberless flights of nocturnal birds that haunt the crevice, and which we were led at first to mistake for those bats of gigantic size so well known in the equinoctial regions. Thousands of them are seen flying over the surface of the water. The Indians assured us, that these birds are of the size of a fowl, with a curved beak and an owl's eye. They are called *caoas;* and the uniform colour of their plumage, which is a brownish gray, leads me to think, that they belong to the genus of the *caprimulgus*, the species of which are so various in the cordilleras. It is impossible to catch them, on account of the depth of the valley; and they can be examined only by throwing down rockets, to illumine the sides of the crevice.

"The height of the natural bridge of Icononzo above the ocean, is 2,850 feet. A phenomenon similar to the upper bridge, exists in the mountains of Virginia, in the county of Rockbridge. The natural bridge of Cedar Creek, in Virginia, is a calcareous arch of fifty-six feet at its opening: its height above the waters of the river is 224 feet. The earthen bridge of Rumichaca, on the declivity of the por-

phyritic mountains of Chumban, in the province of Los Pastos; the bridge of *Madre de Dios*, or Danto, near Totonilco, in Mexico; the pierced rock near Grandola, in the province of Alentejo, in Portugal; are geological phenomena, which bear some resemblance to the bridge of Icononzo. But I doubt whether, in any part of the globe, a phenomenon has been discovered so extraordinary as that of the three masses of rocks, which support each other by forming a natural arch." *

In travelling from Bogota to the valley of the Cauca, there are two routes; one either by the *Mesa* and Tocayma, or by Icononzo, traversing the valley of the Magdalena, and crossing the central chain by the *paramo* of Guanacas; the other by Ibague and Cartago, and across the mountain of Quindiu, which is partially described by Humboldt. The latter was taken by Captain Cochrane in returning to the coast.

FROM BOGOTA TO CARTAGO.

On the 11th of December, 1824, Captain Cochrane left the capital, and stopped for the night at the village of Fontabon in the plain. At three hours' distance from that place, the road enters the *Boca del Monte*, a gap in the parapet of hills, from which a spiral road winds down a deep and romantic glen to the depth of 3,000 feet. The beginning of the descent is formed by slanting steps of stone, ten feet wide, eight feet broad, and from a foot to eighteen inches deep; in which, however, there are many gaps and great irregularities, so that the traveller will deem it

* Humboldt, Researches, vol. i. pp. 53—60.

prudent to lead his horse. At about 2,000 feet below the plain, the road leads along a ridge of mountains entirely covered with trees bearing the *campana*, a species of white bell-flower. The climate is here from twelve to fourteen degrees hotter than at Bogota. Although there is much traffic along this route, the roads are so completely cut up, that the baggage-mules frequently stick fast in the ruts. Passing through Tenja, a small village, our Traveller reached in the evening the town of La Mesa. The next day, still descending, he arrived at Anapoyma, where he found the heat extremely oppressive, the thermometer at 85° in the shade. The fourth day, he crossed the Bogota twice, and lodged at night at the *hacienda* of Peñon. The fifth day, he crossed the Fusagasega, and went on to the cottage called Cangreco. The sixth night, he slept at *Los Cosanos de la Honda*, and early the next morning, crossed the Magdalena, at the ferry to *La Villa de la Nuestra Senhora de Purificacion*, in the province of Neyva, reckoned half-way between Neyva and Tocaima.* About eight hours and a half from Purificacion, the route crosses the Quello (or Cuello), a rapid and strong river, on the banks of which travellers are sometimes detained for days till it is shallow enough to pass. Three hours and a half farther is the city of *San Bonifacio de Ibague* in Mariquita, an inconsiderable place, with a population of between 2 and 3,000. "About 130 years ago, the plains of Ibague were all corn-lands, and the superiority of their produce was such as to incur the jealousy of the viceroy, who, finding that the corn was preferred to that of his own territory,

* From Purificacion, Captain C. made an excursion to the gold mines of Apone, near Coyamo, but found them not worth the trouble of visiting them.

sent a mandate for the whole to be destroyed, and the mills dismantled." Such is the statement Captain Cochrane received, and he saw many of the mill-stones lying about the plain. Here he prepared for his arduous journey to Cartago across the Quindiu.

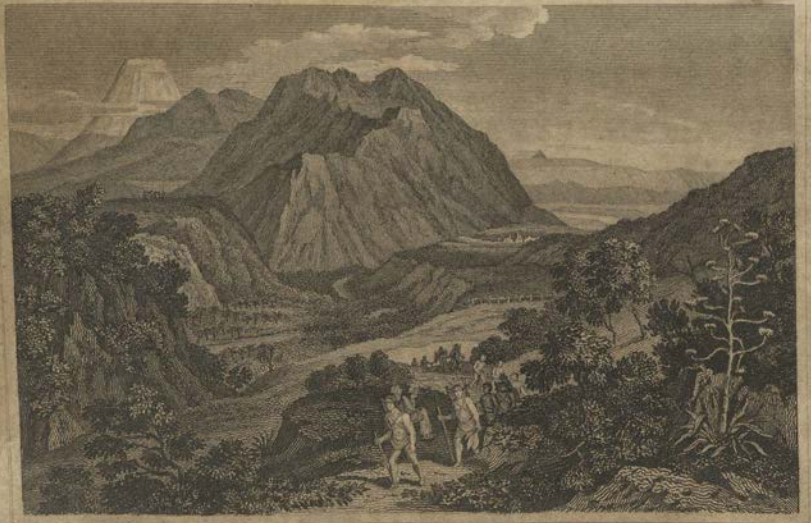
"The mountain of Quindiu,"* says Humboldt, "is considered as the most difficult passage in the Cordilleras of the Andes. It is a thick, uninhabited forest, which, in the finest season, cannot be traversed in less than ten or twelve days. Not even a hut is to be seen, nor can any means of subsistence be found. Travellers, at all times of the year, furnish themselves with a month's provision, since it often happens, that, by the melting of the snows, and the sudden swell of the torrents, they find themselves so circumstanced, that they can descend neither on the side of Cartago, nor that of Ibague. The highest point of the road, the *Garito del Paramo*, is 1,450 feet above the level of the sea. As the foot of the mountain, towards the banks of the Cauca, is only 3,140 feet; the climate there is, in general, mild and temperate. The pathway which forms the passage of the cordilleras is only about a foot in breadth, and has the appearance, in several places, of a gallery dug, and left open to the sky. In this part of the Andes, as in almost every other, the rock is covered with a thick stratum of clay. The streamlets which flow down the mountains, have hollowed out gulleys 18 or 20 feet deep. Along these crevices, which are full of mud, the traveller is forced to grope his passage, the darkness of which is increased by the thick vegetation that covers the opening above. The oxen, which are the beasts of burden commonly made use of in this country, can

* In lat. 4° 36′ N. long. 5° 12′ of Paris.

scarcely force their way through these galleries, some of which are 2,000 yards in length; and if perchance the traveller meets them in one of these passages, he finds no means of avoiding them, but by turning back, and climbing the earthen wall which borders the crevice, and keeping himself suspended, by laying hold of the roots which penetrate to this depth from the surface of the ground.

"We traversed the mountains of Quindiu in the month of October 1801, on foot, followed by twelve oxen, which carried our collections and instruments, amidst a deluge of rain, to which we were exposed during the last three or four days in our descent on the western side of the cordilleras. The road passes through a country full of bogs, and covered with bamboos. Our shoes were so torn by the prickles which shoot out from the roots of these gigantic *gramina*, that we were forced, like all other travellers who dislike being carried on men's backs, to go barefooted. This circumstance, the continued humidity, the length of the passage, the muscular force required to tread in a thick and muddy clay, and the necessity of fording deep torrents of icy water, render this journey extremely fatiguing; but, however painful, it is accompanied by none of those dangers with which the credulity of the people alarms travellers. The road is narrow, but the places where it skirts precipices are very rare. As the oxen are accustomed to put their feet in the same tracts, they form small furrows across the road, separated from each other by narrow ridges of earth. In very rainy seasons, these ridges are covered with water, which renders the traveller's step doubly uncertain, since he knows not whether he places his foot on the ridge or in the furrow.

"The usual mode of travelling for persons in easy



Engd. on Steel. by H. Adlard.

PASSAGE OF THE QUINDIU IN THE CORDILLERA OF THE ANDES.

circumstances is in a chair, strapped to the back of one of the native porters (*cargueros*), or men of burden, who live by letting out their backs and loins to travellers. They talk in this country of going on a man's back (*andar en curgueros*) as we mention going on horseback. No humiliating idea is annexed to the trade of *carguero's;* and the men who follow this occupation are not Indians, but mulattoes, and sometimes even whites. It is often curious to hear these men, with scarcely any covering, and following an employment which we should consider so disgraceful, quarrelling in the midst of a forest, because one has refused the other, who pretends to have a whiter skin, the pompous title of *don*, or of *su merced*. The usual load of a *carguero* is six or seven arrobas: those who are very strong carry as much as nine arrobas. When we reflect," continues Humboldt, "on the enormous fatigue to which these miserable men are exposed, journeying eight or nine hours a day over a mountainous country; when we know, that their backs are sometimes as raw as those of beasts of burden; that travellers have often the cruelty to leave them in the forests when they fall sick; that they earn by a journey from Ibague to Cartago, only twelve or fourteen piasters in from fifteen to twenty-five days; we are at a loss to conceive how this employment of a *carguero* should be eagerly embraced by all the robust young men who live at the foot of the mountains. The taste for a wandering life, the idea of a certain independence amid forests, leads them to prefer it to the sedentary and monotonous labour of cities. The passage of the mountain of Quindiu is not the only part of South America which is traversed on the backs of men. The whole of the province of Antioquia is surrounded by mountains so difficult to pass, that they

who dislike entrusting themselves to the skill of a bearer; and are not strong enough to travel on foot from Santa Fé de Antioquia to Bocca de Nares or Rio Samana, must relinquish all thoughts of leaving the country. I was acquainted with an inhabitant of this province so immensely bulky, that he had not met with more than two mulattoes capable of carrying him; and it would have been impossible for him to return home, if these two carriers had died while he was on the banks of the Magdalena, at Monpox or at Honda. The number of young men who undertake the employment of beasts of burden at Choco, Ibague, and Medellin, is so considerable, that we sometimes met a file of fifty or sixty. A few years ago, when a project was formed to make the passage from Naires to Antioquia passable for mules, the *cargueros* presented formal remonstrances against mending the road, and the Government was weak enough to yield to their clamours. The person carried in a chair by a *carguero*, must remain several hours motionless, and leaning backwards. The least motion is sufficient to throw down the carrier; and his fall would be so much the more dangerous, as the *carguero*, too confident in his own skill, chooses the most rapid declivities, or crosses a torrent on a narrow and slippery trunk of a tree. These accidents are, however, rare; and those which happen must be attributed to the imprudence of travellers, who, frightened at a false step of the *carguero*, leap down from their chairs."*

* Researches, vol. i. pp. 61—9.

† The annexed plate, copied from the learned Author's Picturesque Atlas, represents the entrance of the mountain near Ibague. In the fore-ground, a band of *cargueros* are coming up. A part of the town of Ibague, the great valley of the Magdalena, and the eastern chain of the cordilleras, are seen in the back-ground; and

Captain Cochrane was advised by the alcalde to take a mule in preference to a *sillero* (chairman), but he had reason sorely to repent of having followed this recommendation. On the second day, while his companion went on smoothly before, and quite dry, he found himself left behind, his mule being up to the girths in mud, and in momentary danger of stumbling or sticking fast. "The road was originally formed by the old Spaniards, about eight feet broad, with trees laid equally together and well secured, affording a very good passage; but, in consequence of neglect, the mountain-torrents have torn away the wood, which has not been repaired, and it has become in parts so bad and worn, that the present road is from twenty to thirty feet below the original level, with perpendicular sides, and so narrow, that I was frequently compelled to draw my feet from the stirrups, and lay them close to the ears of the mule, to prevent my knees from being crushed by the banks on both sides; the muleteer being obliged to go in advance of the laden mule, to cut the banks with a kind of straight hoe, in order to make room for the animal to pass, although the baggage was laid as much on the back as possible."

In other places, where he was compelled to walk, he observed the original line of road far above his head, the beams sticking out at the sides. Soon after passing a mountain torrent on the third day, his companion pointed out the spot where a Spanish officer met his deserved fate. The road here lies along the edge of an abrupt precipice, 1,500 feet in perpendicular depth to the river below. The officer, having fastened

the truncated cone of Colima, covered with perpetual snow, appears above the mass of granitic rocks. The small river, forcing its way across a thicket of palm-trees, is the Combelma.

on an immense pair of mule spurs, was incessantly darting the rowels into the bare flesh of the poor *sillero* who carried him. In vain his bearer assured him that he could not quicken his pace. Even Indian patience, however, may be exhausted, and, on reaching this spot, the *sillero* jerked his inhuman rider from his chair into the torrent below, and made his escape into the mountain. On the sixth day, Captain Cochrane found himself scarcely able to sit his mule, having been very ill in the night, with violent vomitings. This day, he passed the River Quindiu three times. On the eighth, he had to descend declivities so nearly perpendicular, that "the mules, squatting on their hams, slid down twenty or thirty yards, without a possibility of stopping themselves, and with imminent peril to the rider." Twice, in going down such a steep, the crupper of the saddle broke, and threw him on the mule's neck, where he with difficulty kept his seat, owing to the poor animal's having neither time nor power for kicking. This night, he reached the small village of *La Balsa*, where he halted a day for the mules and peons. On the 10th day,* he crossed, at the end of three hours, the *Rio Vieja*, and, three hours farther, came in sight of Cartago, at the base of the mountain, which he reached by a descent of about an hour and a half.

Cartago, which bears the title of a city, is well situated on the left bank of the River *Vieja*, a little above its junction with the Cauca. There is a cathedral and two parish churches, in good repair, with tolerable organs, made by an ingenious native, who is almost self-taught. What gave our Traveller the greatest pleasure, he says, was a school established on the Lancastrian principle, for girls and boys, which

* Yet the post is said to go from Cartago to Ibague in four days.

appeared to be well conducted. The commerce of the place is nearly confined to sending dried beef and live pigs to *Choco*, where there are scarcely any cattle, as the pasturage there will not support them. Coffee is grown in great abundance, but only for home consumption. The cacao of the plains of Cartago is far superior to that of Guayaquil, and both the sugar-cane and tobacco flourish luxuriantly. The whole district is rich in mineral productions, and the hills contain nitre. But, owing to the want of convenient outlets, and the great expense of conveyance to Buenaventura, the nearest port, the produce of this fertile valley cannot be turned to account, and the cultivation is confined to the home demand. The magnificent River Cauca flows through the whole of these plains, but is navigable only in particular places. Among other natural productions in this valley, is the herb called *cabuca*, the juice of which is said to be a specific for all wounds, ulcers, and gangrenes. There are three species, the Mexican, the kind called *macho*, and the *embra*. In Venezuela, the plant is called *cocaisa*.

FROM CARTAGO TO CITERA.

On leaving Cartago, Captain Cochrane had to cross a second range of mountains to reach Choco. He now thought it prudent to provide himself with a *sillero*, but, owing to the desertion of one of his *peons*, he was obliged, on the third day, to dismount, and let the bearer carry his trunk, till the stock of provisions grew light enough to allow of a spare man of burden; he then had his *sillero* again. Incessant torrents of rain aggravated the difficulties and perils of the road. "*How often*," exclaims our Traveller, "while I was scarcely able to keep my seat from soreness of limbs,

and the rain falling in torrents, did I wish myself safe out of these mountains; and vow never to cross them again!". Both he and his peons were sometimes so ill, as to be scarcely able to proceed. One day they were in want of water, when the *sillero* conducted our Traveller to a *guadua*-tree, in which he made an incision, and water flowed in abundance. "Applying my mouth to the orifice," he says, "I quenched my thirst with the fluid, which was clear and delicious. Each joint of this tree contains about two gallons of water." On the 10th day, the route lay directly along a ridge of mountains leading down to *Las Juntas*. "My *sillero*," continues Captain Cochrane, "being sufficiently recovered to carry me, I was mounted in my chair, when suddenly, about noon, he turned round, and began descending an almost perpendicular declivity, backwards. My face was thus turned to the abyss below, the bottom of which was 2,000 feet from the place where we were, with a platform sixty feet beneath us, about twelve feet square. My *sillero* commenced his descent, holding by the roots of trees, sometimes with only one hand, whilst with the other he was scratching with his pole, of hardened wood pointed (which all the *peons* have in these mountainous parts), a place for his foot to rest on at his next step. I had been taken by surprise, and called out to him, as soon as possible, to set me down; but he desired me to sit quite still, if I had any regard for my safety; with which I complied, and we eventually reached the small platform below without accident.

"We here halted for some time before we again proceeded. The road continued along this lower ridge; the path at first nearly fourteen feet wide, but gradually narrowing to about two feet, and continuing so with but little variation for some distance; the

sides of the mountain being nearly perpendicular, and the trees growing thickly on them, up to the very edge of our path on either side. Occasionally, where the trees allowed, we had a picturesque and commanding view of the deep vales beneath, and the towering mountains that surrounded them; whilst a boisterous and foaming torrent dashed below; on both sides of the mountain we traversed, hurrying on the same course as ourselves to the termination of the ridge, at *Las Juntas*; and adding, by its silvery appearance and sparkling foam, to the magnificence of the striking scenery."

Las Juntas derives its name from the confluence of the mountain streams, which here form the river Tamina. Here he embarked in a canoe, and, for an hour and a half, glided with rapidity down the stream, passing many dangerous shoals and rapids, to *La Cabezera*. The river is then for two leagues navigable only by rafts, owing to the falls and rapids. At a place called Guaybal, our Traveller was glad to discharge his peons, except his *sillero*, on embarking for Novita. In that "miserable town," he was detained for six days, while a messenger was despatched to order a canoe to come to the *Tambo* of *San Pablo*, on the Citera side of the isthmus of San Pablo. The population of Novita is nearly all black, amounting to about 1,000 souls. At length he again embarked, and was rapidly carried down the Tamina for three hours to its junction with the River San Juan, by which, in three days, you may arrive at the Pacific Ocean.

At this junction, the San Juan is about 400 yards broad; but, as our Traveller now began to ascend it, changing his course from south to west, it became narrower, shallower, and more rapid. Soon after

sunset, he reached San Pablo, and, after passing some gold mines, crossed over to the *Tambo* on the Novita side. The next day, he had again occasion for his *sillero* in crossing the isthmus by a woodland path, originally formed of timbers placed lengthways, but horribly out of repair. In some places, the *sillero* had to cross over bridges of a single log, where, if his foot had slipped, his rider would have had his neck broken. After an hour's travelling, they reached the rising ground which divides the San Juan from the stream of Citera, between which it is proposed to cut a canal that would connect the two oceans. "I particularly inspected it," says Capt. Cochrane, "and found the distance from one stream to another to be about 400 yards, and the height of the ground to be cut through, about 70 feet. But, after digging a very few feet, you come to solid rock, which would make the undertaking expensive. Besides, it would be necessary to deepen each stream for about a league; so that, I think, the least cost would be 500,000 dollars, to make a good communication between the Atrato and the San Juan." It is an hour's walk from this place to the *Tambo* of Citera. Again embarking, he descended the very shallow and narrow stream of the *San Pablo* for two hours, till, being joined by the Rapadura from the north-east, the river becomes broader and deeper: a little lower, it assumes the name of the Quito. Early on the third morning, he reached Citera, a miserable town on the right bank of the Atrato, in the midst of swamps.* On the 12th

* From this place to the mouths of the Atrato, nearly the whole tract consists of *tierras baldias*, (unappropriated lands); but, till within three days' journey of the entrance, there is no ground that could be cultivated: "on landing on either bank, and walking fifty yards, you arrive at an impenetrable morass."

of March, he embarked in a *champan* on this noble river; passed, during the night of the 15th, the mouth of the River Niapippi; and, on the 19th, sailed through the Barbacoa, one of the nine mouths of the Atrato, * into the Gulf of Darien. Contrary winds detained him for some days, but at length, on the 27th, he safely and joyfully landed at Cartagena.

With regard to the proposed communication between the two oceans by means of the Niapippi, Captain Cochrane conceives that Baron Humboldt must have been misinformed as to its feasibility. A Colombian officer, who had crossed over to Panama by that route, stated, that he found the Niapippi shallow, rapid, and rocky; that the land-carriage to the port of Tupica, (instead of being over level ground,) crosses three sets of hills; and that he could perceive no possibility of a communication between the Niapippi and the Pacific Ocean. As to the other line of navigation, M. Humboldt states, that the *curé* of a village near Novita, had actually employed his parishioners to dig a small canal through the *quebrada de la Raspadura*, and that by this means, during the rainy season, canoes had actually passed from sea to sea. "This interior communication has existed since 1788, unknown to Europe. The small canal of Raspadura unites, on the two oceans, two points 75 leagues distant from each other." This communication, however, Capt. Cochrane says, can never become of great utility, from its distance, and the brief season of the year in which it is practicable.

* The main mouth is La Candelaria, but it is beset with sand-banks. The Atrato is the same river as the Choco and Darien. Its navigation was formerly prohibited by the Spanish government, *on pain of death*.

POPAYAN.

M. Mollien proceeded from Bogota to Popayan by way of Guaduas and the Magdalena. His account of the route is, however, so indistinct, and his orthography so doubtful, that we are not able to make any satisfactory use of it. The situation of Popayan is most delightful. The valley, he says, has not the gigantic magnificence of that of Bogota; but the air is so pure, the temperature so mild, the soil so fertile, that "he would be almost tempted to give it a preference over the plateaus of the other cordilleras, if the number of disgusting insects, particularly fleas, did not render the place almost uninhabitable." The houses are more handsome than those of Bogota, and there are some that would not disgrace the finest parts of our European capitals. But the place is in decay, and the population greatly diminished. Many families struck our Traveller as seeming, from their physiognomy, to be of Jewish origin. The number of negroes and mulattoes here, is double that of the whites.

From Popayan, M. Mollien took the road to Cali, traversing the valley of the Cauca. He then crossed the mountains to *Las Juntas*, a village so called from the confluence of the Pepita and the Dagua; and descended the latter river to the port of San Buenaventura, on the shores of the Pacific, where he embarked on board a schooner for Panama.

"The great ocean," says M. Mollien, "is almost solitary between Lima and Mexico: but few ships are met with." The commerce is almost confined to the ports of Callao, Guayaquil, Panama, San Blas, and Acapulco; but a coasting trade is carried on by the

RAFT ON THE RIVER OF GUAYAQUIL.

Published by J. Duncan, 37, Paternoster Row, June 1825

ships of Païta. On the coasts of the South Sea, and at the mouth of the Guayaquil, large rafts (*balzas*) have been used by the Indians from time immemorial, for the conveyance of merchandise and for fishing. The annexed plate represents one of these rafts laden with the fruits of the country. They are composed of eight or nine beams of very light wood, and are from fifty to eighty feet in length.

PANAMA.

"GUAYAQUIL," says M. Mollien, "is built of wood; Buenaventura, of straw; Panama has retained something of both kinds of architecture.* At first sight, however, this town pleases the European: he sees houses of three stories, inhabited by several families; consequently, as in his own country, all is noise and bustle." But on a nearer view, the place presents very far from pleasing or attractive features. The streets are narrow, — much darker, and even much dirtier than those of Cartagena. The people are excessively uncleanly. The town is in ruins. "In some districts, whole streets have been allowed to fall into neglect, and even the military works are fast crumbling to decay. Every thing, in short, tells the same lamentable story of former splendour and of present poverty." "Panama," says Capt. Basil

* The French Traveller will be thought to have sacrificed here correctness to antithesis. Panama still presents the remains of magnificent public edifices, among which Captain Basil Hall particularises the Jesuits' College, a church and convent, and "a gorgeous bath by the side of a dried-up marble fountain." In fact, there remain "more genuine traces," he says, "of that luxurious and tasteful splendour which displays itself in fine public edifices," at Panama, than even in Lima, the "city of the kings," with all its tinsel and pretension. — HALL'S *Journal*, vol. ii. pp. 155—7.

Hall, "has flourished for a long series of years, but its sun has at last set with the golden flag of Spain, the signal of exclusion wherever it waved."

Here we must close our topographical description of the Republic of Colombia. Whole provinces yet remain to be explored by European travellers, before we can have materials for any thing like a complete account of this wonderful country. In the meantime, it is not improbable that the territorial boundaries and internal arrangements of the republic may undergo some modification. It was our intention, agreeably to the intimation given at page 12, to close this volume with a brief historical sketch of the sanguinary revolution which has ushered in the happy era of the national independence; but we the less regret the necessity under which we have found ourselves, of omitting this, inasmuch as a fairer opportunity will be afforded, in the description of Peru, of presenting a complete account of the contest, and we trust, of its final and successful termination. At the same time, we shall probably be able to furnish some description of the southern provinces of Colombia which were once politically, and may still be considered as geographically, connected with that vice-royalty.

THE END.

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THE

MODERN TRAVELLER.

A

DESCRIPTION,

GEOGRAPHICAL, HISTORICAL, AND TOPOGRAPHICAL,

OF THE

VARIOUS COUNTRIES OF THE GLOBE.

IN THIRTY VOLUMES.

By JOSIAH CONDER.

VOLUME THE TWENTY-EIGHTH.

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THE

MODERN TRAVELLER,

&c. &c.

PERU.

[A country of South America, lying between latitude 3° 30′ and 21° S.; bounded, on the N., by Colombia; on the E., by Brazil; on the S., by Chile and the Provinces of La Plata; on the W., by the Pacific Ocean.]

PERU, a denomination of unknown import,* has considerably varied in its geographical acceptation. The ancient empire of the Incas, at the time of its overthrow, comprehended Quito, which had been annexed by conquest to their original dominions, of which Cuzco was the capital. Under the Spaniards, the viceroyalty of Peru, established at Lima, comprised at one time the whole of their possessions in America south of the Isthmus. When New Granada was constituted, in 1718, a separate viceroyalty, Quito was annexed to it; and that province is now incorporated with the Colombian Republic. In 1778, a further dismemberment of Peru took place, by the separation of the rich districts of La Paz, Potosi, Charcas, and Santa Cruz, which were placed under the jurisdiction of the viceroy of Buenos Ayres. These provinces, which are usually

* Some assert, that *Biru* was the name of a cacique of one of the maritime states; others, that the word comes from a river called *Beru*, which was the first crossed by Pizarro; and others, that it was derived from a promontory called *Peiu*.—Alcedo's Dictionary by Thompson.

distinguished by the name of Upper Peru, now constitute the Republic of Bolivia. The remainder of the vice-royalty, which may be called Peru Proper, comprised a territorial surface of 41,400′ square marine leagues, with a population, according to Humboldt, of about thirty-four to the square league.* It was divided into the seven intendancies of Lima, Truxillo, Tarma, Huancavelica, Guamanga, Arequipa, and Cuzco; which were again subdivided into forty-nine *partidos* or districts, containing 1360 townships, and about a million of inhabitants.

The boundaries of this territory, on the north, are the provinces of Quito, Maynas, Jaen, and Guayaquil, in Colombia. On the East, the Rio Javary forms its limit from latitude 6° to 9° 30′, in which part it extends 200 leagues in width. Below that parallel, the Peruvian territory expands to 260 leagues, its boundary being a line that runs up, first, the Rio Madera, and then the Mamore, as far as the Rio Maniqui, in latitude 12° 30′; then, following the course of the Maniqui and the Tequiari, it separates the Peruvian districts of Paucartambo and Tinta from that of Apolobamba and the basin of Lake Titicaca, in Upper Peru. Below the parallel of 16°, the maritime chain of the Andes forms its boundary, and the mean breadth of the territory is not more than from fifteen to eighteen leagues. The *partido* of Tarapaca, in Arequipa, which reaches the desert of Atacama, at the mouth of the Rio de Loa, in latitude 21° 26′, formed the line of demarcation between the vice-royalties of Peru and Buenos Ayres. "If a line be drawn," says M. Humboldt, "from the southern

* Humboldt's Personal Narrative, vol. vi. pp. 167, 339. In his third volume (p. 422), the learned Author had estimated it at only 30,000 square leagues.

extremity of the province of Maynas, on the banks of the Guallaga, to the confluence of the Apurimac and the Beni, (which form the Rio Ucayale,) and thence to the westward of the Rio Vilcobamba and the table-land of Paucartambo, towards the point where the south-eastern frontier cuts the Rio Ynambari, it will divide Peru into two unequal parts: the one, comprising 26,220 square leagues, is the centre of the civilized population; the other, of 15,200 square leagues, is wild and almost uninhabited." *

The provinces of Upper Peru, extending from Tequiari and Mamore, as far as Pilcomayo, between the parallels of 13° and 24° S., are estimated to contain 37,020 square marine leagues. The southern limit is only an imaginary line running across uninhabited savannahs, and cutting the Cordillera of the Andes at the tropic of Capricorn; it thence crosses the Rio Grande, the Pilcomayo, and finally, the Paraguay, in latitude 20° 50'. If the basin of Lake Titicaca and the mountainous part of Upper Peru, where the Quichua language prevails, were to be re-united to Cuzco, the plains of Chiquitos and Chaco might, Humboldt remarks, naturally form part of the government of Buenos Ayres.†

The ancient Indians called this country *Tavantin-suyu*, the Four Parts (or Provinces), which were respectively distinguished by their direction.‡ The natural divisions of the country appear, however, to be but three in number, and are formed by the two cordilleras or chains of mountains, nearly parallel to

* Humboldt, vol. vi. p. 169. † Ibid. p. 175.

‡ Alcedo. This division must have been made in the latter days of the empire. Cuzco, the capital, was in *Colla-suyu*, the eastern province; the northern was called *Anti-suyu*; the western, *Chinchay-suyu*; and the southern, *Conti-suyu*.

each other, which traverse Peru from south to north. Between the western chain, called the Cordillera of the Coast, and the sea, is Lower Peru, consisting of an inclined plane from ten to twenty leagues in breadth, to which the Spaniards have given the name of *Valles*. It is chiefly composed of sandy deserts, destitute alike of vegetation and inhabitants. This is the character, indeed, of the greater part of the western coast, which presents, both in Peru and Chile, little more than a waste of rocks, sand, and saltpetre, the rains never reaching these parts. The explanation of this phenomenon appears to be, that the prevailing easterly winds, supposed to be a continuation of the S. E. trade-winds, blowing across the continent, bring the clouds to the higher ranges of the Andes, by which they are broken, and the rain falls before reaching the coast.* The only exceptions to this sterility are a few valleys, through which small streams run into the Pacific, affording the means of irrigation, or such spots as are moistened by subterranean springs. The climate of Lower Peru is remarkable for its equable mildness. In Lima, the thermometer has never been seen below 60° at noon, and seldom above 86°. The coolness that pervades the coast of this tropical region, M. Malte Brun remarks, cannot be attributable to its snow-capped mountains, but is rather the effect of a thick mist (called by the natives *garua*), which covers the disk of the sun, and is partly owing to a cold current that flows northward from the Straits of Magellan to Cape Parinna.†

* Maw, p. 419. The long drought to which the Coromandel coast is subject, is owing to a similar cause.—See India, vol. i. p. 40.

† Malte Brun, vol. v. p. 416. The difference between the ordinary temperature of the ocean in these latitudes, and that of the currents, is, according to Humboldt, at least 9°. "It certainly never rains at Lima," says Lieutenant Brand, "but the heavy dews

The country betweeen the two chains of the Andes, called the Sierra, consists of mountains and naked rocks, intersected by some fertile and well cultivated valleys. This region contains the finest silver mines in the world, and the richest veins are ordinarily found in the most sterile rocks. Though now comparatively uncultivated and thinly peopled, this upper country exhibits numerous traces of having once supported a considerable population; and what is reported respecting the longevity of the inhabitants, would lead us to suppose that the climate is particularly salubrious.

On the eastern declivity of the central chain begins the region of woods, called the *Montana*, the commencement of an immense plain, rich in vegetable productions, extending eastward to the banks of the Ucayale and the Maranham. This plain is broken, however, by several ridges, which divide the waters, and is inhabited by various distinct nations and tribes, of whom little is known. This region has been denominated Interior Peru. The climate is extremely humid, and it abounds with lakes and marshes, swarming with noxious reptiles and innumerable insects. The tribes scattered over this vast wilderness are peculiarly savage and degraded, many of them being anthropophagous.* For whatever is really known of their manners and customs, we are indebted almost

which fall night and morning, may be compared to what we call Scotch mists."—Brand, p. 183. From June to November, the dampness of the air is excessive.

* The Capanahuas or Busquipanes, "from a sort of piety, eat their deceased parents, smoking and roasting them in the same manner as they do the wild animals they catch in the woods." The Sencis "burn the dead, and drink the ashes in chicha." The Cashibos "are known to eat human flesh."—Maw's Travels, App. pp. 468—71. The Cabres and Guipunavies of the Orinoco, and other savages of Guiana, are in like manner undoubted cannibals.—See Humboldt's P. N. vol. v. p. 451, &c.

exclusively to the Spanish Missions established in those back countries. The principal rivers of these Missions are the Beni (or Parabeni) and the Tambo (or Paucartambo), which, by their junction, form the Ucayale, one of the largest tributaries to the mighty Amazons. The Parabeni (which signifies, in the Piros language, pure river) rises not far from Cuzco, and entering the *Montana* by the valley of Santa Ana, flows northward to join the Tambo, in latitude 10° 31′ S., longitude 74° 16′ E. The latter river is formed by three head streams; the Apurimac, the Pangoa (united with the Maramerio), and the Chanchamayo; which last, rising near Tarma, runs N.N.E. as far as 11° 20′ S., then inclines eastward to the *Cerro de Sal*, and thence invariably follows an easterly course to its confluence with the Pangoa, in latitude 10° 45′.* The Ucayale, (or Aucayale, which means, in the Omagua dialect, river of enemies,) after being joined by several other streams, discharges itself into the Maranham (or Amazons) in latitude 4° 14′ S., longitude 72° 21′ E.†

The river Beni (or Para-beni) is supposed to have been the limit of the Peruvian emigrations. In the New Continent, the progress of early civilization has evidently been from west to east, and from north to

* According to Alcedo's Dictionary, (which abounds, however, with contradictions,) the Ucayale is said to have its origin in the great lake of Chinchaycocha near Tarma. This lake is elsewhere stated to give rise to the river Pari or Paria, also called Xauxa (Jauja), which divides the province of that name, and receives the Apurimac in about latitude 12° S. Again, the Chanchamaia is described as a river of Caxamarquilla, which rises in the province of Tarma, and enters the large river Perene (Para-beni?) in the country of the Campas Indians. It is obvious that these varied names must denote the same stream, and that the lake of Chinchaycocha may be regarded as one of the chief sources of the Ucayale, and, therefore, of the Amazons itself.

† Maw's Travels, App. pp. 472, 3.

south,—a clear indication of the Asiatic origin of the institutions, arts, and religion of the Indian nations. Amidst the extensive plains of Upper Canada, in Florida, and in the deserts bordered by the Orinoco, the Cassiquiare, and the Guainia, dikes of considerable length occur, and weapons of brass and sculptured stones have been found, indicating that those countries, now traversed only by tribes of savage hunters, were once inhabited by an industrious people.* But when, in their migrations, hordes of hunters reached the plains of the equinoctial zone, they were compelled by the impenetrable forests and a luxuriant vegetation, to change their habits; and the character of man has seemed, in these sultry regions, to assume the rank and noxious wildness of the productions of the soil. The force of vegetation, the heat of the climate, and the "too lavish gifts of nature," have opposed obstacles to the progress of civilization, more formidable than either the Andes or the desert. Here, where no other space is found clear of wood, than that occupied by the lakes and the rivers,—where neighbouring tribes are more effectually secluded and separated from each other by the vegetable barrier, or by the labyrinth of waters, than elsewhere by interposing mountains or extended territories,—where man's physical wants are few and cheaply supplied, and commerce is alike im-

* "Some granitic rocks which rise on the savannahs of Guiana, between the Cassiquiare and the Conorichite, are covered with figures of tigers, crocodiles, and other characters which may be regarded as symbolical. Similar figures are found 400 leagues to the N. and W., on the banks of the Orinoco, near Encaramada and Caicara; on the borders of the river Cauca, near Timba, between Cali and Jelima; and even in the *paramo* of Guanacas. The natives of these regions are unacquainted with the use of metallic tools; and all concur in asserting, that these characters existed when their ancestors arrived in those countries."—Humboldt's Res., vol. i. p. 177; Pers. Nar. vol. v. pp. 592—600.

practicable and superfluous,—the mind of man stagnates for want of objects of hope or incentives to action, and the traces of civilization soon become effaced. In ascending towards the east, either by the Meta or by the Maranham, M. Humboldt remarks, the civilization of the natives is found to increase. In descending from Loxa, towards the Amazons, in the province of Jaen, some ruins of great edifices are found, which indicate that the Incas had carried so far eastward of the Cordilleras, their arms, religion, and arts. But, from the extreme difficulty of penetrating into the plains of the *Montana*, covered as they are with primeval forests, the fugitive Children of the Sun, when fleeing before their conquerors, never, in the opinion of the learned Traveller, passed beyond the banks of the Parabeni.* The inhabitants of Interior Peru appear to be, in fact, of a different origin from the other Peruvians, and were never brought under the yoke of the Incas.

Before we pursue any further our description of the country and its inhabitants, the reader will expect, conformably to our plan, an historical outline of the political revolutions which it has undergone since the Spaniard first drew his sword upon the Children of the Sun.

* Humboldt's Personal Narrative, vol. v. pp. 85, 6. Lieutenant Maw, however, met with some individuals of the Yagua tribe, at Pebas, on the Amazons, who will be described hereafter, and whom he supposes to be descended from the royal race of Cuzco.—Maw, p. 200.

HISTORY OF PERU.

"When the Spaniards first visited the coast of Peru, in the year 1526, Huana Capac, the twelfth monarch from the founder of the state, was seated on the throne. By his victorious arms, the kingdom of Quito was subjected; a conquest of such extent and importance as almost doubled the power of the Peruvian empire." These sentences comprise the substance of the information conveyed in the well-turned periods of Dr. Robertson, respecting the previous history of the country. The native annals ascend no higher than the era of the first Inca, the lord of a small territory comprising the city of Cuzco; and the Peruvian empire which he founded, could boast no more remote date than the twelfth century. There are traces, however, of an earlier civilization. According to M. Humboldt, the architectural monuments found in the elevated table-land of Tiahuanaco, served as models for the edifices which the Incas erected at Cuzco.* Over the origin of those more ancient works, there hangs an impenetrable obscurity. At the arrival of the Spaniards, the natives attributed the construction of them to "a race of white and bearded men," who inhabited the ridge of the Cordilleras long before the foundation of the empire of the Incas. To whatever race they belonged, there seems little room to doubt

* "It is probable," says Humboldt, "that the edifices which I have heard called in Peru, Quito, and as far as the banks of the Amazons, by the name of *Inga Pilca*-(buildings of the Inca), do not date further back than the thirteenth century. Those of Vinaque and Tiahuanaco were constructed at a remoter period; as were the walls of unbaked brick, which owe their origin to the ancient inhabitants of Quito, the *Paruays*, governed by the Conchocando (sovereign) of Lican, and by *guastays*, tributary princes."—Humboldt's Researches, vol. ii. p. 8.

that they had arrived in Peru by following the ridges of the Cordilleras, and that the civilization of the southern America, as well as that of Mexico, emanated from the north.

"The annals of the Mexican empire," M. Humboldt remarks, "appear to go as far back as the sixth century of our era, since, at that period, we find the epochs of the migrations, the causes which produced them, and the names of the chiefs descended from the illustrious house of Citin, who led from the unknown regions of Aztlan and Teocolhuacan, the northern nations into the plains of Anahuac (Mexico)." But, "it is only from the twelfth century, that the annals of the Aztecs, like those of the Chinese and the people of Thibet, give an uninterrupted account of secular festivals, the genealogies of their kings, the tributes imposed on the conquered, the foundation of cities, and celestial phenomena. Though no traditions point out any direct connexion between the nations of North and South America, their history is not the less fraught with analogies in the political and religious revolutions from which dates the civilization of the Aztecs, the Muyscas, and the Peruvians. Men with beards and of fairer complexions than the natives of Anahuac, Cundinamarca, and the elevated plain of Cuzco, make their appearance without any indication of the place of their birth, bearing the titles of high-priests, legislators, the friends of peace and the arts, and operate a sudden change in the policy of the nations, who hail their arrival with veneration. Quetzalcoatl, Bochica, and Manco Capac, are the sacred names of these mysterious beings.* Quetzal-

* In like manner, the Indians of Brazil have their Paye Tzome, who taught them the use of the mandioc; and the Tamanacs hold in the same veneration their great father, Amalivaca.

coatl, clothed in a black sacerdotal robe, comes from Panuco, from the shores of the Gulf of Mexico. Bochica, the Boodh of the Muyscas, presents himself on the high plains of Bogota, where he arrives from the savannahs which stretch along the east of the Cordilleras. The history of these legislators is intermixed with miracles, religious fictions, and those characters which imply an allegorical meaning. Some learned men have pretended to discover, that these strangers were shipwrecked Europeans, or the descendants of those Scandinavians who, in the eleventh century, visited Greenland, Newfoundland, and perhaps Nova Scotia.* But a slight reflection on the period of the Toltec migrations, on the monastic institutions, the symbols of worship, the calendar, and the form of the monuments of Cholula, of Sogamozo, and of Cuzco, will lead us to the conclusion, that it was not in the north of Europe that Quetzalcoatl, Bochica, and Manco Capac framed their code of laws. Every consideration leads us rather towards Eastern Asia,—to those nations who have been in contact with the inhabitants of Thibet; to the Shamanist Tatars, and the bearded Ainos of the isles of Jesso and Saghalien."

"A long struggle between two religious sects, the Brahmins and the Boodhists, terminated in the emigration of the Shamans to Thibet, Mongolia, China, and Japan. If tribes of the Tatar race have passed over to the north-west coast of America, and thence to the S. and E., towards the banks of the Gila and the Missouri, as etymological researches seem to indicate; we should be less surprised at finding, among the semi-barbarous nations of the New Continent, idols and architectural monuments, a hiero-

* This would be an anachronism of at least three or four centuries.—See Humboldt's Researches, vol. i. p. 198.

glyphic writing, an exact knowledge of the duration of the year, and traditions respecting the first state of the world; recalling to our minds the sciences, arts, and religious opinions of the Asiatic nations.....It cannot be denied, that the Mexican Indians belong to a race of men who, like several Tatar and Mongol hordes, are extremely fond of imitating the form of objects. Every where in New Spain, as well as in Quito and Peru, we find Indians who know how to paint and carve. They succeed in servilely copying whatever they behold; and have learned, since the arrival of the Europeans, to give correctness to their outlines. But nothing indicates their being susceptible of that feeling of the beautiful, without which painting and sculpture cannot rise above the rank of mechanical arts. In this and in many other respects, the inhabitants of the New World resemble all the tribes of Eastern Asia.....The Kamtshatdales, the Tongoosians, and other tribes of Siberia, described by Strahlenberg, paint figures which represent historical facts.....If we do not find in the Old Continent any nation that has made so extensive a use of painting as the Mexicans, it is because we discover neither in Europe nor in Asia, a civilization so far advanced without the knowledge of an alphabet, or of certain characters that serve as a substitute, such as those of the Chinese and the Coreans. Before the introduction of hieroglyphical painting, the nations of Anahuac made use of those knots and threads of various colours which the Peruvians call *quippos*, and which have been found not only among the Canadians, but, in very remote times, among the Chinese. Boturini was fortunate enough to procure specimens of real Mexican *quippos* (or *nepohualtzitzin*) found in the country of the Tlascaltecs.

"In the great migrations of the nations, those of America transported themselves from north to south, as the Iberians, the Celts, and the Pelasgi flowed from east to west. Perhaps, the ancient inhabitants of Peru had already passed over the elevated plain of Mexico. In fact, Ulloa, who was well acquainted with the style of Peruvian architecture, was struck with the great resemblance that certain old edifices in Western Louisiana bore, in the distribution of the doors and niches, to the *tamboes* built by the Incas; and it is not less singular, according to the traditions collected at Lican, the ancient capital of the kingdom of Quito, that the *quippos* were known to the Purunys long before they were subdued by the descendants of Manco Capac. The use of hieroglyphics superseded in Mexico, as well as in China, that of the knots or the *nepohualtzitzin*. This change was effected about A.D. 648, when a northern, but very polished race, the Toltecs, appeared in the mountains of Anahuac, on the east of the Gulf of California, declaring themselves to have been expelled from a country lying to the N.W. of the Rio Gila, called Huehuetlapallan. They brought with them paintings indicating year by year the events of their migration, and they professed to have quitted their country, the situation of which is entirely unknown to us, in the year 544; the very period at which the total ruin of the Tsin dynasty had occasioned great commotions among the nations of Eastern Asia."*

As the Peruvians do not appear to have ever

* Humboldt's Researches, vol. i. pp. 28—30; 146, 7; 165—170. The learned Traveller supposes, that the Toltecs may have been a branch of the Hiong-nues, who, according to the Chinese historians, emigrated under their leader Puron, and were lost in the northern part of Siberia.—See Mod. Trav., Mexico, vol. i. p. 189.

abandoned their *quippos* for the hieroglyphic writing of the Toltecs, it has been inferred, that the latter tribes never penetrated so far south,* and that the old Peruvians sprang from an earlier colony who retired before that more civilized and warlike people. However this may have been, the Mexicans and the Peruvians exhibit a very marked difference in their characteristic features and institutions.

The government of the Incas of Peru was a species of theocracy: the sovereign united in his own person the temporal and the spiritual supremacy, and the Children of the Sun were both priests and kings. But, though the most absolute despotism in its form, it was far more mild in its character, and less oppressive in fact, than that of the Mexican sovereigns. The blind and passive submission which the Peruvians yielded to their sovereigns, precluded a recurrence to force; and, while every crime was punishable with death, the number of offenders was extremely small. The religious system too, upon which the Incas grafted their claims to such high authority, was of a genius very different from that terrible and atrocious superstition which obtained the ascendancy among the Mexicans. The dire and cruel worship of the "Terrible God," the Moloch of the Aztecs, has been compared to that of the Hindoo Seeva; and in their "Goddess of Hell," we have the counterpart to his wife, the black goddess Kali, to whom the Vedas enjoin the offering of human sacrifices. The bloodless rites of the Peruvian worship, on the other hand,

* Humboldt's Researches, vol. i. p. 173. The Peruvian calendar differs also from the Toltec. The learned Traveller remarks, however, in a note, that the Peruvians were not unacquainted with symbolic paintings, according to the testimony of P. Garcia and Acosta, although knots were in general use.

present an analogy to the worship of Krishna, the Apollo of the Hindoo pantheon. It is not a little remarkable, too, that as, in India, a contest between the two great sects of Vishnoo and Seeva has terminated in the ascendancy of the darker superstition, so, in Mexico, the worshippers of the Sun appear to have yielded to the votaries of the Destroyer. "That worship," says M. Humboldt, "in which no other offerings were made to the divinity, than flowers, incense, and the first fruits of harvest, undoubtedly existed at Mexico down to the beginning of the fourteenth century. When the Spaniards arrived at Tenochtitlan, the sanguinary worship which reminds us of the rites of Kali, of Moloch, and of the Esus of the Gauls, had existed only two hundred years." *

The national character of the Peruvians, conformably to the genius of their religion, was more gentle and pacific than that of any other people in America: even their wars are said to have been carried on with singular humanity. The Mexicans, on the contrary, were distinguished by their barbarous ferocity. They fought to exterminate, or to glut their blood-thirsty divinities with human sacrifices. They were the Ashantees of the New World. Yet while, in Mexico, there were traces of a milder superstition, in the institutions of Peru there were remains of the most savage barbarism. The funeral rites of their monarchs ill accorded with a religion the altars of which were unstained with blood; and one is tempted to suppose that they must have been introduced by imperial

* Humboldt, vol. i. pp. 213, 214. See also, *ib.*, pp. 216—221. Quetzalcoatl, like Boodh, is said to have preached against the execrable practice of human sacrifices, which originated with the savage Aztecs, the worshippers of Mexitli, the god of war. The principal deity of the Toltecs was the god of water and tempests.

vanity in imitation of the barbarous customs of a more ferocious race. "On the death of the Incas and of other eminent persons, a considerable number of their attendants were put to death, and interred round their *guacas* (tumuli), that they might appear in the next world with their former dignity, and be served with the same respect. On the death of Huana Capac, the most powerful of their monarchs, above a thousand victims were doomed to accompany him to the tomb." * That in Mexico the same Scythian practice should have prevailed, is not surprising; yet, it is not a little remarkable, to find the barbarous rites described by Homer and Herodotus, transplanted, on the one hand, to the heart of the Andes, and on the other hand, still practised with atrocious pomp by the sable nations of Guinea. In another particular, the manners of the mild and gentle Peruvians were singularly barbarous. Though not unacquainted with the use of fire in preparing maize and vegetables for food, they astonished the Spaniards by devouring both flesh and fish perfectly raw.†

In fact, prior to the appearance of Manco Capac and his spouse, Mama Ocollo, if the traditions concerning their mode of life, preserved among their descendants, deserve credit, the inhabitants of Peru ranked among the most uncivilized savages of America. Strangers to agriculture and all the useful arts, without any fixed residence, they are said to have roamed the forests with which the country was then covered, more like wild beasts than men. If so, their improvement under their Incas must have been surprisingly rapid, and would indicate an extraordinary degree of docility, although it soon reached the highest

* Robertson's America, b. vii. † *Ib.*

point of which the state of knowledge and the political circumstances of the country would admit. In Peru, agriculture was carried on with greater skill than in any part of America. By artificial canals, the torrents were made to supply the means of irrigating the low country, which is never refreshed with rain, and the soil was manured with the dung of sea-fowls. A mattock of hard wood supplied the place of a plough, and both sexes were engaged in the toils of husbandry. The Children of the Sun set an example of industry, by cultivating a field near Cuzco with their own hands.* In the construction, as well as navigation of their floats, the ingenuity of the Peruvians appears to be far superior to that of any other people in America. They had advanced so far in nautical skill as to raise a mast and spread a sail, by means of which their *balzas* not only went nimbly before the wind, but could veer and tack with great celerity. But it was in the temples consecrated to the Sun, and in the buildings destined for the residence of their monarchs, that the Peruvians displayed the utmost extent of their art and contrivance. The ruins of these sacred or royal buildings, found in every province, are evidently the monuments of a nation which must have subsisted, during a period of some duration, in a state of considerable improvement; and they convey to us a high idea of the power possessed by their ancient monarchs. The noblest works of the Incas were, however, the two great roads from Cuzco to Quito, a distance of fifteen hundred miles; the one conducted through the mountainous country, the other along the

* "They dignified this function," says Robertson, "by denominating it their triumph over the earth." Similar honours are conferred upon agriculture in the "celestial empire."—See MOD. TRAV., Persia, &c., vol. ii. p. 291.

maritime plains. At proper intervals, *tamboes* or storehouses were erected for the accommodation of the Inca and his attendants, in his progress through his dominions; and bridges of ropes were stretched across the torrents which intersected the road, in their course from the Andes to the western ocean. At the time that the Spaniards entered Peru, no kingdom in Europe, Robertson remarks, could boast of any work of public utility that could be compared to the great roads of the Incas.* Yet, in these works, the sagacious policy of the monarch is more conspicuous, than the advanced civilization of his subjects.

In their mode of obtaining and smelting the precious ores, the Peruvians had advanced beyond the other American nations; and the quantity of silver drawn from their mines was so considerable, that many of the utensils employed in the functions of common life were made of it. Several of their vessels and trinkets are said to have exhibited considerable neatness in the workmanship. Among other specimens of their ingenuity, there have been dug out of the *guacas*, or sepulchral barrows erected over the remains of their chiefs, mirrors, formed of a hard, shining stone, highly polished; vessels of earthenware, of different forms; and hatchets and other tools or weapons, some of flint, and others of copper mixed with tin, and thereby hardened to such a degree as to supply the place of iron. To a circumscribed use of this metal, the Peruvians were indebted for their superiority to the other nations in various arts;

* During the long reign of barbarism, the roads which it had been a capital object of Roman policy to open, had been neglected and partially destroyed. Mohammedan civilization was, in this respect, in advance of Christendom. Under the Patan sovereigns of Hindostan, the roads were an object of munificent attention.

although in none of them, their attainments were beyond those of a people in the rudest stage of incipient civilization.

Throughout the dominions of the Incas, Cuzco was the only place that had the appearance, or was entitled to the name of a city. Everywhere else, the people lived in detached habitations or small villages. Little or no intercourse was carried on between different provinces; for there were no stated markets, as in Mexico, and no inland trade. Although there was a marked distinction of ranks, a great body of the inhabitants being in the condition of helots or serfs, there was no separation of crafts. All the arts were practised by every Peruvian indiscriminately. All these circumstances indicate a rude state of society, and a population the opposite of redundant. In a country of so immense extent, with only one city, the progress of manners, and the improvement of either the necessary or the more refined arts, Dr. Robertson remarks, "must have been so slow, and carried on under such disadvantages, that it is more surprising the Peruvians should have advanced so far in refinement, than that they did not proceed further." When, in addition to the political debility which necessarily attached to a social structure thus slenderly constituted, we take into consideration the physical feebleness of the Indian race, and the peculiar tameness and timidity of the Peruvian character, to whatsoever cause attributable,—we shall not be surprised that the conquest of the country was effected by a few desperate and ruthless adventurers, almost without a struggle.

The conquest of Mexico was an achievement so boldly conceived, so romantically executed, that our indignation at the injustice and perfidy which it involved, is almost merged in admiration of the valour

and genius which, with means so inadequate, triumphed over all the difficulties created by unforeseen circumstances and a resistance obstinate and heroic. But while to subdue the Mexicans demanded the abilities of a Cortes, the subjugation of the Peruvians required only the unblushing perfidy and rude daring of a Pizarro. Little interest attaches to the historical detail of this splendid, yet inglorious conquest, which proved fatal alike to the victors and the victims. To the reader desirous of tracing its progress, the pages of Robertson will supply the requisite information. We can only advert to the leading events.

The first information respecting the countries bordering upon the Pacific, was obtained by Balboa, the Spanish governor of Darien, in 1512. A young cacique, on witnessing with astonishment the furious contention of the Spaniards about the division of some gold, offered to conduct them to a region where the meanest utensils were made of the precious metal. In reply to their eager inquiries respecting its situation, he informed them, that, at the distance of six suns towards the south, there was another sea, on the shores of which that wealthy kingdom was situated. This was the first information the Spaniards had received concerning the great southern ocean, from which they were separated only by an isthmus about sixty miles in breadth. It occupied them more than five-and-twenty days, however, to force their way through the woods and lofty mountains which barred their progress; but, at length, the welcome sight of the vast ocean from the summit of a mountain near Panama, repaid the adventurers for their toils and sufferings. "They held on to the shore with alacrity; and Balboa, advancing up to the middle in the waves, with his sword and buckler, took possession of that

ocean in the name of the king, his master." The part which he discovered, still retains the name of the Gulf of St. Michael, which he gave to it.

Balboa's first care was to send information to Spain of the important discovery he had made; for which the only return he met with from an ungrateful court, was to be superseded in his government, and fined for alleged irregularities. Though afterwards restored to a nominal authority, he eventually fell a victim to the jealousy of the unprincipled ruffian who had been sent out as governor, by whom he was basely put to death as a criminal upon the charge of an intention to revolt.

It was reserved for Francis Pizarro, a soldier of fortune in Balboa's service, to follow up the schemes, and realize the hopes of his unfortunate leader. His associates in the bold enterprise were, Diego de Almagro, a man of as base origin as himself, and Hernando de Luque, a priest and schoolmaster at Panama. On November 14, 1524, Pizarro set sail from that port, in a single vessel of small burden, with only 112 men, in search of the golden regions to which he undertook to conduct his followers. The season was the most improper he could have chosen, the periodical winds which had set in, being directly adverse to his course. After a long series of disasters and disappointments, under which he persisted in his enterprise with singular patience and fortitude, and in defiance of a recall from the governor of Panama;—he succeeded, in 1526, in reaching the coast of Peru. After touching at several villages, he landed at Tumbez, a place of some note, about 3° S. of the line, distinguished for its stately temple and a palace of the Incas. There, the Spaniards feasted their eyes with the first view of the opulence and civilization of the

Peruvian empire; but, with the slender force under his command, it was impossible to attempt any hostile descent; and towards the close of the third year from his departure, Pizarro regained the port of Panama. He now resolved to repair to Spain, to solicit full powers to turn his discovery to advantage; and he was invested by the court with supreme authority, civil and military, over the country to be conquered, his jurisdiction being declared prospectively to extend 200 leagues to the southward of the river of St. Jago. Armed with this gratuitous commission, the means of executing which he was left to provide entirely from his own slender resources, he returned to his confederates. Three small vessels carrying 180 soldiers, (36 of whom were horsemen,) composed the armament which their utmost efforts were able to fit out; but the astonishing progress of the Spaniards in Mexico had inspired them with such confidence of success, that Pizarro did not hesitate to sail with this contemptible force to invade a great empire of whose resources he was utterly ignorant. His first descent was on the shores of St. Matthew's Bay, whence he pursued his march along the coast to the southward. He met with little or no resistance, but was exposed with his followers to severe calamities inflicted by the climate and an unfertile country. The sudden appearance of invaders whose aspect and manners were so strange, and whose power seemed so irresistible, made the same dreadful impression upon the natives as in other parts of America. On reaching the Bay of Guayaquil, however, he found the island of Puna peopled by a fiercer race, who defended themselves with such obstinate valour, that Pizarro spent six months in reducing them to subjection. Having received some small re-inforcements from Panama and Nicaragua, he

was at length enabled to prosecute his march; and proceeding to the river Piura, he founded near its mouth, in May 1532, the first Spanish colony in Peru, which he dedicated to St. Michael.

It was not known till afterwards, to what fortunate circumstance it was owing, that a handful of foreigners had been permitted to advance thus far towards the heart of a great empire without serious molestation. A contest for the succession to the throne of the Incas had involved the country in the calamities of a civil war; and, strange to say, messengers from both the contending parties solicited the fatal aid of their common enemy. At the head of an ill-accoutred train of 62 mounted followers and 102 foot-soldiers, of whom 22 were armed with cross-bows and 3 with muskets, Pizarro advanced, in the guise of an ambassador, and was allowed to establish himself at Caxamarca, a town 12 days' march in the interior. His pacific declarations were received with inconsiderate credulity; and the Inca became the easy victim of the Spaniard's perfidy. The seizure of the unhappy monarch, the massacre of his unresisting troops, the plunder of the country, the murder of the royal captive, and the complete dissolution of the Peruvian empire, were events which followed almost of course. In these proceedings, Pizarro was but the imitator of Cortes, whose daring spirit he emulated, without possessing either the temper or the address which enabled the Conqueror of Mexico to win the confidence of his prisoner, and to veil his designs under a specious policy.

It was not long before the invaders were involved in contests respecting the division of the spoil; and a civil war between Almagro's partisans and the Pizarro faction, was prevented by an accommodation

on the singular basis, that Almagro should indemnify himself by attempting the conquest of Chile, for resigning his claims on Peru. In the year 1535, when a handful of soldiers alone remained in Cuzco under Juan and Gonsalez Pizarro, the rest of the Spanish troops being dispersed in different expeditions, a general insurrection of the Peruvians took place, headed by Manco Capac, the heir to the throne of the Incas, which, at one time, threatened the Spaniards with the total overthrow of their power. Cuzco was already half in possession of the Peruvians, when Almagro hastened back from Chile to the aid of his countrymen; and the besiegers were repulsed with great slaughter. It now came to the issue of arms, which of the two, Almagro or Pizarro, should remain master of Peru. The former, too generous to improve his advantages by shedding the blood of his opponents when they were in his power, was defeated and taken prisoner by the Pizarros, and put to death as a traitor, in his seventy-fifth year. His death was avenged, about three years after, by his son, who headed a conspiracy against Francis Pizarro, provoked by his injustice and rapacity, and the murderer of Atahualpa and Almagro perished under the swords of the assassins. The career of young Almagro was short. A new viceroy arrived from Spain, to whom he refused to relinquish his pretensions; and the struggle which ensued, proved fatal to himself and all his followers. Another insurrection, headed by Gonsalez Pizarro, was not terminated till after a protracted contest, in which one viceroy was slain, and numbers fell on both sides. At length, the royalists prevailed, and the last of the Pizarros, deserted by his followers, was taken and beheaded. During these disgraceful and ferocious contentions, in which the

rancour of enmity was heightened by avarice, the ties of honour were entirely disregarded. There was hardly a Spaniard in Peru, who did not abandon the party which he had originally espoused, and betray or desert his former associates. Several successive insurrections and transient revolutions desolated the country for some years; and most of the first invaders who survived, as well as a large proportion of the licentious adventurers whom the fame of their success had allured thither, fell by one another's hands. Each party, as it alternately prevailed, by executing or proscribing its opponents, contributed to clear the country of the turbulent and desperate spirits who had been set loose upon this devoted land; and the royal authority was at length established as firmly in Peru as in the other Spanish colonies.

While these disorders were working out their own remedy in Peru, the dominion of Spain was extending itself over the regions north and south of the Isthmus which connects the two Americas. Alvarado, the lieutenant of Cortes, effected the conquest of Guatimala in 1524.* The provinces of Cartagena and Santa Marta, to the eastward of Darien, were subjugated by Pedro de Heredia about the year 1532; and the entire conquest of the countries comprised in the viceroyalty of New Granada, was effected about the year 1536, by Sebastian de Benalcazar, the governor of Quito, and Gonzalo Ximenes de Quesada, who simultaneously invaded it from the north and the south.† The whole of the Spanish dominions in the New World were at first divided into two immense governments, one subject to the viceroy of New Spain

* See MOD. TRAV., Mexico, &c., vol. ii. pp. 182—190.
† *Ib.* Colombia, p. 2.

or Mexico, the other to the viceroy of Peru. It was not till the eighteenth century, that Santa Fé de Bogota was made the seat of a third viceroyalty, the jurisdiction of which extended over the kingdoms of Terra Firma, New Granada, and Quito. In 1778, the provinces of the Rio de la Plata, Paraguay, Tucuman, Charcas, and Chiquitos, were detached from the jurisdiction of the Peruvian viceroy, and formed into a separate government, of which Buenos Ayres was made the capital. To these four governments alone was attached the dignity of a viceroyalty. Guatimala, the provinces of Venezuela, Caracas, and Cumana, and Chile, were severally formed into distinct jurisdictions under a captain-general.

A view of the colonial system of administration under which the Spanish territories in the New World groaned for nearly three centuries, has been given in another part of our work;* but there were two features of the tyranny exercised over the aborigines of Peru, which require to be distinctly adverted to. These were, the *mita* and the *repartimiento*. The former was a civil conscription, by which the population of every district was made to furnish annually a certain number of working hands for the service of the proprietors of the lands or mines. A great body of the natives had, under the Incas, been held in a state of degrading servitude; and, like the *tamemes* of Mexico, the *yanaconas* of Peru were employed in carrying burdens and in all sorts of drudgery. There was, therefore, in the law itself, which could be felt as a peculiar hardship, when imposed by their conquerors. But the effects of the regulation on the *mitayos* compelled to labour

* Mexico, &c., vol. i. pp. 84—99.

in the mines, were most fatal.* Under the most favourable circumstances, we are told, scarcely one Indian out of five survived the first year of his unwholesome and exhausting labours; and, if he did, some pretence was found for detaining him as a debtor to his employer. More than 12,000 Indians were annually subject to the *mita* conscription in Potosi alone; and it is computed that upwards of eight millions perished in the mines of Peru.† There is, probably, some exaggeration in this estimate; nor is it easy to account for so extraordinary a mortality, without taking into calculation the effects of removal to a different climate and a sudden change of habits.

* "Every Indian, from the age of eighteen to fifty, was forced to labour in the mines. For this purpose, lists were made out and arranged in seven divisions; the individuals whose names were marked in them, had to serve for the space of six months, so that every man must have been once pressed into that service after the lapse of three years and a half. The Indians, on these occasions, quitted his family, relinquished his trade, and had to repair to a mine perhaps many hundred miles distant from his cottage. Some, it is true, took their families along with them, and were even entitled to a small sum for the expense of their journey. The price of labour was fixed at half a dollar a day."—Mercurio Peruvinno, cited by Malte Brun, vol. v. p. 437.

† Miller's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 5. In a memorial presented to Philip III. in 1609, Captain Juan Gonsalez de Azevedo asserts, that in every district of Peru in which the Indians were compelled to labour in the mines, their numbers had been reduced to the half, and in some places to the third, of what was the amount of the population in 1581. Another Spanish authority is cited by Robertson in attestation of the fact, that, wherever mines are wrought, the Indians decrease; whereas, in the province of Campeachy, in which there are no mines, the number of the Indians has increased more than a third since the conquest, although neither the soil nor the climate is so favourable as in Peru or Mexico.—Robertson's America, *note* 81. See also, respecting the causes of depopulation, *ib.*, *note* 68. The expeditions of the Spaniards proved fatal to vast numbers of the Indians engaged in those services; and many perished in the civil wars.

Besides those subject to the *mita*, Ulloa states, that many mestizoes and Indians voluntarily hire themselves as miners; but this may be ascribed to the general poverty and distress of the inhabitants. It is certain, that the Indians have decreased in numbers to a frightful extent since the conquest. By the first census, of 1551, the Indians in Peru and New Granada were estimated at 8,255,000, of whom about half may, perhaps, be assigned to Peru. According to another census, made in 1581, before the *mita* was legally established, the number of males between eighteen and fifty, in Peru, exclusive of Quito, Tucuman, and Buenos Ayres, amounted to 1,067,692; the total Peruvian population, therefore, must have exceeded four millions. But, towards the close of the last century, it appears that, in the viceroyalty of Lima, there were not more than 1,100,000 natives; * and if we add 1,500,000 for the provinces annexed to the vice-royalty of Buenos Ayres, and 700,000 for Quito, this will make a total population of only 3,300,000 souls, of whom the Indians may be supposed to have formed rather more than two-thirds, or about two millions and a half, and the mestizoes, or half castes, less than a third.† This decrease in the native popu-

* The total population of Peru in 1796, according to the Viagero Universal, amounted to 1,445,000 souls.

† In the *Guia Politica del Perù*, 1793, the total population of the vice-royalty is estimated at a million, of which 600,000 were Indians, 240,000 mestizoes, and 40,000 slaves. In Upper Peru, or the *provincias de la Sierra*, belonging to the viceroyalty of Buenos Ayres, the official returns of 1817 gave a population of 1,776,000 souls, of whom about two-thirds (1,130,000) were Indians.—See Humboldt, Per. Nar., vol. vi. pp. 138, 364. By M. Schmidtmeyer, the population of these provinces is stated at only 1,300,000, of whom 700,000 are Indians.—Travels, p. 103. We have taken the mean estimate of Malte Brun (vol. v. p. 438). The latter Geographer

lation cannot, however, be compared with the exterminating effects of the slave-hunting system pursued by the Brazilian *mamelucoes* and other desperate adventurers* in South America, or even with the waste of life produced by the West India slavery, or with the savage *commandoes* of the Dutch in South Africa. Other causes, too, besides the hardships of the conscription, tended to diminish the Peruvian population. Ulloa states, that the immoderate use of spirituous liquors has been known to make more havoc among the people in a twelvemonth, than that produced by the mines in half a century. In the year 1759, an edict was issued, prohibiting the sale and distillation of spirits, on account of an epidemical disorder that made great ravages among the natives. The small-pox also, which is peculiarly fatal to the Indians, carried off great numbers; and a pestilential disorder, in 1750, depopulated whole villages. The increase of the castes must also be taken into account, as having to some extent naturally superseded the native race. All these circumstances taken together, if they will not fully explain the decrease that has taken place in the native population, will shew that the destructive effects of the *mita* have been considerably overrated.†

supposes that many Indians would elude the census; but this would be as likely to occur in 1550 as in 1790, and cannot affect the comparative estimate.

* See MOD. TRAV., Brazil, vol. i. p. 222; vol. ii. p. 133. It is asserted, in the *Lettres Curieuses et Edifiantes*, that, in 130 years, two millions of Indians were either slain or carried into captivity by the Brazilians.

† The rate at which depopulation has proceeded in some parts of the Turkish empire, far exceeds that which appears to have occurred in Peru; and even in the mother country, Spain, making every allowance for emigration, (forced and voluntary,) it was not less prodigious. Under Ferdinand and Isabella, the population of Spain was estimated at twenty millions; in 1700, it had sunk to eight!

The *repartimiento* was a privilege originally granted to the *corregidors*, or governors of districts, with the best intentions, empowering them to furnish, at a fair price to the Indians, articles of necessary consumption. This privilege, although regulated by law, inevitably degenerated, however, into a compulsory and oppressive exaction. Not only were dying mules, damaged goods, and other worthless articles forced upon the Indians at double or triple the value of the best commodities of the kind, but razors (for men without beards), silk stockings (for Indians who go barefoot), spectacles (for people who retain their eyesight unimpaired to very old age), and articles of luxury, the very use of which was unknown, formed part of the supplies which they were compelled to purchase. The collection of the royal tribute afforded the *corregidor* another pretence for exactions; while the priests to whose spiritual guardianship the Indians were assigned, plundered them without mercy of the little which escaped the rapacity of the governors.

But "the bow, however elastic, may be bent until it breaks." In the year 1780, the Indians, after enduring, for ages, these cruel exactions with apparent patience and apathy, were instigated to rise upon their oppressors. The immediate occasion of this disastrous insurrection was the avarice of the *corregidors* of Chayanta and Tinta, who, within that year, had ventured to impose upon the Indians of those districts, three *repartimientos*, each of which produced about 150,000 dollars. At the head of the insurgents was a cacique who claimed to be a descendant of the last Inca, Tupac Amaru, who was beheaded in 1562; * and

* "Manco Inca (the brother of Atahualpa) made war without success against the Spaniards. He retired at length into the mountains and thick forests of Villabamba, which are accessible

to give éclat to the cause, he assumed not only the name of his ancestor, (which means, the highly endowed,) but the style and pomp of the Incas. The name of this Peruvian Ipsilanti was Don José Gabriel Condorcanqui, cacique of Tungasuca. He had received such education as the country afforded, in the college of San Borja at Cuzco. His countenance was noble, his stature lofty, his manners prepossessing, and he possessed virtues which would have adorned private life; but he was destitute of those higher qualities which would have fitted him to be the restorer of an empire. Instead of uniting and making common cause with the Spanish Americans who, born on the same soil, were entitled to the same rights as himself, he directed his hostilities indiscriminately against them and their common oppressors; and he thus provoked a fate which a policy so narrow and unjust could not but ensure. The popularity of his cause, however, soon attracted to his standard a multitude of undisciplined Indians, whom he had neither the means of arming, nor the talent to train in military tactics; but their desperate valour, in which

either by Huamanga and Antahuaylla, or by the valley of Yucay, north of Cuzco. Of the two sons of Manco Inca, the eldest, Sayri Inca, surrendered himself to the Spaniards upon the invitation of the viceroy of Peru, Hurtado de Mendoza. He was received with great pomp at Lima, was baptized there, and died peaceably in the fine valley of Yucay. The youngest son of Manco Inca, Tupac Amaru, was carried off by stratagem from the forests of Villabamba, and beheaded on pretext of a conspiracy formed against the Spanish usurpers. At the same period, thirty-five distant relations of the Inca Atahualpa were seized and conveyed to Lima, in order to remain under the inspection of the *Audiencia*."—Humboldt's Pers. Narr. vol. v. p. 855. Sayri Tupac, who assumed, on his baptism, the name of Don Diego Inca, left an only daughter, who was married to Don Martin Garcia Onez de Loyola, from whom is descended the family of the Marquises of Oropesa and Alcanices.—Alcedo's Dict.

even the women partook, seemed for a time to counterbalance the discipline, the arms, and the skill of their opponents. At length, Tupac Amaru was taken prisoner, and after witnessing the execution of his wife and children, was put to death with studied and revolting barbarity.*

This barbarous treatment of their leader, instead of having the desired effect of terrifying the insurgents into submission, only served to rouse numbers who had hitherto remained passive, to join in the insurrection. Headed by their chiefs, they kept up a desultory but destructive warfare, and cut to pieces several detachments of Spaniards. Andres, the nephew of Tupac Amaru, even laid siege to Sarata, a town near La Paz, where the Spaniards of the neighbouring districts had taken refuge, with their families and effects. "The unarmed Indians were unequal to the storming of fortifications which, although constructed only of earth, were lined with artillery. But their leader surmounted this difficulty by the adoption of a measure that would have done credit to any commander. By the construction of a lengthened mound, he collected the waters which flow from the neighbouring snowy heights of Ancoma, and turning them against the earthen ramparts, washed them away. The immediate result was, the storming of the town, and the massacre of its inhabitants (estimated at 20,000), with circumstances of horror exceeding the death of Tupac Amaru. Excepting the clergy, not a single male was left alive. But the vanity of these rude chieftains led them to trifle away, in ridiculous assumptions of royalty, that time which ought to have been spent in warlike operations; and the Spaniards

* His tongue was first cut out, and he was then torn asunder by wild horses.

finally succeeded in obtaining, by treachery, what their cruelty had failed of effecting. The two principal Indian chiefs, in consequence of bribes artfully applied, were delivered up by confidential servants to the enemy, and the rebellion was soon suppressed. The only beneficial result which it produced, was, the abolition of the *repartimiento*." * The brother of Tupac Amaru, after having been confined thirty years in Ceuta, reached Buenos Ayres in 1822, where the Republican Government granted him a house, with a pension of thirty dollars a month. †

We must now proceed to give a brief sketch of a revolutionary struggle, in which Peru was the last of the Spanish provinces to take part; and it is there that the Royalists have made their last stand for the mother country. Twenty years have now elapsed since the first insurrectionary movements took place in the vice-royalty of Buenos Ayres, which had their origin in the invasion of Spain by the armies of Napoleon; and the independence of these countries, at least, has been effectually achieved. The convulsion has shaken to ruins the colonial institutions; and whatever fate may await the feeble and ill-consolidated governments

* Miller's Memoirs, vol. i. pp. 16—19. The abolition of the *encomiendas* took place at the same time. See, for a further account of the regulations respecting the Indians, Mod. Trav., Mexico, vol. i. p. 204.

† "The late political events of Spain have liberated from prison the remains of the family of Jose Gabriel Condorcanqui, an artful and intrepid man, who, under the name of the Inca Tupac Amaru, attempted, in 1781, that restoration of the ancient dynasty, which Raleigh had projected in the time of Queen Elizabeth." Humboldt's Pers. Trav. vol. v. p. 855. This was not the first attempt of the kind. The supposition that some of the princes of the house of Manco Capac survived in the interior, gave rise, in 1741, to the rebellion of the Chuncoes, and to that of the Amajes and Campoes, led on by their chief, Juan Santos, called the false Atahualpa.

erected on the still trembling soil, the generation which has since risen into manhood, will never be brought to bow to a foreign yoke. Peru Proper and Upper Peru now constitute two distinct republics, having, for their respective capitals, Lima and Chuquisaca. The history of these changes will involve the whole story of the revolutionary war.

It is a remarkable fact, that the first revolutionary proceedings originated in an enthusiastic loyalty to the imbecile Ferdinand, and a determination to disobey the orders sent out from Bayonne, to transfer their allegiance to the intrusive king, the brother of Napoleon. On the 15th of July, 1808, the people of Caracas took the lead in proclaiming Ferdinand VII., the captain-general and *audiencia* being compelled to yield to the loyal clamour of the inhabitants, and a solemn oath of allegiance to the legitimate monarch was taken by acclamation. A decree of Charles V., in 1530, confirmed by Philip II. in 1563, authorised, in cases of emergency, the convocation of cortes, or general *juntas*, in the respective kingdoms of Spanish America. The state of affairs at this crisis seemed to present one of the emergencies thus provided for. The authority of the crown was suspended by the imprisonment of the rightful sovereign; and the only means of saving the colonies from the yoke of France seemed to be, the exercise of the right legally and constitutionally vested in these assemblies; "and yet, this step, the only legal measure that a people so circumstanced could have taken to preserve tranquillity, and to demonstrate their devoted attachment, proved the signal for the declaration of hostilities by Spain, and the commencement of a war of extermination."*

The same feelings that led to this demonstration

* Miller's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 41.

of loyalty in Caracas, displayed themselves almost simultaneously in every part of the colonies. In Mexico, the viceroy Iturrigaray, supported by the *cabildo*, himself proposed to convoke a *junta*, as the best means of preserving the country from the horrors of anarchy; but the Europeans in that capital, who formed the most powerful party, arrested the aged viceroy, and sent him a prisoner to Spain. By this bold step, they frustrated the project; but the smothered feeling soon broke out into a popular insurrection.* In Caracas, the supreme junta assembled on the 19th of April, 1809, and one of its first acts was to banish the captain-general and the members of the *audiencia*. Juntas were convened at La Paz, on the 15th of July, in the same year; Quito, on the 19th of August; Santa Fé de Bogota, on the 25th of May, 1810; Buenos Ayres, on the same day; and Santiago de Chile, on the 18th of September.†

Buenos Ayres has been termed the cradle of South American independence; yet, at the period of the first British invasion, in 1806, Spain no where possessed more loyal subjects than on the banks of the Plata. "A more liberal feeling had been displayed towards this colony by the mother-country, than towards any of the other provinces. It had not very long been formed into a vice-royalty; orders had been issued to establish a university there; the intercourse with Spain was promoted by regular packets; and a literary gazette was permitted to be printed. Unlike Mexico

* See MOD. TRAV., Mexico, vol. i. p. 100.

† Miller, vol. i. p. 61. M. Humboldt assigns April 19, 1810, as the date of the assembling of the junta of Venezuela (Pers. Nar. vol. v. p. 224); but the revolution began in 1809. So early as May in that year, a popular commotion at Charcas occasioned the deposition of Pizarro, the president.

and Peru, no revolutionary feelings had ever been manifested in the country; and the people, dwelling in equality, and equally rich, seemed absorbed in the care of their numerous herds."* When General Beresford offered, in the name of the British Government, to assist the natives in throwing off the Spanish yoke, and to guarantee their independence, and when Sir Samuel Auchmuty sent a flag of truce from Monte Video, in March 1807, to renew the same proposals, they were not listened to, so loyal at that time were the Buenos-Ayreans.† But the subjugation of the mother-country by the French, a nation peculiarly offensive to them, changed altogether the current of popular feeling. A project is said to have been entertained by some of the most influential persons, to invite the princess-regent of Portugal to establish her court at Buenos Ayres; a measure which must have recommended itself only as a cover for asserting a virtual independence. But it was rendered abortive by the arrival of the viceroy Cisneros, in 1809, who, in concert with General Elio, the Governor of Monte Vidéo, espoused the cause of Ferdinand; and Liniers, the brave defender of Buenos Ayres against the English, was deposed and banished as a traitor.‡

The proceedings of the new viceroy were ill-adapted, however, to allay the excitement of the popular feeling, or to reconcile the inhabitants to their dependence

* Caldcleugh, vol. i. p. 222.

† A secret proposal was subsequently made to General Whitelock, by certain individuals in Buenos Ayres, to support them in an attempt to establish their independence; but the policy of the British Government was now changed, and Whitelock had no instructions which authorised his compliance.—Miller, vol. i. p. 58.

‡ Miller, vol. i. p. 59. See also MOD. TRAV., Brazil, &c. vol. ii. p. 317. The tender of her royal protection is said to have proceeded from the princess herself, in imitation of the sovereign of Portugal, who had transferred his court to Rio.

upon Spain. Cisneros made every effort to fulfil the orders of the court of Madrid to close the ports of the Plata against English trade, which, in spite of repeated prohibition, had continued to increase. These measures drew forth from an enlightened native, Don Mariano Moreno, a spirited publication, advocating the necessity of renouncing a narrow-minded policy so incompatible with the national prosperity. The Spanish merchants, on the other hand, who foresaw in the admission of foreigners to equal privileges, an end to their own monopoly, called upon Cisneros to enforce the colonial laws, pointing out the imminent danger which would accrue to religion, from opening commercial channels to the English. "Peremptory decrees were issued almost from day to day, ordering the English to withdraw within a specified time; and an *oidor* was appointed to see these decrees duly executed; but they were evaded under different pretexts; and such was the effect of Moreno's paper, that the viceroy was unable to close the ports against the English. Nay, he felt compelled to connive at British merchants carrying on their trade by means of Spanish consignees;—a triumph on the part of Moreno, which removed or diminished some of the difficulties which must have obstructed the progress of the revolution. An additional reason for the acquiescence of Cisneros was, the necessity of replenishing an empty treasury, which could not be done without relaxing the prohibitory system. From this period, the principal supporters of the Princess Carlota changed their views, and formed plans of ultimately setting up the standard of independence. After some political struggles, they succeeded in deposing the viceroy; and on the 25th of May, 1810, named a *junta gubernativa*, composed of nine members, with Don Cornelio de Saavedra as

their president, and Dons J. J. Passo and Mariano Moreno as secretaries." * Cisneros was subsequently banished to the Canary Islands, and Liniers, who had become the leader of the Spanish party, was made prisoner near Cordova, and shot.†

The first revolutionary movements were accomplished in Chile without difficulty or violence. There were few Spanish troops in the country, and the two parties of Independents and Royalists were actuated by less virulent animosity to each other than in other quarters. On the 18th of July, 1810, the captain-general, Carrasco, was displaced, and the Count de la Conquista was appointed in his stead. Under his administration, the plan of the revolution was matured. The chief instrument in bringing about this change was Señor Alvarez de Jonte, who had been deputed for that purpose from the Governing Junta at Buenos Ayres. On the 18th of September, a junta, composed of seven of the most distinguished citizens, was established at Santiago de Chile, and its authority was instantly acknowledged by the provinces with every demonstration of joy. The sovereignty of Ferdinand

* Miller, vol. 1. pp. 59—61.—"Moreno," says this Author, to whom we are indebted for the best account of these transactions, "excelled as an orator and a writer. As a public man, he was honest, enthusiastic, and laborious. His private character was unimpeachable. He was not acquainted with English literature, but was familiar with that of France. Raynal was his favourite author. Had Moreno resided for a time in England, it is probable, that the spirit with which the writings of the French philosophers often inspire the American reader, would have been corrected, and that practical experience would have given him additional power to become permanently useful to his countrymen." He subsequently accepted a mission to England, and died on the passage, in the thirty-third year of his age. His best monument is the public library which he founded in his native city, Buenos Ayres.

† See Mod. Trav., Brazil, vol. ii. p. 319.

VII. was proclaimed by the junta; the coinage continued to bear his effigy; the tribunal of the *real audiencia* remained in full exercise of its functions; and justice continued to be administered in the royal name. No Spaniard was removed from his employment, and a singular unanimity seemed to pervade all classes. Nothing occurred to disturb the public tranquillity until the following April, when the Spanish colonel, Figueroa, the governor of Valdivia, having gained over a part of the garrison, attempted to effect a counter-revolution. For the first time, the sound of hostile musketry was now heard; but the junta was fortunately enabled to bring an overpowering force, who defeated the hostile faction. Fifty-six lives only were lost in the struggle, which was terminated by the capture of Figueroa, who was brought to trial and shot. It being ascertained that the members of the *audiencia* had secretly encouraged the conspirators, that tribunal was dissolved, but its members were permitted to remain in the capital; and the government deemed itself sufficiently secure to be able to despatch some aid to Buenos Ayres, at that time pressed by the active measures of Elio, the governor of Monte Video.

In the mean time, the Buenos-Ayreans had been successfully directing their attention to the distant provinces of the viceroyalty. The opposition of Cordova having been suppressed by the execution of Liniers, Colonel Don Antonio de Balcarce was sent to take possession of Upper Peru, where the governors of Potosi and Charcas had declared against the revolution. On the 27th of October, 1810, the royalist general, Nieto, was defeated at Cotogaita; and on the 7th of November, the royalist colonel, Cordova, met with the same fate at Tupiaza. These successes gave Balcarce possession of the upper provinces as far as

the bridge of the Inca over the Desaguadero (the outlet of Lake Titicaca), where he established his head-quarters, and augmented his force to about 4000 men. Here he was joined by Dr. Castelli as civil commissioner,—a ferocious republican, at whose instigation, the Governor of Potosi, a Spaniard very highly respected, the president of Charcas (General Nieto), and a naval officer (son of Admiral Cordova), were shot in the square at Potosi. Struck with terror at these decisive but unjustifiable proceedings, the feeble Spaniards abandoned their strongest positions at the approach of the patriots; and all opposition being over, the small division which had left the bank of the Plata, celebrated the first anniversary of the revolution amid the ruins of the palace of the Incas at *Tinguannco*, near the north-western boundary of the viceroyalty, 690 leagues from Buenos Ayres.

But the advantages gained in this first campaign, were disgracefully thrown away by the gross misconduct of Castelli, who, while rejecting with insolence the overtures of Abascal, the viceroy of Lima, abandoned himself to dissolute pleasures, and neglected every proper means of providing against hostile attack. The viceroy, in the mean time, was not idle. General Goyeneche, a native of Arequipa, who united in himself the three functions of law, theology, and arms, being appointed to the command of the royalist forces, drew 4000 men from Cuzco and Arequipa, and placed himself on the northern side of the Desaguadero, within two days' march of the Independents. Previously to this, a suspension of hostilities had been mutually agreed upon; and six days of the armistice remained unexpired, when Goyeneche, disdaining to keep an engagement with insurgents, attacked and defeated Castelli and Balcarce at Huaqui, on the

20th of June, 1811. The remains of their scattered force sought safety in Jujuy, 236 leagues southward of the scene of conflict. Notwithstanding Balcarce's disgraceful retreat, Goyeneche, in his advance, met with considerable opposition from the patriotic natives of Cochabamba, Santa Cruz, and Chayanta, where the cruelties committed under his sanction have attached infamy to his name. For his services, he was created Count of Huaqui. Castelli was recalled to Buenos Ayres, and placed under arrest, where mortification, acting upon an exhausted constitution, brought him to the grave in the ensuing year.

In Paraguay, the Independent forces had also encountered disaster and disgrace. At the time that all danger seemed to be removed on the side of Peru by the first successes of Balcaree, the Junta of Buenos Ayres had turned its attention to Paraguay; and 2000 men, raised and equipped at great expense, were sent under Don Manuel Belgrano to enforce the submission of that province. No answer being given, Belgrano advanced, unopposed, into the heart of the country; and having arrived within a day's march of Assumpcion, he halted with the pleasing expectation of making his entry into that capital on the following morning. But, as night closed in, numerous fires were seen to blaze around, which excited no small surprise and alarm; and at day-break, Belgrano found his little army surrounded by countless hordes of armed natives, from whom they could expect nothing but annihilation. A skirmish ensued; but, when apparently upon the point of being overwhelmed, Belgrano was agreeably surprised by a flag of truce from Yedros, the General of the Paraguayans, bearing a message to the following effect:—That, although the troops of Buenos Ayres were completely in its power, the Go-

vernment of Paraguay felt no disposition to treat them as enemies; that, on the contrary, they considered the Buenos-Ayreans as brethren engaged in the same cause; that Belgrano, having satisfied himself that the Paraguayans possessed the power as well as the inclination to maintain their distinct independence, was at liberty to retire unmolested; and that provisions and supplies of every kind should be furnished to facilitate his return. Belgrano gladly accepted the offered terms, and counter-marched to Buenos Ayres. Dr. Francia, who has since become celebrated as the dictator of Paraguay, was at this time secretary to the provincial government, and is supposed to have been the contriver of this measure, by which the Buenos-Ayreans received a lesson they will not easily forget.*

On the 23d of September, 1811, a change in the government at Buenos Ayres took place. Saavedra, the president, with his colleagues, was compelled to retire, and Don Manuel Sarratea was appointed to the presidency of the junta. In October 1812, another change was effected by military commotion, and an executive of three was established, under the title of *el gobierno superior*, by whom a sovereign constituent assembly was convened on the 30th of January, 1813. It was not till now, that the Spanish flag and cockade were replaced by the *bi-color*, blue and white. The coinage now also bore the arms of the republic. On the last day of this year, the *gobierno superior* was abolished, and the executive power was vested in a supreme director, Señor Posadas, assisted by a council of seven. While these changes were going forward, some brilliant successes had attended the arms of the

* Miller, vol. i. pp. 69—70.

patriots. On the last day of 1812, General Rondeau, at the head of 1500 newly-raised troops, repulsed 2000 Spaniards about a league from Monte Video, driving them back to the walls of the fortress. On the 24th of September, 1812, General Belgrano had the good fortune to defeat, at Tucuman, a body of royalists, 3000 strong, under General Don Pio Tristan, who had advanced from Potosi with the intention of penetrating to the city of Buenos Ayres itself. In this affair, Belgrano had only 800 soldiers, and some guerrillas of ill-armed *gauchos*. After this brilliant affair, he increased his numbers to about 2000 troops, with which he obtained, on the 20th of February, 1813, another signal victory over Tristan, who had taken refuge in the town of Salta, eighty-seven leagues to the N. of Tucuman. Belgrano gallantly attacked the Spaniards in their parapeted hold. They lost 500 in killed, and the patriots 300, and the surviving royalists were all made prisoners; but they were generously permitted to retire into Peru, upon their binding themselves by oath not to bear arms against the republic. From this engagement, the archbishop of Charcas, in the plenitude of his dispensing power, undertook to absolve them; and the perjured general, with his troops, incorporated themselves with the royalist army under General Pezuela (afterwards viceroy of Peru). Having, by these dishonourable means, augmented his force to 4000 men, he attacked and defeated Belgrano at Vilcapugio (between Potosi and Oruro), on the 1st of October; and again at Ayoma (in Cochabamba), on the 14th of November. The unfortunate patriot general escaped with a remnant of his force to Tucuman. Several guerrilla leaders, however, remained in the mountains of Upper Peru, who harassed the royalist

detachments, and had the advantage in repeated rencounters.

In the north, the patriot cause had assumed, at this time, a very discouraging aspect. The Cadiz Regency had declared war against the province of Caracas, in 1810, upon their announcing their determination to hold their country for their rightful sovereign; and from that period, shut up within the Isle de Leon, it had directed, with singular infatuation, its entire energies against the people of America. The congress which succeeded to the supreme junta of Caracas in March 1811, issued a declaration of independence on the 5th of July, 1811. On the 23d of December, the new constitution was agreed upon; in pursuance of which, the congress was summoned to assemble in March 1812, at Valencia, in the valley of Aragua. The cause wore at this period every appearance of prosperity, when a calamity occurred, as dreadful in its nature as disastrous in its political consequences. This was the great earthquake of March 26, 1812, by which the capital and most of the principal cities of Venezuela were laid in ruins, thousands of the inhabitants being buried under their houses.* The priests, who had been shorn of some of their privileges by the new constitution, eagerly embraced the opportunity afforded by this awful catastrophe, of working upon the superstition of the inhabitants, by ascribing the earthquake to the vengeance of Heaven against the patriots. A universal panic seized the minds of the people; the congress were obliged to adjourn their sessions; and General Miranda, upon whom, in this emergency, they had conferred the authority and name

* See Mod. Trav. Colombia, pp. 119—132.

of Dictator, was ultimately compelled to conclude a capitulation with the royalist general, Monteverde, on the 25th of July, 1812, by which Venezuela was given up to the Spaniards, on the condition of a general amnesty, three months being allowed to all such as desired to quit the country. The terms of this convention were, as might have been anticipated, violated without the slightest regard for honour or decency. Miranda and more than a thousand others of the patriots were thrown into the dungeons of La Guayra and Puerto Cabello, where many of them perished. Cumana and Barcelona submitted to the infamous Monteverde, and the old government was re-established throughout Venezuela.*

* In this part of the story of the Revolution, the name of BOLIVAR first presents itself among the chief actors; but the friends and enemies of this extraordinary man differ widely in their representations of the part he took in these melancholy transactions. Mr. Miller's account is, that "Bolivar, alleging that Miranda had betrayed his country by capitulating to Monteverde, arrested him at La Guayra. Bolivar then demanded his passport; and when taken before Monteverde, the Spanish general said, that Colonel Bolivar's request should be complied with, as a reward for his having served the king of Spain, by delivering up Miranda. Bolivar answered, that he arrested him to punish a traitor to his country, and not to serve the king. This answer had nearly included him in the general proscription; but the good offices of Don Francisco Iturbe, secretary to Monteverde, procured the passport, and Bolivar was allowed to sail for Curaçoa." Bolivar, it is added, "seems to have been hurried into a dreadful error by the warmth of his feelings. Not only is the expediency of the capitulation admitted by eye-witnesses of the first respectability, but also that Miranda had no other alternative."—Miller, vol. ii. pp. 316, 17. From another authority not less respectable, we copy the following very different statement. Bolivar had been intrusted by Miranda with the command of the important post of Puerto Cabello; but the Spanish prisoners confined in the castle of San Felipe, which commanded that place, succeeded, by corrupting the officer on guard, in obtaining possession of the castle, and thus obliged Bolivar to evacuate the place, July 1, 1812, and to undergo

The republicans were still the predominant party throughout nearly the whole kingdom of New Granada; but Santa Marta and Rio de la Hacha were in the possession of the royalists. It was of the first importance that they should be driven from these positions; and a French officer, named Labatut, was employed on this service by the Independent Government of Cartagena. Having been successful in forcing several of the enemy's positions, he was appointed commander-in-chief on the Magdalena; and he was fortunate enough at length to take Santa Marta, although he soon lost it again by his incapacity and imprudence. At this period, Colonel Bolivar, having made his escape from Venezuela, arrived at Cartagena, in company with several other emigrants, and proffered his services to the Republican Government. They were of course accepted, and he was appointed to the command of the little station of Barranca,* within the district committed to the adventurer

the mortification of returning to Caracas, to communicate the unwelcome news to his general. The loss of Puerto Cabello gave such decided advantage to the royalists, that it led, we are told, to the necessity of concluding the capitulation. "Relying upon the protection of this treaty, General Miranda, with the other leading patriots, including Bolivar, retired to La Guayra, for the purpose of embarking for Cartagena. Unfortunately, La Guayra was then commanded by Colonel Manuel Maria Casas, who, to ingratiate himself with the Spaniards, contrived to seize and deliver up his countrymen to their merciless enemies. Bolivar was under the necessity of submitting to great sacrifices to regain his liberty" (of what nature we are not told); "but he finally obtained a passport from Monteverde, by special favour, and escaped to Curaçoa."—North American Review, No. lxii. art. "*Historia de la Revolucion de la Republica de Colombia, por Jose Manuel Restrepo, Secretario del Interior.*" This certainly has, of the two accounts, the greater appearance of probability. That Bolivar should have arrested his own general, and delivered him up to the Spaniards, is not easily credible.

* See Mod. Trav., Colombia, p. 300.

Labatut, and therefore regularly under his orders. But the enterprising spirit and impatience of control by which this extraordinary man is distinguished, led him to undertake, on his own responsibility, a movement marked by that boldness of conception and vigorous, rapid execution which afterwards characterized his achievements as the leader of the armies of independence. "By fortifying the town of Tenerife, the Spaniards were enabled to obstruct the navigation of the Upper Magdalena. While, therefore, Labatut was seeking to reduce Santa Marta, Bolivar prepared a little expedition with such scanty resources as he could collect, suddenly attacked the Spaniards in Tenerife, drove them before him, and gathering an accession of forces as he proceeded, continued his victorious march to Mompox,* dispersing the hostile parties which occupied various positions on the eastern bank of the Magdalena (December, 1812). Labatut, who had given no orders for this expedition, and who felt jealous of the reputation Bolivar was acquiring, loudly demanded that he should be subjected to trial before a court-martial, for his unauthorized procedure. But the government of Cartagena justly appreciated Labatut's motives, and wisely protected Bolivar in an assumption of power which he was using so advantageously. Meanwhile, he was recognised at Mompox as 'commandant of arms' in the district; and having obtained a re-inforcement of regular troops, militia, and gun-boats, he resolved, ascending the Magdalena, to penetrate into the interior of the province, having now a body of 500 men under his command. The Spaniards, who had boasted that they would not even respect a flag of

* See MOD. TRAV., Colombia, p. 303.

truce, fled in disorder before him to Chiriguana, where they were overtaken and dispersed, their commanders, Capmani and Capdevila, escaping with difficulty. The result of this expedition was, the deliverance of the city of Ocaña, which Bolivar entered in triumph, amid the *vivas* and acclamations of the oppressed inhabitants (January, 1813).

"Bolivar's arrival at Ocaña was, indeed, at a most opportune moment; for a division of the Spanish army under Correa was preparing to penetrate into New Granada, which, torn by civil dissensions, possessing few able officers, and destitute of adequate munitions of war, was in no state to withstand the coming foe. The Congress of New Granada had committed this task to Colonel Manuel Castillo, the commandant of Pamplona; who immediately applied to Bolivar for assistance in defending Pamplona and Cucutá. As Bolivar depended on the government of Cartagena, he waited to obtain their consent, and meanwhile rapidly traversed the whole line of the Magdalena to Mompox, collecting arms and ammunition, and information concerning the position and force of the enemy. He now conceived the daring project of reconquering Venezuela. Filled with enthusiasm himself, and having inspired his little army with the same noble sentiments, he took the field with only 400 men, and a few additional muskets for arming Castillo's battalion. From Ocaña, he proceeded by the rough road across the lofty cordillera which stretches along the province of Santa Marta, directing his march towards the city of Salazar de las Palmas. Spreading a false report of the strength of his army, he caused the enemy to abandon an impregnable position upon the heights of La Aguada, and every successive point at which they rallied, until he reached

San Cayetano. None of these advantages cost him a drop of blood, being all owing to the celerity of his movements, to his intrepidity, and the superiority of his genius in the art of war. At length, Correa concentrated his diminished and weary forces in the city of San José de Cucutá, where Bolivar resolved to attack him in his quarters, notwithstanding the superiority of his numbers. The battle was fought with great obstinacy, and with doubtful success, until Bolivar commanded his followers to charge with bayonets, and the impetuosity of their attack decided the victory in his favour (February 28th, 1813). The Spanish troops sustained a total rout, leaving all their artillery, munitions, and baggage to the conquerors. Correa himself escaped, although badly wounded; but the patriots gained an immense booty in merchandise, which the merchants of Maracaybo, supposing the conquest of New Granada certain, had caused to be conveyed to Cucutá for sale. The victory was of immense importance, therefore, to New Granada, by freeing the valleys of Cucutá of the presence of a dangerous enemy, and completely defeating the object of the Spaniards in organizing Correa's expedition.

"All eyes were now turned on the fortunate individual who, by the mere force of personal talent, had, in so short a period, achieved such brilliant success. The Congress of New Granada immediately appointed him to the rank of Brigadier, accompanying the commission with the most flattering expressions of confidence and applause. Stimulated by the reputation he had so quickly acquired, Bolivar was impatient to march upon Venezuela; but his preparations did not proceed tranquilly or smoothly. Reverses were suffered by the patriots of Cartagena, who again lost

possession of Santa Marta, and made a requisition upon Bolivar for the troops of Mompox. But a more serious difficulty occurred by reason of a difference between Castillo, the commandant of Pamplona, and Bolivar, whose command was within Castillo's military jurisdiction. Bolivar sought to avoid a serious rupture with Castillo by all reasonable advances to accommodation, but without success. An angry correspondence ensued; and appeals on each side to the authority of the Congress, produced nothing but mutual criminations, which served to render the breach irreparable. The principal charges brought by Castillo against Bolivar, were, that he preserved no order in his division; that he suffered all the booty captured in Cucutá to be dissipated foolishly; in fine, that he thought of undertaking the delivery of Venezuela without the necessary troops and resources, and would thus sacrifice the soldiers of the Union in a rash and impracticable enterprise. Bolivar, on the other hand, accused Castillo of introducing discord from envious motives, of being destitute of capacity, incapable of executing anything useful, and of losing the season for action in idle observance of misplaced rules of order. Probably, the imputations of both parties were not without foundation. Monteverde had then possession of Venezuela with 6000 men, while Bolivar's troops amounted to hardly 1000. Most persons, therefore, considered his plan as rash and wild, characterizing his project as worthy only of a desperate man, ready to venture everything upon a single hazard. His military credit was not yet established; and while his personal intrepidity, the boldness of his designs, and his great activity were universally admitted, the admission was coupled with accusations of temerity, of want of economy, and of

permitting the resources of the troops to be dissipated. But Bolivar himself never doubted for a moment of the result, provided the enterprise was conducted with boldness and celerity; and he succeeded in prevailing upon the Congress to authorize his advance into Venezuela. In the progress of that expedition, as on later occasions, it sufficiently appeared, that, in this case, as in many others of the same kind, Bolivar's views were distrusted only because they were in advance of those of his contemporaries and associates. Bolivar broke loose at once from the shackles of military routine which enslaved the Spanish officers. He astonished them by forced marches over roads previously deemed impracticable to a regular army. While they were manœuvring, hesitating, calculating, guarding the customary avenues of approach, he surprised them by concentrating a superior force upon a point where they least expected an attack, cut up their troops in detail, and substituted a system of rapid and brilliant evolutions for the tardy movements of his predecessors. To do this, however, it was necessary that much apparent, and some real disorder should introduce itself into the commissariat of his army, to so marked a degree at least, as to outrage the notions of such a narrow-minded formalist as Castillo. The latter co-operated with him in the outset, and was usefully employed in driving Correa from La Grita; but, at length, declaring that he could no longer lend his countenance to an expedition so wild, he resigned his commission, after marching his detachment of the troops back to Tunja.

"The Congress of New Granada had appointed commissioners to accompany Bolivar and direct his operations; but the celerity of his movements prevented their joining him. Before they could reach

Cucutá, he had already pushed his little army, now reduced to about 500 men, into the heart of the province of Merida, and was proceeding onward unincumbered by commissioners or troublesome associates in command. Previously to his departure, however, and while he was making his preparations at Cucutá, a Venezuelan officer, Colonel Briceño, had collected a small party of cavalry, and set out for the city of San Cristoval, on his own authority, although he had promised to submit himself to Bolivar's orders. Hardly had he arrived there (April 1813), when, thinking to strike terror into the Spaniards, he issued a gasconading proclamation, declaring war *á muerte* against them, and offering liberty to such of their slaves as should kill their masters. Regardless of consequences, he penetrated with his little party as far as Guadalito, where he was met and routed by the Spaniards under Tiscar; who, in revenge of his conduct, ordered him and sixteen of his officers, with a number of the inhabitants of Varinas, to be shot in that city as rebels. Briceño's absurd proclamation occasioned Bolivar much uneasiness, because he was himself censured as responsible for it, until the atrocious procedure of the Spaniards became known.

"Bolivar at length commenced his march from San Cristoval with an army, small indeed for the mighty task they were undertaking, but commanded by officers worthy to be associated with their leader. He rapidly advanced towards Truxillo, driving the scattered fragments of Correa's force before him. Learning on the way, that the patriots of Merida had risen upon the Spaniards on hearing of his approach, he entered that place, July 5, 1813, and re-established the republican government as it had previously existed. Meantime, his vanguard, commanded

by Jirardot, occupied Truxillo, after a desperate but successful engagement with the last relics of the Spanish force in that quarter. Thus, the two provinces of Merida and Truxillo remained entirely free; and Bolivar was enabled to obtain such intelligence of the state of Venezuela, as to convince him that the happy termination of his enterprise depended solely on the celerity and decision of his movements; as any delay would not only occasion the consumption of his own resources, but would give the enemy opportunity to recover from their surprise, and to collect their troops. His measures were accordingly taken with energy and despatch corresponding to the importance of the emergency; and he laboured with incredible activity in augmenting his little army with recruits, and thus preparing for the desperate struggle involved in his ulterior movements. And ere he left Truxillo, circumstances occurred, which gave to the war a character of peculiar desperation. We allude to the declaration of *guerra á muerte*, made by Bolivar, which, as it is spoken of more frequently than it is understood, requires proper explanation in this place.

In Merida and Truxillo, Bolivar received exact information of the enormities practised in Venezuela by Monteverde and his satellites. So far as Monteverde acted under positive instructions from the Spanish Government, the latter might be considered as more especially responsible; and their instructions amounted to the declaration of a war of extermination against the Patriots of Venezuela. Spain regarded all the patriots in the light of traitors and rebels found in arms against the king. Hence, her obstinacy in refusing to enter into any convention with them; hence, the contempt of her officers for the most solemn capitulations, on the ground that no agree-

ment made with traitors is obligatory; hence, their rejection of proposals for the exchange of prisoners, under circumstances the most favourable to themselves; hence, their atrocity in shooting in cold blood the officers or political chiefs of the republicans, and frequently also every soldier that fell into their hands, by way of making fit examples of public justice. All this afforded ample justification for acts of reprisal; the only method by which, in a state of war, such violations of inter-national law can be met by the suffering party. But Monteverde, or persons acting under his authority, committed innumerable other acts of gratuitous cruelty upon the unhappy Venezuelans, more becoming a fiend than a human being. In defiance of a solemn capitulation securing perfect immunity to persons and property, villages were sacked, and edifices burned. Multitudes of respectable individuals were thrown into miserable and noisome dungeons, in company with the basest felons, loaded with fetters, mutilated in wanton barbarity, shot, or subjected to a more ignominious death: in short, no device of ingenious persecution was left untried upon the wretched inhabitants. The state of things could not have been worse, if Venezuela had been taken possession of by a savage enemy, sword in hand, for the purposes of predatory conquest or devastation. Happily, this infatuated policy, short-sighted as it was iniquitous, awoke a spirit of resistance and of vengeance in the bosoms of the Venezuelans, which ensured their independence. All the horrible particulars came to Bolivar's knowledge on his entering Venezuela. At the same time, he received information of the recent butcheries in Varinas, which, as happening partly in consequence of his own enterprise, he deemed himself more immediately called upon to notice. In such circumstances

of extreme irritation was this celebrated declaration issued, under date of Merida, June 8th, 1813. It was the terrible resource of a season of despair. It is couched in the most passionate language of outraged feelings, smarting under the sense of unprecedented wrongs; and breathes a spirit of vindictive resentment which nothing but the horrors of such a warfare could have kindled in the human breast.*

* Another proclamation of the same tenor was issued at Truxillo, July 15, 1813; and a justificatory letter was subsequently put forth by Bolivar on the same subject. These papers are characterized by the same declamatory, turgid style which pervades all Bolivar's proclamations and other state papers, in which the inflated idiom of the Spanish language is carried to the utmost limits of propriety; but the marks of no ordinary mind are evinced in every page. After stating the purpose of the expedition, and denouncing the general character of the Spaniards in America, the first proclamation concludes thus: "The executioners who entitle themselves our enemies, have violated the sacred rights of nations in Quito, La Paz, Mexico, Caracas, and recently in Popayan. They sacrificed in their dungeons our virtuous brethren in the cities of Quito and La Paz; they beheaded thousands of them prisoners in Mexico; they buried alive in the subterranean vaults and pontoons of Puerto Cabello and La Guayra, our fathers, children, and friends of Venezuela; they have immolated the president and commandant of Popayan with all their companions in misfortune; and ultimately, O God! as it were in our very presence, they have perpetrated a horrid butchery in Varinas of our fellow soldiers made prisoners of war, and of our peaceful compatriots of that city. But these victims shall be avenged, these executioners shall be exterminated. Our gentleness is already exhausted; and since our oppressors force us to a mortal struggle, they shall disappear from America, and our soil shall be purged of the monsters that infest it. Our hatred shall be implacable, and the war shall be unto death." This declaration has been characterized in very opposite terms; but if ever occasion existed, which could authorize the application of such desperate and barbarous measures, this must be admitted to have been one. The Spaniards having, from the commencement of the war, put to death all persons found with arms in their hands, while the Independents gave quarter to the royalists, many of the natives preferred entering the royalist ranks, feeling secure that their lives would be safe in case

"Bolivar, ascertaining the favourable aspect of things in Venezuela, in consequence of Monteverde's tyranny, directed his first attention towards the province of Varinas, then occupied by a Spanish force of 2000 men under Don Antonio Tiscar, destined for the invasion of New Granada. When Tiscar was informed that Bolivar, in his rapid advance upon Truxillo, had followed the road westward of the Cordillera, between that and the lake of Maracaybo, he determined to cross the mountain at two points, and to intercept Bolivar's communication with Cucutá; sending one detachment to Merida under Don José Marti, and holding another in readiness at Guadalito under Don José Yañez. Discovering Tiscar's plan, Bolivar despatched his rear-guard under Rivas, with orders to engage Marti, while he daringly threw himself into Guanare, thus intercepting Tiscar's communication with Caracas. The happiest result attended this bold manœuvre. Rivas obtained a brilliant victory over Marti, on the heights of Niquitao, absolutely destroying his detachment; and Bolivar took possession of Guanare by surprise, obtaining a large and valuable booty; while his vanguard, under Jirardot, vigorously pursued Tiscar, whose scattered troops ultimately retired into the remote plains of the Apure. Thus, Bolivar accomplished his first object, of dispersing the Spaniards nearest New Granada; which, now freed from the apprehensions of invasion, acknowledged at last the justness of Bolivar's views; and President

of being made prisoners. Bolivar perceived the great disadvantage under which he laboured; and it was not merely in retaliation, therefore, that he had recourse to a system of reprisal which made the danger in that respect equal on both sides. It was the only policy, moreover, barbarous as it was, that could deter the enemy from persisting in so atrocious a departure from the ordinary rules of civilized warfare.

Torres acquired much credit for having sustained him against all the attacks and intrigues of his enemies.

"Bolivar now formed his army, which had increased considerably during his late operations, into two divisions, and directed their march towards Caracas, through the provinces of Truxillo and Varinas. Several engagements were fought, before Monteverde collected his forces for a decisive trial of strength. At last, he assembled his best troops at Lastoguanes, and sustained a total defeat, in consequence of which he was obliged to shut himself up in Puerto Cabello; and Bolivar obtained possession of Caracas by the capitulation of the Spanish governor. He continued his career of victory in Venezuela, while Mariño was effecting the deliverance of the eastern provinces; and with such glorious success, that, in August (1813), Puerto Cabello alone remained in the possession of the Spaniards, and Bolivar was justly hailed as the LIBERATOR OF VENEZUELA. Monteverde received a reinforcement of troops from Spain, and again took the field, refusing all exchanges of prisoners, disregarding the ordinary rules of warfare, and giving to the contest a character of unprecedented desperation and ferocity. But one victory after another crowned the arms of the patriots; and at the close of the year, Venezuela still continued to be independent. During this period, all the powers of government were vested in Bolivar alone, who, acting under the advice of the magistrates and principal citizens of Caracas, retained the dictatorial authority which he derived from his situation as general of the liberating army. It is not alleged, that he himself abused his authority at any time; but complaints existed against the conduct of his inferior officers, who sometimes made the people feel the inconvenience of military rule, and the absence

of all regular civil government. No good, however, could have resulted from the convocation of the Congress; for the measures adopted by the Spaniards at the beginning of 1814, proved fatal to the cause of Bolivar and the patriots.

"The Spaniards, unable to maintain their power in Venezuela by fair means, resolved to lay waste the country, and to carry on a partisan warfare, until they could gather strength to take the field anew. To accomplish this, Bovez, Yañez, Rosette, Puy, Palomo, and others, men of desperate and reckless character, were supplied with arms and ammunition; and, to fill their ranks, the slave population of Venezuela was called to the Spanish standard. By these means, guerrilla parties, composed of vagabonds, outlaws, fugitive slaves, troops of base and lawless miscreants, such as infest a distracted country in times of war and civil commotion, were gathered under the command of leaders worthy of them, and presented a force formidable for their numbers, but still more so for their ferocity. Against these enemies, Bolivar contended with spirit and vigour, and, on the whole, with decided advantage. Venezuela might, perhaps, have defended herself successfully, but for the resources possessed by Bovez and Yañez on the plains of Varinas, whither the latter took refuge when Bolivar dispersed the forces of Tiscar, and where they served as a rallying point for the remnants of the regular royalist party. Though repeatedly vanquished by Bolivar, Urdaneta, Mariño, and others, they as often rallied; and the arrival of Cajigal as successor to Monteverde, with reinforcements from Coro, added to their strength. At last, Bolivar was so unfortunate as to be attacked in an unfavourable position by Bovez at La Puerta, and after an obstinate contest, was

obliged to yield the victory. Re-animated by this signal advantage, the Spaniards united their forces, and compelled Mariño to retreat to Cumana. In the confusion which ensued, the patriots lost all the fruits of a year of desperate and unceasing contention with their implacable enemies. In July 1814, Bovez entered Caracas, deserted by the best of its population, who justly dreaded the barbarity of the royalists. Bolivar once more took the field at Aragua, August 17, 1814, and was again beaten by Morales, the second in command to Bovez. Anarchy and division now reigned among the republican ranks. Bolivar had contended while hope remained; but, unable any longer to make head against the bloody and disastrous warfare which desolated his country, he abandoned it a second time, stripped of every thing but the glory of his heroic attempt." *

On his arrival at Cartagena, Bolivar found his old enemy, Castillo, in possession of great influence there, and busy in ascribing the loss of Venezuela to his mismanagement. Bolivar immediately repaired to Tunja, where the Congress of New Granada was in session, to submit his conduct to their judgement. He was received there with every mark of consideration, and intrusted with the delicate enterprise of employing the republican arms against Bogota, which, under its dictator, Alvarez, refused to join the Federal Union. He set out from Tunja at the head of 1300 troops of the line, and 500 militia, composed of cavalry; and reached, without opposition, the *hacienda* of Techo, a league and a half from Bogota. Various attempts had already been made by the Congress to effect an accommodation; and Bolivar repeated the offer once more, pre-

* Amer. Review, No. lxii. pp. 208—229.

paratory to laying siege to the city. But Alvarez had determined to abide the issue of an appeal to arms; and Bolivar had no alternative but to resume his march for the attack of the city. Notwithstanding a vigorous resistance, he drove in all their out-posts on the first day, and took, by assault, the barrier of San Barbara, by which means his line of circumvallation was completely established. The next day he captured the battery of San Victorino, and penetrated into the city; but the besieged had entrenched themselves in the great square, with a park of artillery, and Bolivar's troops were obliged to advance, foot by foot, meeting with the most determined resistance at every street. Final preparations were now made to assault the great square on the ensuing day (December 12, 1814); but, wearied by the violence of the contest, both parties felt willing to escape the horrors of the last assault, and Bolivar cheerfully acceded to a proposal for capitulation from Alvarez, who conceded the whole question in dispute. To heal the differences which had so long existed between the two parties, the authorities of Cundinamarca immediately invited the Congress to tranfer its sessions from Tunja to Bogota; which they accordingly did; and the consolidation of the Union was thus happily accomplished. The important service which Bolivar had rendered,* was acknowledged by an official letter of thanks, con-

* At the commencement of the expedition, Bolivar was vehemently execrated by the inhabitants of Bogota, and excommunicated by the ecclesiastical authorities; but, after it was over, they did justice to the manner in which he conducted the attack, by the most marked testimonials of respect. The city sustained considerable injury in the course of the attack; but nothing created such serious regret as the loss of the manuscripts, books, and collections in the observatory; the fruit of the labours of the celebrated Dr. Mutis and the astronomer Caldas.

taining the most flattering expressions of admiration, accompanied with a commission, the first which had been granted, of captain-general of the armies of the Republic.

It was now resolved upon to attempt the capture of San Marta, which remained in the possession of the royalists, and afterwards to march upon Rio Hacha and Maracaybo. Bolivar left Bogota for this service, with an army of 2000 men, and a military chest supplied for four months; but, for the requisite munitions of war, in which he was very deficient, he was furnished with orders of the General Government upon Cartagena. No sooner, however, did Castillo hear of Bolivar's appointment, than he issued a manifesto, consisting of a furious and malignant attack upon his character, public and private, impeaching his honour, talents, and even his personal courage. Deeply wounded by this extraordinary act, Bolivar addressed letters to Garcia Rovira, president of the United Provinces, and Camilo Torres, formerly president of the Congress; and their answers, containing the fullest refutation of Castillo's calumnies, were published as an antidote to the effects of his manifesto. The authorities of Cartagena, however, supported Castillo in his personal quarrel, and addressed circulars to the commandants on the river Magdalena, ordering them to refuse obedience to Bolivar, and not to allow him to advance with his troops further than Mompox. On arriving at that place, Bolivar addressed a message to Castillo, requesting the necessary aid for the reconquest of San Marta; but, after waiting in vain for a satisfactory answer to his demands, he determined to march upon Cartagena, and compel a compliance with the wishes of Congress. He confined his operations, however, to forming a line round the city, in

the hope that the authorities of Cartagena would at length desist from their opposition. A month had thus passed without producing any beneficial result, although Bolivar earnestly solicited an accommodation, when news was brought of the arrival of General Morillo at Margarita, with an army of 10,000 Spanish troops, and a powerful fleet, destined for the reduction of New Granada. The consternation with which both parties were filled by these tidings, produced an immediate cessation of hostilities. Bolivar, finding it impracticable to unite with Castillo and his faction, came to the resolution of throwing up his commission. Hastily concluding a treaty with Cartagena, he relinquished the command of the army to General Palacios, and embarked for Jamaica, May 8, 1815, accompanied by only a few of his attached friends, there to await a more favourable moment for again taking an active part in the deliverance of his country.* From Kingston (in Jamaica), Bolivar sent some supplies for the garrison of Cartagena, which, in consequence of the long investment, was nearly destitute of provisions; but, before they could arrive, that im-

* While residing in Jamaica, Bolivar published a short defence of his conduct, and various other papers, adapted to promote the cause of South American independence abroad. Had he remained in New Granada, there is every reason to believe that he would have either fallen in battle, or become a victim of legal proscription during Morillo's reign of bloodshed. He narrowly escaped assassination, however, at Kingston. A Spaniard in the pay of a royalist chief, repaired to Jamaica, and hired a negro slave to murder him. On the night appointed for the assassination, Bolivar happened to be absent from his lodgings, not having returned from an evening party, to which he had been invited; and an unfortunate emigrant, named Amestoy, occupied his bed. The slave, ignorant of this circumstance, entered the room, and plunged his dagger into the breast of the stranger. He was apprehended in the act, and suffered for his crime on the scaffold; but the name of his employer could not be ascertained.

portant fortress had been taken by the Spaniards. This enabled them to re-conquer New Granada, and the blood of its citizens was made to stream from the scaffold. In June 1816, the ruthless Morillo entered Bogota, where he remained till the November following; during which time, more than 600 individuals of those who had been in the congress and provincial governments, as well as the chiefs of the independent army, were shot, hanged, or exiled, and the prisons were filled with those who awaited their fate. In a letter from Morillo, published in the *Diario Mercantil* of Cadiz, January 6, 1817, he boastingly assures his master, that he had not left alive in the kingdom of New Granada, a single individual of sufficient influence or talent to conduct the revolution.* These sanguinary ministers of royal vengeance gloried in emulating the crimes of the first conquerors of this devoted country.

We must now resume the narrative of the progress of the revolution in the southern provinces. At the time that Figueroa attempted to bring about a counter-revolution in Santiago, the Chilenoes were occupied in choosing members for the first Congress, which assembled in June 1811. Its measures were distin-

* Among those executed at Bogota, were the botanists Dons J. Caldas and Juan Lozano; Don M. Cabal, an eminent chemist; Don C. Torres, highly distinguished for his learning; Don F. Ulloa; the Count de Casa Valencia; and many other learned and estimable individuals. A list, taken from official documents transmitted to the court of Madrid, is given by Mr. Miller, of 135 individuals, who suffered death in different towns of New Granada, without trial, and in violation of amnesties; almost all persons of distinction: among them was D. Miguel Gomez Plata, aged eighty, who was shot, after being tortured three times.—Miller's Memoirs, vol. i. pp. 46—50.

guished by liberal policy. The ports were declared open to an unrestricted commerce, with an exception in favour of coarse cloths and flannels; several abuses were reformed; the liberty of the press was proclaimed; and this Congress had the honour to be the first legislative body in Spanish America, which took effectual steps to bring about the gradual but total abolition of slavery within the republic. But the promising aspect of affairs was soon overclouded by intestine discord. A strong discontented party sprang up, at the head of which were three brothers of the name of Carrera, sons of a rich landholder in Santiago. * The disproportionate numbers of deputies chosen for the city and province of Santiago, and the illegality of some of the elections, were the first ostensible grounds of dissatisfaction. To allay the clamour, the Congress reduced the number of deputies representing Santiago to one-half, and countenanced the election of an increased number for Concepcion. But the Carreras were not to be satisfied. Possessed of manners which rendered them favourites with the troops, as well as generally popular, they resolved to wrest the government out of the feeble hands into which it had fallen; and in November, they compelled

* "At this period," says an American writer, "Mr. Poinsett, our present minister in Mexico, was in Chile; and he took an active and responsible part with the Carreras, and is understood to have rendered them much assistance by his counsels and personal services."—Amer. Rev., No. lv. p. 313. Mr. Miller assigns an influential part to a female partisan. The sister of the Carreras, "the Anna Boleyn of Chile," was a powerful instrument, he says, in forwarding their designs. She is described as a woman of splendid natural abilities, but too much addicted to artful intrigues. Was Mr. Poinsett a colleague with the Donna Xaviera? Mrs. Graham does not spare the young "American consul," whose "ignorance, if not cowardice," she affirms to have been of singular disservice to the Carreras.—Graham's Chile, p. 23; Miller, vol. i. p. 112.

the Congress to appoint a new junta of three members, at the head of which was the elder brother, Don José Miguel Carrera. His two brothers, Juan José and Luis, were at the same time officers in the army; and, through various commotions, they maintained their power and influence for nearly three years. Meanwhile, Abascal, viceroy of Peru, who had hitherto affected a desire to maintain a good understanding with the democratic government, was only watching his opportunity; and encouraged by the divided state of parties, he despatched a force under General Pareja, who, early in 1813, disembarked at San Vicente, near Talcahuano, with about 1200 troops, chiefly from the island of Chiloe, and advanced to the river Maule (the boundary between Chile Proper and the province of Concepcion), before the Carreras could take measures to arrest their progress. At length, however, they crossed that river, and, by a bold and skilful movement, fell by surprise upon the royalists at a place called Yerbas Buenas, and routed them. General Pareja retired to San Carlos, about thirty-five leagues from the scene of this action, where he took up an advantageous position, and awaited a second attack. Carrera was unable to break the squares of the royalists, and night suspended the doubtful conflict; but in the morning, the patriots found themselves in possession of the field, the royalists having retreated to Chillan, where Pareja died, it is alleged, of chagrin. He was succeeded by Colonel Sanchez, an able officer, who displayed extraordinary activity in strengthening, by field-works, every point around the town of Chillan. The siege was long and harassing; and when the patriots penetrated at last to the great square, the Spaniards, retiring to a convent, which served them as a citadel, maintained themselves there against all the

efforts of the assailants, till the severity of the weather compelled them to raise the siege.

The popularity of the Carreras had now been succeeded by a very general disgust at their arbitrary and grossly irregular conduct; and during their absence from the capital, their overthrow was quietly carried into effect. Don Henriques Lastra, a man of unimpeachable probity, was chosen Supreme Director of the state; while the command of the army was placed (November 24, 1813) in the hands of Colonel Don Bernardo O'Higgins.* About the same period, José Miguel and Luis Carrera were taken by the royalists, and sent prisoners to Chillan. General O'Higgins found the troops in a state of destitution, the military chest exhausted, and parties were daily deserting. Under these circumstances, he was induced to conclude a convention with the Spanish general Gainza (who had succeeded to Pareja), on the 5th of May, 1814, the terms of which were, that Chile should acknowledge the government established in the Peninsula during the captivity of Ferdinand VII., retaining her Congress and the privileges of free trade; while General Gainza bound himself to re-embark for Peru, with all his troops, within two months. But, while the commissioners repaired to Lima to submit these articles to the Viceroy for his ratification, a new change of affairs placed the Carreras once more at the head of the government.

* "This officer is the son of Don Ambrosio O'Higgins, Marquis of Osorno, who sent him early to Europe, where he remained some years, five of which were spent in England at the academy of Mr. *Hill*, at Richmond, in Surrey."—Graham's Chile, p. 16. Don Ambrosio was a native of Ireland, who served for some time in the English army; he afterwards entered into the service of Spain, and accompanied an expedition to Chile, where his services procured him the rank of brigadier-general, and subsequently higher honours. In 1787, he was appointed Captain-general of Chile, and afterwards Viceroy of Peru.

The escape of the two brothers from Chillan, is said to have been managed by a royalist lady who delivered them from prison, and gave them horses and money to convey them to Santiago. They disguised themselves as peasants, and early in August, arrived at that city; where they went from house to house, and from barrack to barrack, till, having won over the greater part of the garrison, they deposed Lastra, and José Miguel once more became the head of the state. While these things were going on in Chile, the terms of the convention had reached Lima, and Abascal was on the point of signing it, when the regiment of Talavera (700 strong), with the ruffian Marco at its head, arrived from Spain, and volunteered to undertake the subjugation of Chile. On this, the Viceroy changed his determination, and sent a strong body of troops under General Osorio, who landed at Talcahuana on the 12th of August, and immediately marched for Santiago. O'Higgins, who had been indefatigable in raising new troops and introducing something like discipline, hung upon and harassed the march of Osorio, and was on the point of giving him battle in the neighbourhood of San Fernando, when he received a deputation from the capital, entreating his return to deliver them from the oppression and violence of the Carreras. He accordingly left the main body of his army to observe the Spaniards, and marched with 900 men towards Santiago; but, on the plain of Maypo, he was met by Carrera at the head of a superior force, and a partial rencounter took place, in which O'Higgins had the disadvantage. The rival parties were on the eve of a general action, when a messenger arrived from the royalist general; and a suspension of hostilities was agreed upon, to receive his despatches. They con-

tained an official intimation, that the Viceroy had refused to ratify the convention, and that the only measure left for the insurgent authorities to secure the royal clemency, was that of surrendering at discretion.

Agitated by conflicting feelings, O'Higgins magnanimously resolved to bury his resentments, and accede to the demands of his rival, that they might turn their arms against the common enemy. Carrera returned to the city, while O'Higgins marched to arrest the advance of the Spaniards, under the promise of being speedily joined and supported by the Santiago forces. He encountered the royalists on the bank of the river Cachapoal; but, having only 900 men, he was compelled to retreat, and took shelter in the town of Rancagua, twenty-three leagues from Santiago, where he caused the entrances of the streets to be blocked up, and made the place as difficult of access as his slender means would admit. On the 1st of October (1814), the royalists commenced an attack, which lasted for thirty-six hours, during which the fire was kept up on both sides with unremitting vigour. Each party hoisted the black flag, and no quarter was given. In the hottest of the action, the magazine of the patriots exploded, and produced the most destructive effects; but, undaunted by this misfortune, the besieged only seemed to redouble their efforts; and Osorio, apprehensive of being attacked by Carrera in rear, had, at one time, resolved to draw off his troops. But, finding that no diversion was made in favour of O'Higgins, and that that brave officer disdained to surrender,* he gave orders for

* "About noon of the second day," says Mrs. Graham, "Osorio sent a deputation to O'Higgins, offering him personal safety, and even royal favour, if he would surrender. This he indignantly

making another grand effort. "By means of the hatchet and the flames, the royalists penetrated through the walls of the houses, and at length fought their way, inch by inch, to the square in the centre of the town. Here, O'Higgins made his last stand with 200 survivors, worn out with fatigue, tormented with raging thirst, and surrounded with heaps of slain; till, observing that all was lost, he, although wounded in the leg, headed the brave relics of his party, and gallantly cut his way through the royalists. Such was the impression produced by this act of desperate valour, that none ventured to pursue the patriots, who continued their retreat to the capital without molestation. The royalists remained in Rancagua, to despatch the wounded, to butcher the few remaining inhabitants, and to destroy what had escaped the flames.

"The Carreras had still under their command 1500 men, but they abandoned the capital without a struggle.* The depredations committed by their

refused, saying, he would not accept even of heaven from the king; and that though he gave quarter, he desired none. In an hour afterwards, the town was on fire in several places. 'They covered us,' said the general, 'with black and red, death and fire. So I took my banner, and I caused them to sew a black stripe across it; and the fire having now reached the very house from which we were fighting, and our ammunition being all expended, we broke through one of the squares that had been formed round our house, sword in hand, and made our way to the capital.'" This account, Mrs. Graham heard from his own lips. "It was upon this occasion that the patriots loaded their guns with dollars."—Graham, p. 26.

* "Carrera hastily gave orders for the demolition of several of the public works, particularly the powder-mills; all the public papers and acts of the new government were burned; and taking with him the remains of the public money, he began a disorderly retreat towards Mendoza on the 1st of October, and Osorio entered the city on the 5th."—Graham, p. 26.

troops, irritated the citizens to such a degree, that a deputation was sent to Osorio, to request him to enter Santiago and re-establish order. Six hundred troops crossed the Andes with Carrera. General O'Higgins emigrated with about 1400 persons, many of whom were ladies of rank, who passed the snowy ridges of the Andes on foot. All were received at Mendoza with generous hospitality.

"In Santiago, Osorio assumed the rank, and exercised the powers of captain-general. His first measure was to proclaim a general amnesty; and some of the more wealthy citizens, who had fled to their estates or to distant parts of the country, returned to the bosom of their families. But, as soon as Osorio felt himself secure, he threw off the mask, and imitated the rest of his countrymen in their violation of the most solemn engagements with the Americans. In less than a month after the disaster of Rancagua, the principal citizens of the capital were arrested. Confiscation and imprisonment were the order of the day; but, fearful of exasperating too far a people who bore the yoke with extreme impatience, the new captain-general had not the courage to shed the blood of his victims. Forty-six fathers of families were sentenced to be transported to the island of Juan Fernandez. Their wives and daughters, clad in deep mourning, besought, with tears and prayers, permission to share the exile of their husbands and fathers; but the tyrant not only turned a deaf ear to their piteous entreaties, but forbade all communication under the severest penalties.* Most of the exiles were in the decline of

* "By the interposition of Sir Thomas Staines of H. M. S. the Briton, one lady, the accomplished Dona Rosario de Rosales, was permitted to follow her father, who was between seventy and eighty years of age. Up to 1813, Juan Fernandez had been the Botany Bay of Chile."

life, some of a very advanced age, and two of them paralytic.....The gaol of Santiago was filled with persons of condition suspected of *infidencia*, or a political bias towards independence. Captain Sambruno, pre-eminent in atrocity among the atrocious Talaverinos, (the two battalions of the regiment of Talavera were composed of the worst characters from the Peninsula,) had been selected by Osorio to fill the office of chief *del tribunal de vigilancia*; a police appointment which gave him ample opportunities to indulge in passions at once malignant and licentious. Gentlemen were sometimes thrown into prison with threats of immediate execution, 'in order that a beautiful daughter or sister might be the intercessor.' The greater part of the immured citizens were inveigled into a pretended plot, which was made the plea for butchering them in cold blood. In short, to detail all the acts of tyranny and cruelty committed by Osorio and his deputy and successor Marco, would, we are told, fill a volume. During the two years and four months of their rule, their barbarity caused more mourning to be worn by the principal families, and spread more ruin and devastation over the country at large, than were occasioned by all the calamities of every other period of the struggle for independence in Chile."*

Thus, in Chile, in the year 1814, as in Venezuela, the cause of Independence seemed to be annihilated, and the struggle had terminated in that worst of all revolutions, a restoration; in which the recovery of power is always made subservient to the gratification of unbridled revenge, and every ancient abuse is ostentatiously renewed. The dominion of the new captain-general was, however, by no means free from alarms,

* Miller, vol. i. pp. 123—128.

occasioned by intelligence of the warlike preparations of San Martin at Mendoza; and the most arbitrary measures were had recourse to for the purpose of augmenting the royalist army. But the extraordinary boldness and activity of a patriot guerrilla party obliged Osorio to confine his operations to the defence of Chile. "Don Manuel Rodriguez, a barrister, was the son of a distinguished Chileno family, and had latterly been employed with remarkable success as an emissary of San Martin. A price was set upon the head of Rodriguez; but he, without arms, undertook to supply himself by taking them from his enemies, and to produce the necessity of separating the royal army into detachments, and of dispersing them over the country. At the head of a few guerrillas, he entered various towns; proclaimed their independence; took horses from the royalists; and harassed them by every species of hostility in his power. The captain-general was obliged to send strong divisions to distant points, to prevent a general rising. Whenever one of these approached the spot where Rodriguez chanced to be, the roads were lined, and ambuscades were planted by the royalists at every known outlet, to prevent escape. But, well acquainted with the localities, he would order his guerrillas to disperse, and rendezvous at some point distant from any royal garrison, where he would again hoist the standard of independence; again draw upon himself a superior force; and again elude their vigilance. This was the less difficult, as the people every where clamoured for a deliverer. Rodriguez could easily awaken their enthusiasm, and, when overpowered, could safely rely upon their assistance in making his escape. Although the people sometimes suffered severely for these proofs of their attachment, nothing could keep down the spirit of patriotism,

whenever an incident brought it into play. Thus supported, Rodriguez, with all the resources of his ready genius, and with a valour bordering upon rashness, occupied the attention of the royalists, and certainly contributed in a great measure to pave the way for the subsequent successes of the army of the Andes.*

"A diversion was also effected in the south by Commandant Freyre and the intrepid Neira, a guerrilla chief, who took possession of Talca with a small force raised in the province of Concepcion, and composed partly of men who had been expelled from their homes either by the edicts of the captain-general, or by an apprehension of sooner or later becoming his victims."†

In Peru, the attention of the viceroy Abascal had been occupied by the simultaneous rising of the Indians in the provinces of Cuzco, Huamanga, and Arequipa. As the declared object of their leader, Pumacagua, was to establish the independence of the whole country, many Creoles flocked to his standard; but the activity of General Ramirez soon crushed the efforts of these unarmed multitudes.‡ Pumacagua

* This "brave, amiable, and endowed patriot," as Mr. Miller styles him, was, in 1818, (shortly after the battle of Maypo,) imprisoned on suspicion of having planned a conspiracy to overthrow the government. "The officer of an escort belonging to a Buenos-Ayrean regiment, while conducting him to Quillota, barbarously assassinated him, on the plea that he attempted to make his escape. —Miller, vol. i. p. 184. It appears that he was, in fact, a partizan of Carrera's; and it is intimated by a young Irishman of the same desperate faction, that Rodriguez was basely assassinated "because he was a known friend to the *liberties* of his country." Mrs. Graham, who has forgotten her sex in her virulent abuse of San Martin, would insinuate that Rodriguez was murdered by that General's orders.—Graham's Chile, pp. 383, 109.

† Miller, vol. i. pp. 129—130.

‡ Among the patriots who suffered death was a young Arequipeno poet, only twenty years of age, named Melgar, whose fate excited general commiseration. He is styled by Mr. Miller, "the

was among the number of those who suffered; and the terror which was inspired by the numerous executions, produced a calm, which lasted till the arrival of San Martin in 1820. Abascal was superseded in the viceroyalty of Lima by General Pezuela, in July 1816; the latter being succeeded in the command of the army of Upper Peru by La Serna, who arrived from Spain in the September following. Two thousand Spanish troops arrived about the same time by way of Panama. This general, anxious to shew his attainments as a tactician, undertook to conduct an army over-land to Buenos Ayres. At the head of between four and five thousand men, he penetrated as far as Salta, but deemed it prudent to fall back to Jujuy, 14 leagues to the northward on the Potosi road, near the entrance of the Pampas.* He was able to penetrate no further. A few hundred *gauchos*, indifferently armed, some with muskets, others with swords, carbines, or pistols, and not a few with only a long knife and the lasso, here hemmed in about ten times their number of regular troops. These *gauchos* concealed themselves in the forests by day, and at night, frequently issued forth and attacked the royalist quarters or outposts. They were in constant communication with the inhabitants, many of whom would join in the nocturnal surprises, and be found at home by day-light. It was useless for La Serna to send out strong picquets. The royalists lost so many men in this way, without gaining a single advantage, that they were obliged to give

Moore of Peru," being skilled in music as in poetry; and he composed some Varavi melodies, of which, it is added, the Author of Lalla Rookh might have been proud. A severe disappointment in love, drew from his muse those plaintive *tristes* which are still sung all over the country.—Miller, vol. i. p. 85.

* Jujuy is a straggling place, about half a league in extent, which contained at that time about 3000 souls.

over every attempt to move beyond the out-skirts of the suburbs in pursuit. The manner in which the *gauchos* carried on their operations, is thus described: "They kept men on the highest trees, to watch every movement of the royalists, or to receive communications from friends in the town. Royalists who straggled to a small distance, were invariably cut off. On some of the trees, bells were hung; and tolling them, the *gauchos* would call out to the Spaniards, 'Come, Goths, and hear mass.' From other trees, drums were suspended, on which the call to arms was beaten ever and anon; while, in others, men would be sounding bugles at intervals, both day and night. If the royalists approached, the *gaucho* on the look-out would glide from the branches like a squirrel, vault into the saddle, and, watching a favourable opportunity, level his musket or pistol, fire, and probably bring down a royalist, before he galloped off and dived into the recesses of the forest. All this served to harass and to intimidate the Spaniards to an amazing degree. Numerous desertions took place; supplies were cut off; and even fuel became so scarce, that the rafters and other wood-work of untenanted houses were made use of for the purpose of cooking. La Serna himself was driven to desperation. Foiled, at the very entrance of the Pampas, by a handful of undisciplined but well-mounted *gauchos*, he had the additional mortification of finding all his vaunted plans of conducting the war *en règle*, inapplicable to the country into which he had with so much parade endeavoured to introduce them. He was finally compelled to abandon Jujuy, and retire to Cotagaita, in order to avoid starvation." *

While these revolutions and counter-revolutions

* Miller, vol. i. p. 88.

were desolating the other provinces, the affairs of Buenos Ayres, though embarrassed by endless civil dissensions and internal changes, had proceeded, upon the whole, prosperously. Monte Video surrendered to the Republic in June 1814; Captain Brown, of the Buenos-Ayrean flotilla, having previously destroyed the Spanish naval forces in the harbour. This important fortress was afterwards taken possession of by Artigas, a *gaucho* chieftain, through unaccountable negligence on the part of the Government of Buenos Ayres; and its abandonment to this desperate adventurer was eagerly seized as a pretext by the Brazilian Government for entering the Banda Oriental, and making themselves masters of this long-coveted possession.*

In January 1815, Posadas resigned the supreme directorship, and General Alvear was raised by a faction to the high office; but so unpalatable was the appointment to both the army and the majority of the citizens, that he was soon obliged to resign and flee the country. He was nominally succeeded by General Rondeau, who gave way, in his turn, to D. Ramon Balcarce. He, too, was soon removed; and all parties found it necessary to defer to a sovereign representative assembly, or general constituent congress, which was regularly installed in the city of Tucuman in the month of March 1816. By this national congress, D. Juan Martin de Puerreydon was elected supreme director of the republic; and a solemn Decla-

* See Mod. Trav., Brazil, &c., vol. ii. pp. 319—321. Artigas maintained his hostility against both Brazil and Buenos Ayres for several years afterwards; but at length, having sustained some reverses in the province of Entre-Rios, he sought an asylum in Paraguay, where he was placed under rigid *surveillance* by Dr. Francia. He died at Candalaria in 1826, in the sixtieth year of his age.

ration of Independence was at the same time agreed upon, bearing date July 9, 1816, in which, for the first time, the Republic assumed the style of the United Provinces of the Rio de la Plata. These territories are now distinguished by the appellation of the Argentine Provinces, (in allusion to the name of the Plate or Silver River,) and for the awkward patronymic, Buenos-Ayreans, has been substituted the name of Argentines. From this national act, the political existence of the Republic may properly be dated; and envoys extraordinary were despatched by the Congress to the several courts of Europe, to obtain their acknowledgment of the independence of the emancipated state.

The command of the army was now again conferred on General Belgrano, who displayed great activity in re-organizing and augmenting his forces; but he was subsequently deposed by his own officers, who spread themselves over the provinces in detached parties, each at the head of as many soldiers as he could attach to his interest.* In the mean time, General San Martin, who had held, since September 1814, the command of the province of Cuyo, had, with better

* "By such means," says Mr. Miller, "they usurped both the civil and military administration of the provinces, which some have retained till this time. Belgrano, though deficient in military capacity, was deservedly respected as one of the most liberal, humane, disinterested, and honourable men that South America has produced. He was born at Buenos Ayres, of Italian parents, who bequeathed to their children considerable property. He was educated at Salamanca; and on his return from Spain, was appointed secretary to the *consulado* or chamber of commerce. The mildness of his manners, his fondness for music, and taste for the belles lettres, rendered him, in early life, a distinguished member of society. He continued to labour for the welfare of his country to the last with unwearied zeal; and his death, in 1820, was deplored by every class."—Miller, vol. i. p. 83.

success, been collecting and training another body of troops; and having received a small re-inforcement from Buenos Ayres, he was enabled, in the middle of the year 1816, to form at Mendoza (the capital of the province), about 4000 regular troops tolerably well clothed and armed, besides a considerable number of unarmed militia. Notwithstanding the inferiority of his force to the royalist army in Chile, San Martin now determined to make the attempt to liberate that country; and he was the more anxious to commence at once offensive operations, as some symptoms of party spirit had been manifested by two or three chiefs of the army. To deceive Marco, the captain-general, and induce him to divide his forces, San Martin caused a conference to be held with the Indians of Pehuenche, (a territory lying at the eastern foot of the Andes, and extending 120 leagues S. of the river Diamante, the boundary of the province of Cuyo,) for the ostensible purpose of obtaining leave to march through their country; and he sent guerrillas to make demonstrations in that direction, while he prepared to cross the Andes by a different and more arduous route. The known practicable passes, in a length of 140 leagues of the ridge of mountains which wall in Chile, are only six in number. These are, beginning from the north, La Rioja, which debouches into the province of Coquimbo; Los Patos, leading into the valley of Putaendo; Uspallata, into the valley of Aconcagua; El Portillo, into the valley of San Gabriel, near to the capital; Las Damas, into the valley of Colchagua; and El Planchon, into the valley of Talca. It was by the second of these, that San Martin, with the main body of the patriot army, prepared to make his descent upon Chile, while two divisions took the route of the Portillo. As he ex-

pected, the Indians, after being sworn to secrecy, sold their information to the Spaniards; and Marco, putting faith in the intelligence, detached a large portion of his force towards the Planchon.

On the 17th of January, 1817, the patriots broke up their cantonments at Mendoza, and commenced their arduous and enterprising march. Of the difficulties of the passage over this mighty barrier, (arising from the severity of the mountain climate and the want of fuel, as well as from the dangerous paths which are alone practicable,) some idea may be formed from the statement, that, out of 9281 mules and 1600 horses which left Mendoza with the troops, not more than 4300 mules and 500 horses arrived in Chile, in spite of every precaution that the keenest ingenuity could devise. "Five hundred of the militia were told off to convey the howitzers and field-pieces, under the superintendence of the indefatigable Friar Beltran, who, abandoning his cell, became an officer of artillery. Where the ground was comparatively good, each piece of ordnance was carried between two mules, by means of a pole fastened fore and aft to a pack-saddle on each mule; the gun was suspended from the pole, and hung in a horizontal position about two feet from the ground, between the tail of the foremost and the nose of the hindmost mule. Sometimes it was carried on the shoulders, and sometimes in the arms of the militia-men; at other times, it was dragged up and lowered down declivities by means of ropes. The *cabrestante* (a sort of portable capstan) was also occasionally used to assist in raising the gun, or to steady it in the descent. *Sorras*, a sort of narrow sledges constructed of dried bull-hides, were frequently made to serve as carriages. Seven hundred oxen formed a part of the provision for fifteen days. To

provide against starvation in the event of a defeat, provisions were left in *depôt* at about every twelfth league, in charge of a small militia guard.

"Between the town of Mendoza and Chile, five principal ridges run north and south, besides innumerable colossal ramifications. The intense cold on the summits, killed many men. Nearly the whole army was affected, in the course of the march, with the *puna*, or a difficulty of respiration, and numbers died in consequence. Every step the patriots took, convinced the least reflecting, that the obstacles already overcome were of a nature that left no hope that a retreat would be practicable, if they were beaten in the field. But, instead of despondency, a spirit of union pervaded all; and they marched full of confidence, each corps emulating the rest in enduring submission to hardships of no common severity.

"On the 7th of February, 1817, Major Don Enrique Martinez, commanding the advance of the army of the Andes, drove in the Spanish piquet at La Guardia, which suffered some loss. On the 8th, Lieutenant-Colonel Necochea routed, with inferior forces, a body of royalist hussars. Having overcome the first difficulties, in defiles where the natural defences had been strengthened by hastily constructed field-works, the patriots issued from the mountains, and, debouching into the valley of Putaendo, took possession of the towns of Aconcagua and Santa Rosa." *

The royalists, about 4000 strong, with eight pieces of artillery, were concentrated in the neighbourhood of Chacabuco. The *cuesta* or mountain of that name, which is very difficult of access, was occupied by a strong royalist detachment that enfiladed the high

* Miller, vol. i. pp. 106—108, 130.

road leading from Santa Rosa to Santiago. The hostile parties bivouacked on the 10th of February, not far from each other. San Martin had intended to postpone the attack till the arrival of his artillery and spare horses, which were expected to join on the 14th; but, having ascertained that the royalist forces detached to the south, were rapidly counter-marching, he decided upon immediate action. On the 12th of February, he directed the brigade under General O'Higgins to advance in front, while General Soler, with two battalions and some cavalry, made an oblique movement half a league to the right. The commanding officer of the Spanish advanced detachment on the *cuesta*, perceiving his retreat endangered, fell back a league and a half towards the estate of Chacabuco, where he joined the rest of the army, which had formed on the side of a hill with a deep ravine in front. This position was advantageous for repelling an attack along the high road, but was ill adapted for defence against the brigade of Soler. San Martin, continuing his front movement, arrived within range of the enemy at the moment that Soler was half a league distant. Aware of the danger of procrastination with young and enthusiastic troops in the presence of well disciplined foes, San Martin ordered an immediate attack, and O'Higgins placed himself at the head of the infantry. The first effort was unsuccessful, the battalion being repulsed with severe loss. San Martin then charged the enemy's right with two squadrons of cavalry, and the battalions returned to the attack at the same time. At this moment, the head of Soler's columns appeared in sight; and his cavalry came on in time to take part in the last charges, which led to complete success. The Spaniards attempted to rally

in a vineyard, but they were overthrown by a brilliant charge of cavalry, led by Necochea. Six hundred Spaniards were left dead on the field;* the rest dispersed; and the patriots entered Santiago in triumph on the 14th of February. On the 18th, the Captain-General Marco and 3600 royalists had been taken prisoners at various points; 500 escaped by embarking at Valparaiso for Lima; and the rest retired to Talcahuano, on the bay of Concepcion, where they intrenched themselves, and made a successful stand.

A *junta* of government was now formed, and the supreme directorship was offered to San Martin by the grateful Chilenoes; but he declined the dignity in favour of the brave O'Higgins. San Martin, a few days after the victory of Chacabuco, proceeded to Buenos Ayres, to solicit re-inforcements, and to represent the impracticability of raising a forced contribution in the impoverished country. On his return in the following April, he established his head-quarters at Las Tablas, near Valparaiso. Here he was joined, in January 1818, by a young English volunteer of the name of Miller, who afterwards acted a distinguished part in the liberation of Peru.† In the mean time,

* Mr. Caldcleugh, who had his account of the battle from Marco himself, says, 1300 men, including General Marquell; and Marco was made prisoner.—Caldcleugh, vol. ii. p. 29.

† William Miller, born December 2, 1795, at Wingham, in Kent, served in the field-train department of the Royal Artillery, from January 1811, to the peace of 1815. He was present at the sieges of Ciudad Rodrigo, Badajoz, and San Sebastian, at the battle of Vittoria, and the investment of Bayonne; he afterwards joined the expedition against Washington and Baltimore. In 1817, tired of inactivity, he resolved to enter the service of the South American patriots; and, as Colombia was overrun with adventurers of all descriptions, he wisely determined to direct his course to Buenos Ayres, where the supreme director, Pueyrredon, conferred

the royalists had been strongly recruited by the arrival of veteran troops from Europe, under General Osorio, and being now increased to 6000 effective men, were advancing upon the capital. San Martin, calling in his separated divisions, prepared to give him battle. Having formed a junction with the forces under the Supreme Director, O'Higgins, he found himself at the head of 7000 infantry, 1500 cavalry, 33 field-pieces, and two howitzers.* Ignorant of the numbers and movements of his opponents, the royalist general crossed the Maule, and was proceeding to Santiago, when, on the 18th of March, his van-guard came into contact with the republican advance, and met with a check. Osorio countermarched with precipitation; and the bold and able manœuvres of the republican commander placed him in a situation extremely critical, which was rendered still more disheartening by the unfavourable result of some slight affairs between detached parties. Osorio became panic-struck, and took to his beads; but the energy of his second in command, General Ordonez, had nearly retrieved the fortunes of the royalists, by a well-planned night attack, which threw the patriots into confusion. The dispersion of the left and centre of the line was complete; and had the royalist chief been a man of enterprise and resource, it might have been difficult

upon him a captain's commission in the army of San Martin. To the Memoirs of this individual, written by his brother, Mr. John Miller, we are indebted for the best historical account of the revolutionary struggle; and it will form, in the subsequent pages, our chief authority.

* "The composition of the army of the Andes was good; and although the dress of the soldiers was unsightly, they were well armed, tolerably well disciplined, and very enthusiastic. National airs and hymns to liberty, accompanied by the sound of guitars, were heard throughout the encampment every evening till a late hour."—Miller, vol. i. p. 176.

for them to rally before the capital had fallen. Some of the fugitives rode eighty leagues in twenty-six hours, and on the morning of the 21st, spread dismay and confusion through the capital. It was believed, that Osorio might be expected hourly, and despair seized every mind. The arrival of O'Higgins and San Martin at length restored some degree of confidence, and vigorous measures were adopted to make a stand on the plains of Maypo. Happily, the royalists, instead of following up the pursuit, occupied themselves in plundering the baggage found in the patriot position, and then re-entered Talca. The feeble Osorio then followed the patriots at leisure, and did not again come in contact with them until seventeen days after the battle. The valuable interval was well improved by the Supreme Director and San Martin, in re-assembling the fugitives, and re-organizing the army, which now amounted to about 6500 men, including 1000 militia.

On the eventful morning of the memorable 5th of April, 1818, the royalist army, 6000 strong, was discovered at the distance of six miles, approaching by the road leading from the ford of the Maypo to Santiago. About 11 A.M., the royalists had formed nearly parallel with the patriot line, and a brisk cannonade opened on both sides. Shortly afterwards, two patriot battalions charged the Spanish right, but were repulsed with considerable loss. Two battalions of the Spaniards now pressed forward in column; but, while deploying, they were charged and broken by the patriot reserve under General Don Hilarion de la Quintana, who, supported by the two battalions which had given way, interposed between the Spanish line and its reserve, placed in the rear of the centre of their line. At the same time, some charges of the patriot cavalry,

directed against the Spanish left, made an impression; and in less than an hour from the commencement of the action, the Spaniards gave way at every point. The brave Ordonez rallied, and made a desperate, though fruitless struggle, at the *hacienda* of Espejo, about a league in the rear. Osorio, with about a hundred men, had previously made his escape, and with great difficulty reached Talcahuano in miserable plight. About 2000 royalists were slain, and 3500 were made prisoners. The patriots lost upwards of 1000 in killed and wounded.

During the cannonade, the feelings of the inhabitants of Santiago were wound up to breathless intensity of suspense; and on the news of victory, they found vent in the wildest demonstrations of transport. "People embraced each other, laughed, wept, and shrieked, as if deprived of their senses. Some went literally mad, and one or two of them never recovered their reason. One man dropped down and expired instantaneously. The glorious intelligence overtook a large party of emigrants, principally ladies, on the elevated pass of Uspallata. They were so overjoyed, that they hardly knew whether to proceed or to return. Several were so overcome, that they were left on the mountain with a few attendants, until they found themselves sufficiently composed to resume their journey towards home."*

Five days after this great event, which fixed the destinies of Chile, the victorious General repaired a second time to Buenos Ayres, where he was received with the most enthusiastic admiration. Osorio remained at Talcahuano until the September following, when he destroyed the fortifications, and sailed for

* Miller, vol. ii. pp. 185—7.

Callao with all the ships and merchantmen in the port, having on board 300 troops and most of the royalist families who could raise sufficient money to embark. All the remnants of the Spanish party assembled in the city of Los Angelos, or at various posts on the southern side of the river Bio-bio, from which, on the approach of the patriots, they could pass through the territories of friendly Indians to Valdivia and Chiloe. Talcahuano, so recently the scene of commercial and naval bustle, was left silent and deserted. Not a ship, launch, or boat had floated in the bay since Osorio's departure, when, on the 20th of October, a Spanish frigate and a large transport anchored off the port; and in a few days, two other vessels arrived from Cadiz. From the four ships, about 600 troops were landed; a most unlooked for re-inforcement to the slender army which had been left by Osorio under General Sanchez. A short time afterwards arrived the Maria Isabella, a large frigate from Cadiz, bound to Lima, having on board several civil officers of the Lima government, a son of the viceroy, and many military officers of rank, with their families. The four vessels in the port had sailed for Lima on the day of her arrival. After remaining there for a few days, and having obtained every requisite supply, the Maria Isabella prepared to weigh anchor, when two large ships appeared standing for the bay, displaying the patriot flag. They proved to be the San Martin of sixty guns, and the Lautaro of forty-four. After a slight show of resistance from the Maria, the San Martin, having first discharged a broadside, dropped anchor within pistol-shot of the royal frigate; upon which the Spaniards cut their cable and ran their ship on shore. Many of the crew escaped in boats, while numbers jumped over-board,

and swam to the beach.* Immediate possession was taken of the frigate, but it was not got off without great difficulty. On the 1st of November, however, the patriot squadron anchored with their prize between the island of Santa Maria and the main land, in the bay of Concepcion. In the course of a week, seven transports arrived separately, and seeing Spanish colours flying at every mast-head, they obeyed in succession the telegraphic signal to anchor astern of the Maria Isabella. On their dropping anchor, a musket was fired a-head from the commodore's ship, and the patriot ensign was substituted for that of Spain, when a wild cry announced their discovery of their mistake. On the 7th of November, the patriot squadron returned to Valparaiso. Thirteen sail entered the bay, in line, amid the enthusiastic cheers of multitudes upon the beach and the hills. The capture of the convoy was an event of the greatest importance. It prevented the junction of upwards of 2000 Spanish troops with the forces under the command of Sanchez, who might soon have been enabled to threaten Santiago, a considerable portion of the army of the Andes having been detached to the assistance of the Argentine Republic.†

* These particulars are related by a young American who witnessed the transaction from shore, where he was a *detenu*. See "Journal of a Residence in Chili, by a young American." (12mo. Boston, U. S.) We have also an account furnished by General Miller, who was on board the San Martin. After the action, (if such it might be called,) he was sent ashore with a flag of truce, and very narrowly escaped falling a victim to the cold-blooded villany of Sanchez.—See Miller's Memoirs, vol. i. pp. 196—200.

† The Spanish expedition had sailed from Cadiz on the 21st of May, with about 2800 men, of whom one-sixth died on the passage, and one-half of the survivors were *hors de combat* from the effects of scurvy. The state of the vessels was filthy in the extreme. On reaching the latitude of the Plata, the troops on board one of the transports had mutinied, and proceeded to Buenos Ayres; by which

Early in 1819, General Balcarce, with 3000 patriot troops, marched against Sanchez, who had augmented his force to 2000 men. Upon the advance of the Independents, the royalist general collected his forces from Concepcion, Chillan, and the island of Laja, and fell back upon the Araucanian territory. In crossing the Bio-bio, he was overtaken, however, by Balcarce, and after losing 600 men in an unsuccessful stand, was compelled to make a precipitate flight. He reached Valdivia with about 900 followers, having obtained permission of the independent caciques of Arauco to march through their country; which was not accomplished, however, without great difficulties, as well as sacrifices in the shape of extorted presents. Balcarce returned to Santiago,* leaving Colonel Freyre in the military and civil command of the province of Concepcion. But this devoted country was not yet to enjoy repose. To keep alive a hostile feeling against the patriots, the celebrated guerrilla partisan Benavides, with a few desperadoes, was left among the Araucanian tribes; and these bands of freebooters, strengthened by numerous deserters from the Independents, became so formidable, that Colonel Freyre, with 2000 men, was scarcely able to keep them in check. Several strong parties crossed the Bio bio, to extirpate these marauders, but they always returned after some fighting, without having effected their object. All who fell into the power of Benavides, or the Indians, were mutilated with the most wanton and shocking barbarity; and the inhabitants of all the neighbouring

means the Republican Government came to the knowledge of their instructions, which they lost no time in transmitting overland to the Chilenoes, and the squadron had consequently put to sea in the hope of intercepting them; a hope so triumphantly realized.

* He died there on the 16th of August, 1819. "He was," says Mr. Miller, "an active, upright, and zealous patriot."

estancias were kept in perpetual dread of a visitation from these daring and savage banditti. The capture of Valdivia by the Chileno squadron in 1820, deprived this ruffian of his most important *point d'appui*, and cut off his usual resources; but he was still formidable enough to excite perpetual alarm. He was at length taken, in endeavouring to escape to Peru, and closed his bloody career on the scaffold, in February 1823, amid the execrations of the populace.*

Chile was now free, and the state of affairs in the mother country rendered it improbable that the Spanish Government would be capable of again attempting the re-conquest of her transatlantic colonies. The patriot leaders now, therefore, turned their attention to the liberation of Peru. But, before we enter upon the details relating to this enterprise, we must once more revert to the progress of the revolution in the Colombian provinces.

In April 1816, Bolivar sailed from Kingston with 300 men, and landed at the Isle of Margarita, which had lately thrown off the Spanish yoke. On the 1st

* The life of this desperado is a tale of mingled horror and romance. Born in the province of Concepcion, he served in a Buenos Ayrean battalion; but being, with his brother, sentenced to death for some crime, he escaped from prison, and passed over to the royalists. He was afterwards taken prisoner, and sentenced to be shot; which sentence was executed, and he was left for dead, having received two balls, besides a deep wound in his throat. He recovered, however, and offered his services to San Martin, on condition of secrecy; they were accepted; and his counsels and information are said to have been of material service to the cause of independence. Unhappily, his secret, which had been necessarily confided to Balcarce, was by him imparted to Freyre, who had the imprudence to tell Benavides, in a private conference, that a man of his species was not to be trusted. Fired at the insult, he disappeared, and speedily commenced a desolating war with fire and sword.—Miller, vol. ii. pp. 257—261.

of June, he again embarked, and on the 3d, landed at Campano, where he defeated a Spanish force of 900 men. Here, he opened a communication with the patriot chieftains who had maintained themselves in detached parties dispersed over the plains of Cumana, Barcelona, and the Apure. So completely isolated were several of these parties, that, for many months, they did not know of any besides themselves being in arms for the deliverance of their country. It was only by their coming into accidental contact, that they discovered there was more than one patriot guerrilla in existence. Bolivar supplied some of them with arms, and at the same time augmented his own force to a thousand men. The Spaniards assembled in superior numbers to destroy them; on which, Bolivar re-embarked for Margarita. In 1817, he landed at Barcelona, and, having recruited his little army, marched towards Caracas; but, being worsted in an affair at Clarines, he fell back upon Barcelona, where, shut up with 400 men, he maintained himself against a superior force. Having received some reinforcements from the interior of Cumana, he decided upon making the banks of the Orinoco the theatre of his future efforts. He accordingly marched for the interior, beating several small royalist parties which he encountered on his route. A decisive victory over a division of the Spanish army under General Torres, obtained by the partisan chief, Piar,* enabled Bolivar to invest Angostura and Old Guyana, which towns were successively taken on the 3d and 13th of July. The

* Piar was subsequently found guilty by a court-martial, at Angostura, on a charge of having attempted to excite a war of colour. He was himself a man of colour, "the bravest of the brave, and adored by his followers;" but his execution appears to have been necessary, in order to "stifle anarchy in the bud."

remainder of the year was actively occupied in organizing a force to act against Morillo, who had lately been reinforced by 2000 fresh troops from the Peninsula under General Canterac.

Early in 1818, Bolivar, having concentrated his forces, marched to Calabozo, before Morillo was aware that he had quitted Angostura, and the Spanish General retreated to Aragua. The Supreme Chief (such was now the title of the patriot leader) came up with him at La Usirnael, but could make only a slight impression on the enemy, on account of the strength of his position. Another rencounter took place at Sombrero. Morillo retired to Valencia, and Bolivar took possession of the valleys of Aragua. Thence he detached a strong division to take San Fernando de Apure, in order to complete the conquest of the *Llanos* or Plains. Upon this, the Spaniards advanced, and the two armies met at Semen. Morillo was wounded, and the royalists were put to flight; but, the pursuit being indiscreetly conducted by the patriots, the fortune of the day was changed by the arrival of a fresh royalist division. Each party was alternately defeated, and both rallied their dispersed corps to re-engage at Ortez. The division of the patriot army which had been sent to San Fernando, after capturing that place, had an indecisive affair at Cojedes. Several actions of the same character took place at other points. At the close of this campaign, San Fernando remained in the possession of the patriots, but the Spaniards held Aragua and the most fertile provinces of Venezuela, with the whole of New Granada.

The campaign of 1819 was opened by Bolivar with between four and five thousand men; while Morillo had six or seven thousand. Twelve hundred British troops

had arrived at Margarita to the aid of the patriots from England, and 800 more arrived at Angostura. With these expeditions, large supplies of spare arms also were sent for the Independents. General Urdaneta was appointed to command the British legion in Margarita, which was directed to act on the side of Caracas, in order to draw off the attention of Morillo from the *Llanos*. On the 15th of February, the second Congress of the provinces of Venezuela was installed at Angostura; and Bolivar, having resigned into the hands of this constituent assembly, his authority as supreme chief, was unanimously elected president of the Republic. Early in March, the President rejoined the army, which was much reduced by sickness; but, by adopting a desultory system of warfare, he compelled the Spaniards to re-cross the Apure, after having lost half their original numbers. While Morillo remained in winter quarters, the President traversed the vast plains of the Apure and Casanare, which are rendered almost impassable by inundations from May to the end of August.* In Casmare, he formed a junction with the division of General Santander, 2000 strong. Santander had, from the commencement of the revolution, devoted himself with enthusiasm to the cause of his country. He now expelled the Spaniards from their formidable position of Paya, and opened the way for Bolivar's crossing the Andes. This the President effected, not, however, without the loss of nearly a fourth of his army, who perished from the effects of the cold and excessive fatigue.† On the 11th of July, Bolivar attacked the royalists under General Barreyo, at Gamarra, and compelled him to

* See Colombia, p. 238.

† The *paramo* of Chisba was particularly fatal to the British troops and the natives of the Plains.—See Colombia, p. 273.

retire. On the 25th, by a flank movement, he again brought the Spaniards to action at Bargas, and drove them from their position. Having obtained 1000 recruits, he now marched to interpose between the defeated general and the viceroy Sarmano, who was advancing to his support with all the disposable force south of Bogota. The result of this daring and masterly movement was the decisive battle of Boyaca, fought on the 7th of August, in which the royalists are said to have lost 2000 men in killed, wounded, and prisoners. Among the latter was the Spanish general, Barreyo, with his staff.* In this action, the English troops under Major Mackintosh greatly distinguished themselves, charging up to the mouths of the enemy's guns, and driving them from the bridge of Boyaca, which protected the right of their position.† The gallant Major was promoted on the field. In three days afterwards, the President entered Bogota in triumph. The viceroy, Sarnano, had fled from the capital with precipitation, with all the garrison and members of Government, leaving behind him in his haste half a million of dollars, much military equipment, and many important state-papers. The capture of the capital was of the utmost importance to Bolivar at this critical period, his little army having suffered exceedingly from long marches, bad living, and much fighting.‡ The results of the victory were

* This general (Mr. Miller writes his name Barrero) was afterwards shot, with thirty-eight other Spanish officers, in the great square at Bogota, together with a turbulent friar who had been active in supporting the Spaniards.—Hamilton's Colombia, vol. ii. p. 216.

† See Colombia, p. 279. Another authority gives the 8th of August as the day of this famous victory, which has been styled the birth-day of Colombia.

‡ "Colonel Manby, of the battalion of Albions, which formed

decisive. Within a short period, eleven provinces of New Granada announced their adhesion to the cause of Independence.

Bolivar now repaired to Angostura, where he once more resigned his authority to the assembled representatives of the nation, laying before them the trophies of the last successful campaign. On the 25th of December, 1819, it was decreed by the Congress, at the suggestion of the President, that thenceforth Venezuela and New Granada should form one Federal Republic under the denomination of COLOMBIA. At the same time, it conferred upon Bolivar the title of Liberator of Colombia, and re-elected him President of the Republic.

In March 1820, Bolivar returned to Bogota, where he occupied himself till August, in the organization of the army, which was cantoned at various points between Cucuta* and San Fernando de Apure. Having driven the Spaniards from the provinces of Merida and Truxillo, he established his winter head-quarters at the latter town. On the 25th of November, he concluded an armistice of six months with Morillo, who engaged that, on the renewal of hostilities, the war should be carried on conformably to the practice of civilized nations. Morillo soon afterwards departed for Europe, leaving as his successor in the command of the royal army, the brave General

the advanced guard of Bolivar's army when he entered Bogota, told me, that they had not a pair of shoes or stockings in the whole battalion; the officers wearing *alpargates* (a sort of buskin made of packthread or rushes)."—Hamilton's Colombia, vol. i. p. 217.

* In this town, the first general congress of the united provinces of Colombia was held in 1820. The Constitution of Colombia is dated from Cucuta, August 30, 1821. By a decree of October 8, 1821, its future sittings were transferred to Bogota.

La Torre. Before the armistice had terminated, the province of Maracaybo shook off the Spanish yoke; which being considered by La Torre as an infraction of the truce, hostilities re-commenced. The Liberator, having concentrated his forces in Varinas, detached one division under Urdaneta to the coast, and another under Bermudez to the east, to divide the attention of the enemy, while he marched in person against Caracas. On the 24th of June, 1821, he attacked and defeated the Spaniards at Carabozo. The numbers on each side were nearly equal. This battle decided the fate of Colombia. The victorious Liberator entered Caracas on the 29th. On the 2d of July, La Guayra also surrendered to him. The province of Guayaquil soon after declared its independence, and solicited the aid of the Liberator against the Spaniards in Quito. A division was accordingly sent there under General Sucre, by whom the provinces of Loja and Cuenca were successively liberated; and on the 24th of May 1822, the victory of Pinchincha gave independence to Quito. In the same year, Cartagena and Cumana surrendered to the liberating forces in Venezuela; and the independence of Colombia may be said to have been accomplished.

While Bolivar was thus pursuing his triumphant career in the northern provinces, and San Martin, having established the freedom of Chile, had transferred the seat of war to Peru, the affairs of the Argentine Republic had been thrown into wild disorder by the madness of contending factions. The intrigues of France and Austria to impose upon the Argentines a Bourbon or an Austrian prince, were defeated by the republican party; but the anarchy which prevailed, reduced the state to the brink of

destruction. During the period which elapsed between the deposal and flight of Puerreydon, in November 1819, and the commencement of the year 1821, Buenos Ayres had no fewer than fifteen successive governors; * several of whom retained their office for only a few weeks, and some for a still shorter period. These rapid changes were generally preceded by sanguinary struggles, and were followed by banishments and proscriptions; but in no instance was recourse had to confiscation of property, so far had public opinion wrought an improvement. In March 1820, Ramirez, the chief of the Entre Rios, Lopez, the Governor of Santa Fe, and General Carrera, marched against Buenos Ayres; and D. Manuel Sarratea, the ex-president, became for a short time governor, but was soon displaced. At length, on the 6th of October in the same year, Don Martin Rodriguez, a rich landed proprietor, deservedly popular, was appointed Governor and Captain-general of the province; and the people, wearied out by the harassing effects of varied misrule, seconded his energetic and patriotic efforts to form a settled administration. He prudently chose for his colleagues, individuals who had been in no way connected with the intrigues that had so long distracted the republic. Don Bernardino Rivadavia was appointed secretary for foreign and home affairs, and became the soul of the new government; while D. Francisco Cruz was made secretary

* See a list of these governors and vice-governors in Caldcleugh's Travels, App. No. 18. Puerreydon, says this Traveller, "was a man of gentlemanly manners, but considered lax in his principles, and had further the character of entering largely into the French interests. To complete his downfall in the estimation of the people, a ridiculous plan carried on under his auspices, for placing the young prince of Lucca on the throne of Buenos Ayres, was made public."—Caldcleugh, vol. i. p. 230.

for the war department, and D. Manuel Garcia secretary of finance.

Amid the general confusion, the whole of the inland provinces had withdrawn their allegiance from the Central Government; and in several of them, contentions and disturbances arose, which formed a counterpart to the transactions of the capital. The government of Buenos Ayres continued, however, to be, by tacit consent, the only channel of negotiation with foreign powers; and all foreign agents and consuls resided in that city.

One of the first acts of the new administration was, the formation of a constituent provincial *junta* of thirteen members, four for the city and nine for the province, who proceeded to pass several decrees, proposed by the executive, distinguished by an enlightened policy. These laws, which were not merely printed and promulgated, but, unlike most of the previous decrees, carried into effect, provided for the inviolability of persons and property; the oblivion of past political offences; religious toleration; the extinction of the monastic orders; the liberty of the press; the purer administration of justice; and the promotion of education. A university was erected; many schools were established in the city, as well as several in the provinces; and fifty or sixty youths of the first families were sent for education to England, France, or the United States of the North. A bank was also established, which contributed greatly to sustain the public credit, the directors being either native merchants or British residents who had acquired the privilege of citizens. The secretary, D. Santiago Wilde, was an Englishman. A savings' bank was also founded; the few charitable institutions of Buenos Ayres became objects of public

attention; and vaccination was very generally introduced. A civic police was also organized and put into an efficient state. At the same time, in pursuance of a judicious plan of retrenchment, the army was reduced to a few hundred regulars, which, with the militia, were put upon a respectable footing, in order to provide against the incursions of the Indians.* Such officers as were unemployed, and who had served either at home or in Chile and Peru, received a very handsome retired allowance. Privateering was put a stop to; the custom-house was remodelled; smuggling was effectually prohibited; and a new impulse was given to commerce.

After Rodriguez had held the office of President for three years, the period prescribed by the new regulations, he was succeeded by D. Gregorio de las Heras. About the same time, Rivadavia came to England; but the same excellent system of administration continued. The Republic, rising in respectability, was successively recognized by Portugal, the United States of America, and Great Britain. The provinces, which had seceded from the Federal Union, began to manifest a willingness to connect themselves again with the metropolis; and at length, they spontaneously offered to send deputies to represent them in a general congress, which was accordingly installed on the 16th of December, 1824. At this session, it was deter-

* During the anarchy, the Indians had become very formidable to Buenos Ayres and the Creole population throughout the Pampas; and the patriot cavalry parties sent to repel them, had been repeatedly put to flight. Colonel Rauch, a brave German, put a stop to these irruptions, by adopting the plan of forming his men on foot into hollow squares, with their horses in the centre. By keeping up a well-directed fire on the assailants, they were always repulsed; upon which his troops remounting, pursued the fugitives at an advantage with great slaughter.

mined, that, for every 7500 inhabitants, a deputy should be returned, each deputy receiving 2000 dollars annually besides his travelling expenses. As a proof of the increasing prosperity of the Republic, it is stated, that, in the years 1822 to 1825 inclusive, no fewer than 716 houses were built in town and country; and the city of Buenos Ayres, the population of which, in 1817, did not exceed 60,000 souls, contained, in 1826, 100,000 inhabitants.*

It was at this prosperous period, that war broke out between the Republic and the Brazilian Government, occasioned by the long-standing dispute respecting the *Banda Oriental*, or eastern coast of the Plata. During the administration of Rodriguez, the Buenos Ayres Government had in vain demanded the evacuation of the province, in conformity to a condition agreed to by the Court of Rio, that it should be given up as soon as Buenos Ayres should possess a regular and stable government. General Lecor, the governor of Monte Video, having called together the principal inhabitants, obtained from them the declaration of a general wish to continue under the protection of his Most Faithful Majesty. On observing the growing prosperity of the Republic, however, the *Orientales* are represented as having signified their wishes to reunite themselves with Buenos Ayres; nor could the Argentines be expected to behold with indifference the key of the Plata in the hands of the Brazilians. Although the Government foresaw the disastrous consequences of a war, they were obliged to yield to the strong popular feeling, loudly and unanimously expressed. Hostilities were commenced on the

* Miller, vol. ii. ch. 34. Mr. Miers, who complains of the exaggeration of the official accounts, estimates the population of the city in 1825, at only 45,000 souls.—Travels, vol. i. p. 264.

part of the Argentines, in a somewhat irregular manner.

"In 1825, Don Juan Lavalleja, a native of the Banda Oriental, and who had long served with distinction under the brave Artigas, collected a party of thirty-two trusty comrades, principally *Orientales*, and crossed the Plata in an open launch. They disembarked at midnight on the left bank of the river, and, carrying their saddles and bridles with them, proceeded to a *hacienda* well known to them, and procured horses. Without losing a moment of time, they advanced to a place called *El Rincon de las Gallinas*, and, in the night of the 24th September, fell unawares upon a strong Brazilian detachment. This party was commanded by Don Fructoso Rivera, an *Oriental* by birth, but who was now in the Brazilian service. He instantly changed sides; and, with his assistance, Lavalleja, reinforced at every step, was enabled to surprise other strong parties of imperialists. By this time, the news of Lavalleja's arrival spread like wild-fire through the province, and he shortly found himself at the head of 2000 *gauchos*. The *Orientales* rose *en masse*; and the imperialists withdrew to Monte Video and Colonia, the only two fortresses in the province. Two thousand well-appointed Brazilian cavalry were sent out from Monte Video under the orders of Colonel Ventos Gonzales, an officer of reputation, and who, on setting out, promised to annihilate Lavalleja. On the 12th of October, the hostile parties came within sight of each other at La Cuchilla de Sarandi. The Brazilians were well armed, well disciplined, and advanced in the steadiest order. The *gauchos* had only lances and swords. They, anxious to be led on, made a great noise; but Lavalleja, perceiving that the enemy advanced with their carbines

in their hands, ordered his men not to move until the imperialists should have fired, which was to be the signal for the *gauchos* to charge. About sixty of them were killed by the volley; but the rest rushed on before the Brazilians could draw their swords. With the exception of about two hundred, who escaped, the whole of the *Fidalgo* party, as they were called, were killed or taken prisoners. Lavalleja became governor of the Banda Oriental. He convoked a provincial junta, which declared it to be the general wish of the *Orientales* to incorporate themselves with Buenos Ayres; and on the 25th October, 1825, the Banda Oriental was admitted into the Argentine federation. Lavalleja was made brigadier-general.

"On the 10th December, 1825, the Emperor declared war. The Buenos-Ayrean declaration followed, on the 3d of January, 1826." *

Rivadavia returned from Europe in December 1825, bearing the ratified treaty of commerce and amity between Great Britain and the Provinces of the Plata. He was elected president of the Republic on the 7th of February following; and the provincial junta formed under the administration of Rodriguez, having dissolved itself, the affairs of the province were placed under the immediate direction of the executive. General Las Heras, the ex-president, one of the earliest and bravest defenders of the Republic, chagrined at these proceedings, retired to Chile in disgust. The provinces, however, supported the Government, and furnished their contingents for the war with great readiness. Captain Brown, the British officer who had so highly distinguished himself in the taking of Monte Video in 1814, was made admiral of the Argentine

* Miller, vol. ii. pp. 411—413.

flotilla, which was soon manned by a number of unemployed seamen of all nations; and even many British settlers, established in small shops, gave up their trades, to serve as volunteers under the intrepid Brown. The admiral performed many brilliant exploits against very superior forces in the outer roads of Buenos Ayres, as well as off Monte Video and in other parts of the river. But what occasioned still greater exultation was, the victory obtained by General Alvear, at Ituzaingo, on the right bank of the Uruguay, in February 1827. Popular, however, as was the war among the restless *gauchos* and other provincials, the Government and citizens of Buenos Ayres would gladly have made peace. Commerce was crippled, and public credit shaken; and the foreign merchants, as well as some wealthy natives, who had speculated in government securities, suffered severe losses. Rivadavia, by the advice, as it is said, of the British Embassy, or yielding to circumstances, was induced to send D. Manuel Garcia to Rio Janeiro, to negotiate a treaty. But the envoy, exceeding his instructions, took upon himself to cede the Banda Oriental to Brazil. The treaty which he concluded, was consequently rejected by Rivadavia, and his rejection of it was approved by the Congress. The public discontents, inflamed, it is alleged, by the intrigues of Garcia's party, rose at length to such a height, that Rivadavia resigned, together with all his ministers; the Congress was dissolved; and the provinces again returned to a state of independence; but they furnished voluntary contingents to assist in carrying on the war.

The government of the city and province of Buenos Ayres now fell into the hands of D. Manuel Dorrego, while the army was commanded by General Lavalleja,

General Dorrego has since been deposed and shot; but the particulars of the revolution we are unable to give.

On the 27th of August, 1828, a preliminary treaty of peace was signed at Rio Janeiro between the Republic of the United Provinces and the Emperor of Brazil, which, it is to be hoped, will terminate a contest so fatal to the interests of a commercial state. According to this treaty, the province of Monte Video, at present called the Cisplatine, is to be constituted a free and independent state, under such form of government as it shall deem most suitable to its interests, wants, and resources; and the troops of Brazil were to evacuate the territory within two months from the ratification of the convention; with the exception of 1500 men, who were to remain as a garrison in Monte Video for four months following the installation of the provisional government. This treaty appears to have been effected by the mediation of the British Government.* Its conditions, though ostensibly equitable, are ill adapted to preclude future disputes. It is obvious, that Monte Video, unless in the possession, or under the immediate protection of a neutral European power, must become virtually either a Brazilian dependency, or a province of the Argentine Republic. The interposition of the same powerful mediator, it may, however, be hoped, will prevent a hostile infraction of the treaty; and the Argentines will be wise to renounce all schemes of military conquest or territorial acquisition, as incompatible with their true interests, the stability of their municipal institutions, their commercial prosperity, and even their political independence.

In order to complete our notice of the affairs of this

* Times, December 20, 1828. The plenipotentiaries from Buenos Ayres were, General D. Juan Ramon Balcarce, and D. Tomas Guido.

Republic, which form a sort of episode in the history of the Revolution, we have somewhat anticipated the order of events; and we shall now have to go back to the period at which we left Chile under the patriotic government of General O'Higgins, while San Martin was maturing his plans for the invasion of Peru. In January 1820, apprehensive that the spirit of disunion which then agitated the provinces of the Plata, would extend to the recruits he had been raising in the province of Cuyo, San Martin directed that the whole of the troops should march for Chile. The two cavalry regiments obeyed orders, but the light infantry battalion, 1070 strong, under Colonel Alvarado, mutinied and dispersed. San Martin had no sooner returned to Chile, than he was summoned by the Buenos Ayres Government to recross the Andes with his troops, in order to quell the disturbances which had broken out in the provinces. The General, supported by the unanimous decision of a council of war, declined to obey the order, upon the ground, that his taking any part in the civil dissensions would not only frustrate the projected expedition against Peru, for which the army had been raised, but expose his troops to the contagion of those anarchical principles which had already led to the disbandment of the battalion of *cazadores*. This refusal gave great offence, and San Martin was charged with having withdrawn his allegiance from the General Government; to which he is reported to have returned the answer, that there existed, in fact, at that period, in Buenos Ayres, no legitimate government, the city being ruled by successive factions who alternately displaced each other. From that time, all co-operation on the part of Buenos Ayres was withheld; and not only so, but every effort was made to

lower San Martin in public opinion.* These circumstances will explain the tardy progress of the Independent cause after the decisive victory of Maypo.

But more efficient aid than any that Buenos Ayres could have afforded, had in the mean time arrived from another quarter. After the victory of Chacabuco, San Martin and O'Higgins had directed their deputies in England to procure competent naval officers and seamen; but the passing of the foreign enlistment bill in a great measure prevented their agents from executing their orders. Fortunately for Chile, Lord Cochrane was, however, induced to accept the offer of becoming the admiral of the Chilian navy; and in August 1818, he sailed from England for that purpose. He arrived at Valparaiso in November following, and was received, we are told, with great "enthusiasm," †—especially by the Director; and Admiral Blanco, whose rank and interest were alone likely to be affected by his arrival, welcomed him with generous cordiality. Some British and American naval officers, who had previously arrived and been received into the Chilian service, were, however, less

* Mr. Miller states, that a club called the *Logia*, originally formed for the ostensible purpose of promoting the emancipation of the country, of which San Martin was himself a leading member, now lent its aid to bring him into disrepute by an active system of detraction. This club gradually monopolized the patronage of civil and even military appointments; and to its secret machinations, several of the petty revolutions of this period are attributable. They seem chiefly to have been the result, however, of provincial jealousies; and the bitterest enemies of San Martin were the Carrera faction, who represented his alleged desertion as an act of fraud and cowardice.—See Graham's Chile, p. 387.

† Grand dinners, cricket-matches, balls, races, and pic-nic parties rendered Valparaiso "more than usually gay," and the capital shared in these festivities.—Miller, vol. i. p. 208.

pleased at his Lordship's appointment; and the squadron was for some time agitated by the conflicting parties of Lord Cochrane and a Captain Guise. Nor were these the only circumstances that at this time embarrassed the Government. The treasury had been drained for the support of the army, which was kept together with some difficulty, as well as by the formation of the navy. And its attention had been repeatedly diverted from foreign objects, by the continued machinations of the remnant of the Carrera party.

At length, on the 15th of January, 1819, Lord Cochrane hoisted his flag on board the O'Higgins, forty-eight guns, Captain Forster, and sailed from Valparaiso, with his little squadron; consisting of, besides the flag-ship, the San Martin, Captain Wilkinson; the Lautaro, Captain Guise; and the Chacabuco, Captain Carter. His first operations were directed against the Spanish shipping in Callao bay. The vessels of the little squadron were not, however, in a very efficient state when they left Valparaiso; and during the voyage, the rigging underwent a refit. Owing to this circumstance, they did not arrive in the latitude of Callao until the 16th of February. The first plan of the Admiral was, to take the two Spanish frigates if possible by stratagem, and then to carry the place by surprise; but in this daring scheme, he was foiled by several unforeseen circumstances. "As Lord Cochrane entered the harbour of Callao, a very thick fog came on, of which the other vessels of the squadron took advantage to disobey his orders; and he entered alone towards the anchorage, under the very walls of the battery, the Spanish frigates Esmeralda and Verganza, as well as two brigs of war, being there at anchor. Lord Cochrane opened his fire against

the principal battery; but, this being the day on which the viceroy of Peru made his annual visit of inspection to the forts and vessels of war in Callao, they were well prepared to repel the attack. Pezuela, the viceroy, was himself on board one of the frigates when Lord Cochrane sailed into the harbour. When the O'Higgins entered, the garrison of the forts were all at their guns, and the crews of the ships of war at their respective quarters. Lord Cochrane, therefore, met with a warmer reception than he anticipated, as well from the fortifications, which mounted three hundred and sixty guns, as from the vessels of war, which carried above one hundred guns. To their fire he was exposed for two hours, as the calm did not allow of his retreat. Unsupported as he was against so unequal a force, he returned the fire briskly, and succeeded in destroying an angle of one of the fortifications; but, as the breeze sprung up, he retreated. The Spaniards supposed that the attack was made by the whole Chileno fleet, but, as the fog cleared away, their own frigate, Maria Isabella, was seen to be the only daring aggressor.

"The Spaniards, astounded at the intrepidity and daring courage of their adversary, when informed that it was Lord Cochrane, conferred upon him the title of *El Diablo*, a name by which he was afterwards well known among them. From the habitual carelessness of the Spaniards, and the masterly style in which Lord Cochrane succeeded in silencing the main battery, it was the general opinion, that, had this attack been made on any other day of the year, and had he been seconded by the other vessels as he ought to have been, he would have succeeded in taking the place by storm; and of this the viceroy seemed fully aware, as

he lost no time in instantly dismantling his ships of war, lashing their spars and masts together, so as to form a double boom round the anchorage, to prevent all approach to it and to the batteries. Lord Cochrane contrived to blockade the harbour, occasionally endeavouring to entice the Spanish vessels to come out and fight him, but all to no purpose: they had wisely determined to act on the defensive.

"Lord Cochrane sailed in the O'Higgins at different periods along the coast, for the purpose of compelling the Spanish authorities to furnish his ships with provisions. On being refused supplies, he marched with part of his crew into the country, and took the towns of Payta, Supé, Guambacho, Guaruney, and other places, capturing Spanish property alone, and respecting that of the Creoles; striking terror into his enemies, and yet, from the mildness of his conduct, gaining many friends among the natives; which was afterwards of great importance when the country was invaded by the Chileno army under San Martin, and this part of the country became the principal field of operation of the invading army. In making these descents, the Admiral ascertained that the greater portion of the people were favourable to the cause of liberty, and desirous of throwing off the Spanish yoke.

"During his operations along the coast, Admiral Blanco was left with the remainder of the fleet to maintain the blockade of Callao. Lord Cochrane at length returned, with the intention of attacking the forts and ships in the harbour with the whole of his force; but, on reaching Callao, he found that Admiral Blanco had raised the blockade, and sailed to Valparaiso. On his arrival at Valparaiso, Blanco was put under arrest by the Government, and ordered

for trial. On the return of Lord Cochrane, a court-martial was held, by which he was honourably acquitted." *

"Lord Cochrane had taken with him from England, a skilful practical workman, as well as the machinery requisite for the preparation of Congreve rockets; but, on his return from his first cruize, he found that the Government, with the dilatoriness which he now discovered was inseparable from the Chileno character, had done but little towards their manufacture. After waiting three months in port, a sufficient number of rockets were prepared, and trials were made of their power, when it was found that their ranges were equal to those of the English Congreve rockets. Lord Cochrane obtained two merchant-vessels with a portion of combustibles, destined for fire-ships; and he now urged the Government to send with him a body of a thousand men, pledging himself to capture the castles of Callao, and either to take or destroy the Spanish shipping in the harbour. This force, the constituted authorities undertook to provide; but on this, as on all other occasions, they broke their promise. On leaving Valparaiso, on his second expedition to Peru, he was told, that the troops were waiting for him at Coquimbo. The minister of marine had impressed upon the Admiral, in the strongest terms, the necessity of carrying on the most active warfare among the Spaniards; but, anxious as he was on this point, his extreme jealousy, in which he was countenanced by too many of his countrymen, prevented him from

* Miers, vol. ii. pp. 21—23. Blanco had been obliged to raise the blockade for want of provisions. We have adopted Mr. Miers's brief account of these transactions, which are more minutely detailed by Mr. Miller, vol. i. pp. 211—222, and by Mrs. Graham, pp. 43—48.

trusting, as he ought to have done, to an officer of such acknowledged talent, merely because he was a foreigner. It will appear strange, but not less strange than true, that Lord Cochrane, who had urged the necessity of expedition and secrecy, was told the nature of his secret orders by a native officer under his command, three days before he received them. He was so mortified, as to hesitate whether or not to throw up his commission; but his ardour, his expectation of the effect of the rockets, and the confidence in the military assistance he was promised, induced him to proceed.

"He sailed from Valparaiso on the 12th of September, 1819; and on arriving at Coquimbo, instead of a thousand men, the Admiral found only ninety soldiers ready. Having made up his mind to the enterprise, this disappointment did not damp his ardour. He proceeded on his voyage, and arrived before Callao. On the 1st, 2d, 3d, and 4th of October, he made trial of the rockets. On these occasions, they failed wholly of success, owing to two or three causes, both resulting from bad preparation. There could not be found in all Chile, sufficient borax or spelter to solder the iron cylinders; and there was no alternative left, but to use bell-metal solder, which made the joints so insecure, as to burst by the expansive force of the rocket. The Chile Government, to save expense of labour, had employed Spanish prisoners to fill the rockets, who threw in at intervals, unobserved, layers of earth, which impeded the progress of the combustion, and of course destroyed their power. The fire-ship, which was sent in on the 5th of October, also failed of success. Under these disappointments, Lord Cochrane would have proceeded to attack the Spanish squadron at anchor in Callao, but, on referring to his instructions, he found his orders restricted him. By

these instructions, he was peremptorily commanded not to approach with his ships within range of the enemy's batteries; not to do this, or that; in short, he was to make no attempt upon the enemy's squadron, except by means of rockets and fire-ships, and to return to Chile within a certain time.*

"Lord Cochrane did not receive the necessary supplies for the use of his ships, which the Government promised to send him; he was, therefore, induced to proceed to Pisco to procure provisions; but,

* No mention of any such restrictions is made in Mr. Miller's narrative; but some circumstances are added, which Mr. Miers either was not told, or has suppressed. "On the 30th," says the former Writer, "the squadron stood into the bay of Callao. The O'Higgins hoisted a flag of truce, and Cochrane sent a boat ashore with a letter to the viceroy, challenging him to send out as many ships as he chose, and the Admiral would fight them ship for ship, and gun for gun. This proposal, of very questionable propriety, met with the laconic answer which might have been expected. The equally useless measure of sending a rocket in the boat, to exhibit to the royalists, made an impression very different from what was intended."—Miller, vol. i. p. 230. Major Miller, this Writer's brother, was the second in command of the troops, and must, one would think, have been aware of the reasons of Lord Cochrane's conduct. If he was really laid under the alleged restrictions, (which he was not likely scrupulously to regard,) it may in part account for his absurd challenge to the Viceroy; but, otherwise, his conduct would seem to shew that such restrictions were not wholly uncalled for or unreasonable. The total failure of both the rocket attacks, as well as of the fire-ships, is mentioned by Mr. Miller. Mrs. Graham represents the Admiral as attempting to weary out the enemy by "several false attacks!" At length, "the Admiral," says Mr. Miller, "considering that the Spanish shipping *could not be destroyed without risking the existence of the patriot squadron*, decided upon a different plan of operations. On the evening of the 7th of October, the squadron weighed with the intention of going to Arica; but some of the ships were such dull sailors, that, after beating for three weeks to windward, and against the current, Cochrane determined upon landing the marines at Pisco, for the purpose of procuring *brandy* for the use of his squadron."—Miller, vol. i. p. 234.

hearing that two line-of-battle ships and a frigate had arrived at Arica from Spain, he resolved at once to proceed in search of them. On his arrival there, he was disappointed at not finding them. He therefore sent the Galvarino and Lautaro, with his soldiers and marines, under command of the gallant Colonel Charles and the heroic Major Miller, to Pisco, while he proceeded to Callao in quest of the Spanish ships, which he concluded had made for that harbour. The troops were landed before Pisco, where they were warmly received; they succeeded in capturing the place, though the victory was too dearly purchased by the death of the intrepid Colonel Charles, and by the severe wounding of Major Miller. After obtaining the stores wanted, the vessels rejoined the squadron off Callao. Upon their arrival, a singular event took place. The Spanish frigate Prueba, one of the vessels Lord Cochrane was in search of, appeared off Callao, but he mistook it for a whaler. Next morning, he saw her again, and gave chase, but she escaped in the night. The Europe line-of-battle ship, which formed one of the Spanish expedition in crossing the line, was pronounced not to be sea-worthy for the voyage. The St. Elmo, another line-of-battle ship, foundered off Cape Horn during the passage; and the Prueba frigate alone reached the Pacific in safety. On her arrival off Callao, finding that port blockaded, a boat was sent on shore with the despatches for the Vice-roy; and on his return from the chase, Lord Cochrane fell in with and captured the boat on her return to the vessel, from the crew of which he learned that the ship he had chased was the Prueba frigate.

"The seamen of the squadron were now become infected by an epidemic complaint introduced on board by the troops taken from Coquimbo. Lord Cochrane

despatched the San Martin, Independencia, Araucano, and a transport filled with sick, to Valparaiso, while, in company with the Lautaro and Puyrredon, he went in quest of the Prueba to Guayaquil, whither he concluded she had sailed. On his arrival at Puna, he proceeded up the river Guayaquil, *without a pilot*, and by night, a thing never before attempted on account of its difficult navigation. Here he captured two large armed merchant-men, the Aquila, of 900 tons and 32 guns, and the Begoña, of 600 tons and 26 guns, both laden with timber destined for Lima. On the approach of the Admiral, the Prueba frigate threw her guns and stores overboard, struck her rigging, and, thus lightened, ascended the river beyond the possible reach of the O'Higgins. Finding further pursuit hopeless, Lord Cochrane left Guayaquil on the 21st of December, and sailed for Chile, committing the prizes to the command of the other vessels, while he alone, in the O'Higgins, proceeded to reconnoitre Valdivia. His object was, if possible, to achieve something worthy of his reputation, that should counteract the disappointment consequent upon the want of success in the present cruize. Off Valdivia, he took the Potrillo Spanish brig of war; and in the O'Higgins alone, stood into the port of Valdivia, under Spanish colours, where he remained some time reconnoitring the place. The Spaniards mistook the frigate for the long-expected Prueba, and did not offer to disturb him, till they found the boat sent to him detained. From these people, he derived what further information he required, and retiring from the heavy fire of the fortresses, he sailed away, confident of the practicability of carrying this place, which, from its great strength, no one but himself would have attempted with his small force. He sailed, however, to

Concepcion, to obtain a succour from the commander of that place, Colonel Freyre, (subsequently the Supreme Director of Chile,) from whom he promptly received more co-operation and more succour than the Government would have afforded him." *

For an account of this daring and successful achievement, undertaken with a leaky frigate, a brig of war, and a schooner, we shall avail ourselves of Mr. Miller's narrative. Freyre having granted the Admiral a re-inforcement of 250 men, commanded by Major Beauchef, they embarked in the frigate O'Higgins, the Montezuma schooner, and the brig of war Intrepido, belonging to Buenos Ayres. "All got under weigh on the 25th of January, with a light contrary wind. At night, it fell calm. The officer of the watch,† leaving the deck, gave the O'Higgins in charge to a midshipman, who, falling asleep, neglected to report when a breeze sprang up. Upon passing the island of Quiriquina, the ship struck upon the sharp edge of a rock, and was suspended amidship on her keel. She shook in a manner to produce the greatest alarm; for, had the swell increased, she must have gone to pieces. Cochrane, preserving his customary *sang-froid*, ordered out the kedges, superintended every thing himself, and at length got the ship off. When the ship was out of danger, some of the officers suggested, that she should be examined. A

* Miers, vol. ii. pp. 24—28.

† "Lord Cochrane," Mr. Miers tells us, "had only two officers on board his ship, and they were lieutenants; one of these was under arrest for gross disobedience of orders, and the other was utterly incapable of performing the requisite duty of a lieutenant. Lord Cochrane was therefore compelled to perform the several duties of captain and lieutenant, and to take turn in the watch with his only officer. Scarcely had he left the deck, when the lieutenant quitted his post."—Miers, vol. i. p. 493.

stern negative was the answer of the Admiral, who, turning to Miller, said, 'Well, Major, Valdivia we must take. Sooner than put back, it would be better that we all went to the bottom.' In fact, his Lordship felt keenly his disappointment before Callao. He was aware that his enemies in Chile would raise a clamour if he returned without doing something decisive; and he had made up his mind to run every risk in order to grasp a redeeming laurel. The officers participated in the same adventurous spirit, and hailed with satisfaction a determination likely to retrieve the credit of the navy, and to make former discomfitures forgotten. The Admiral was so resolutely bent upon pursuing his course, that it was not until sunset on the 26th, that he would receive the first report of '*five feet water in the hold.*' The ship was then thirty miles from land. The pumps were found to be so much out of order that they could not be worked. At eight o'clock, seven feet was reported. The carpenter, who was a very indifferent mechanic, failed in his efforts to put the pumps in order. The water, though baled out with buckets, still continued to gain upon them. The powder-magazine was inundated, and the ammunition of every description was rendered totally unserviceable, excepting the cartridges in the cartouch-boxes of the soldiers.

"Notwithstanding it was a dead calm, the swell was considerable, and the brig and schooner were out of sight. Of 600 men on board the frigate, not more than 160 could have escaped in the boats. The inhospitable coast of Arauco was forty miles distant; and to land there, would have been worse than death. The vindictive character of the Araucanians was well known, and to those who saw no hope of keeping the ship afloat till morning, the alternative was terrific.

Alarm and despair were depicted in the countenances of most on board. But Cochrane, still undismayed, pulled off his coat, tucked up his shirt-sleeves, and succeeded by midnight in putting two of the pumps in a serviceable state. By his indefatigable activity and skill, the frigate was prevented from sinking; and by the serenity and firmness of his conduct, he checked a general disposition to abandon the ship. The leak was happily prevented from gaining. The schooner and brig rejoined in the morning, and the vessels arrived in the latitude of Valdivia on the 2d of February. When about thirty miles from land, the troops in the frigate were removed to the schooner Montezuma and the brig Intrepido, in a high sea. Lord Cochrane shifted his flag to the schooner, leaving the frigate to stand off and on, out of sight of land, to avoid exciting the suspicions of the Spaniards on shore. There was, however, so little wind, that all hopes of effecting a landing that night vanished. The brig and the schooner made what way they could for the port, in the hope of taking the royalists by surprise.

"The noble harbour of Valdivia, situated in 39° 50′ south latitude, and 73° 28′ west longitude, forms a capacious basin, bordered by a lofty and impenetrable forest, advancing to the water's edge. It is encircled by a chain of forts, which are so placed as not only to defend the entrance, but to enfilade every part of the harbour. These forts are: Niebla on the east, and Amargos on the west, completely commanding the entrance, which is only three-fourths of a mile in width. Corral, Chorocomayo, San Carlos, and El Yngles, are on the west side; Manzanera, on an island near the eastern extremity or bottom of the harbour; and El Piojo and Carbonero are on the east side. These different forts were mounted with 118 pieces of

ordnance, eighteen and twenty-four pounders, each fort having a deep ditch and a rampart where they were not washed by the sea, excepting El Yngles, which had merely a rampart faced with palisades. They were manned by a force which, according to the muster-rolls of the preceding month, consisted of 780 regulars and 829 militia. The greater part of the latter were stationed at Osorno, thirty leagues towards the straits of Magellan, and the remainder at the town of Valdivia, fourteen miles up the river. So impervious is the forest, from the ravines by which it is intersected, and from its entangled underwood, that there is no land communication between the forts, excepting by a narrow, rugged path, which, winding between the rocky beach and the forest, scarcely at any point admits of the passage of more than one man at a time. Even this path, in crossing a deep ravine between forts Chorocomayo and Corral, was enfiladed by three guns, placed on the crest of the opposite acclivity.

"About a quarter of a mile beyond the fort of San Carlos, along the southern shore of the bay, and outside of the harbour, is situated the exterior fort of El Yngles; and half a mile westward of the fort is the *caleta*, or inlet, which forms a landing-place; both of which communicate with each other, and with San Carlos, by a path equally narrow, rugged, and serpentine as that between the other forts.

"The schooner and the brig, having hoisted Spanish colours, anchored on the 3d of February, at 3 P.M., under the guns of the fort of El Yngles, opposite the *caleta*, or landing-place, and between the two. When hailed from the shore, Captain Basques, a Spaniard by birth, who had embarked at Talcahuano as a volunteer, was directed to answer that they had sailed

from Cadiz with the St. Elmo of seventy-four guns, from whose convoy, he added, they had parted in a gale of wind off Cape Horn, and requested a pilot might be sent off. At this time, the swell was so great as to render an immediate disembarkation impracticable, as the launches would have drifted under the fort. Lord Cochrane's object, therefore, was to wait until the evening, when the wind would have abated, and the swell have subsided. The Spaniards, who had already begun to entertain suspicions, ordered the vessels to send a boat ashore; to which it was answered, they had lost them in the severe gales they had encountered. This, however, did not satisfy the garrison, which immediately fired alarm-guns, and expresses were despatched to the governor at Valdivia. The garrisons of all the southern forts united at Fort Yngles. Fifty or sixty men were posted on the rampart commanding the approach from the *caleta*. The rest, about 300, formed on a small esplanade in the rear of the fort. Whilst this was passing, the vessels remained unmolested; but, at four o'clock, one of the launches, which had been carefully concealed from the view of those on shore, by being kept close under the off-side of the vessel, unfortunately drifted astern. Before it could be hauled out of sight again, it was perceived by the garrison, who, having no longer any doubts as to the hostile nature of the visit, immediately opened a fire upon the vessels, and sent a party of seventy-five men to defend the landing-place. This detachment was accurately counted by those on board, as it proceeded one by one along the narrow and difficult path to the *caleta*. The first shots fired from the fort having passed through the sides of the brig, and killed two men, the troops were ordered up from below, and to land without further delay.

But the two launches, which constituted the only means of disembarkation, appeared very inadequate for the effectual performance of such an attempt. Major Miller, with forty-four marines, pushed off in the first launch. After overcoming the difficulties of the heavy swell, an accumulation of sea-weed, in comparatively smooth water, loaded the oars at every stroke, and impeded the progress of the assailants, who now began to suffer from the effects of a brisk fire from the party stationed at the landing-place. Amongst others, the coxswain was wounded, upon which Major Miller took the helm. He seated himself on a spare oar, but, finding the seat inconvenient, he had the oar removed, by which he somewhat lowered his position. He had scarcely done so, when a ball passed through his hat, and grazed the crown of his head. He ordered a few of his party to fire, and soon after jumped on shore with his marines; dislodged the royalists at the inlet; and made good his footing. So soon as the landing was perceived to have been effected, the party in the second launch pushed off from the brig, and in less than an hour, three hundred and fifty patriot soldiers were disembarked. Shortly after sunset, they advanced in single files along the rocky track leading to Fort El Yngles, rendered slippery by the spray of the surf, which dashed with deafening noise upon the shore. This noise was favourable, rather than otherwise to the adventurous party. The royalist detachment, after being driven from the landing-place, retreated along this path, and entered Fort Yngles by a ladder, which was drawn up, and consequently, the patriots found nobody on the *outside* to oppose their approach. The men advanced gallantly to the attack; but, from the nature of the track, in very extended order. The leading files were

soldiers whose courage had been before proved, and who, enjoying amongst their comrades a degree of deference and respect, claimed the foremost post in danger. They advanced with firm but noiseless step; and while those who next followed, cheered with cries of '*adelante!*' (onwards!) others still further behind raised clamorous shouts of '*Viva la patria!*' and many of them fired into the air. The path led to the salient angle of the fort, which on one side was washed by the sea, and on the other side flanked by the forest, the boughs and branches of which overhang a considerable space of the rampart. Favoured by the darkness of the night, and by the intermingling roar of artillery and musketry, by the lashings of the surge, and by the clamour of the garrison itself, a few men, under the gallant Ensign Vidal, crept under the inland flank of the fort; and whilst the fire of the garrison was solely directed to the noisy patriots in the rear, those in advance contrived, without being heard or perceived, to tear up some loosened palisades, with which they constructed a rude scaling-ladder, one end of which they placed against the rampart, and the other upon a mound of earth which favoured the design. By the assistance of this ladder, Ensign Vidal and his party mounted the rampart; got unperceived into the fort; and formed under cover of the branches of the trees which overhung that flank. The fifty or sixty men who composed the garrison, were occupied in firing upon those of the assailants still approaching in single files. A volley from Vidal's party, which had thus taken the Spaniards in flank, followed by a rush, and accompanied by the terrific Indian yell, which was echoed by the reverberating valleys of the mountains around, produced terror and immediate flight. The panic was communicated to the column of

300 men, formed on an arena behind the fort; and the whole body, with the exception of those who were bayoneted, made the best of their way along the path that led to the other forts, but which, in their confusion, they did not attempt to occupy or defend. Upon arriving at the gorge of a ravine, between Fort Chorocomayo and the castle of Corral, about 100 men escaped in boats that were lying there, and rowed to Valdivia. The remainder, about 200 men, neglecting the three guns on the height, which, if properly defended, would have effectually checked the advance of their pursuers, retreated into the Corral. This castle, however, was almost immediately stormed by the victorious patriots, who, favoured by a part of the rampart which had crumbled down and partly filled up the ditch, rushed forward, and thus obtained possession of all the western side of the harbour. The royalists could retreat no further, for there the land communication ended. One hundred Spaniards were bayoneted, and about the same number, exclusive of officers, were made prisoners. Such was the rapidity with which the patriots followed up their success, that the royalists had not time to destroy their military stores, or even to spike a gun. Daylight of the 4th found the Independents in possession of the five forts, El Yngles, San Carlos, Amargos, Chorocomayo, and Corral.

"On the morning of the 4th, the schooner and brig entered the harbour, and anchored under the castle of Corral, after receiving a few shots from the forts on the northern side, still in the possession of the Spaniards. In order to dislodge them, 200 men embarked in the brig and schooner: the latter ran aground in crossing the harbour, but soon got off again. The Spaniards, however, alarmed at the movement, aban-

doned the castle of Niebla, Fort Carbonero, Piojo, and Manzanera. The patriots, not less surprised than pleased, found themselves, without further opposition, masters of what may be called the Gibraltar of South America. In the evening, the O'Higgins entered the port, almost water-logged, and, to keep her from sinking, she was run aground on a muddy bottom, for the purpose of undergoing a repair.

"On the 5th, Majors Beauchef and Miller proceeded up the river with Lord Cochrane, who took possession of the town of Valdivia, at the head of 200 of the troops. The enemy, 500 in number, had abandoned it in the morning, and had fled towards Osorno, to cross the water to Chiloe. On deserting the town, the Spaniards plundered and committed great disorders. The governor, Colonel Montoya, was the first to make his escape. His age and infirmities must have incapacitated him for command, or he ought to have made a stand against such an inferior force. The Admiral issued a proclamation, which induced many of the inhabitants, who had fled from the town on the approach of the patriots, to return to their homes.

"Amongst the public property taken at Valdivia, were some silver ornaments and vessels, of which General Sanchez had stripped the churches of Concepcion. This booty was valued, at the time, at from 12 to 16,000 dollars. There was, besides, a *custodio* inlaid with gold and set with gems. A ship called the *Dolores*, anchored off the Corral, and taken by the soldiers in the night of the 3d, was sold by the prize-agent at Valparaiso for about 20,000 dollars. A quantity of sugar, spirits, and other articles were taken and disposed of in like manner, for nearly the same sum. The foregoing statement does not include

a claim made by Lord Cochrane on account of captured ordnance. The *el dorado* views, however, founded on the capture of Valdivia, all fell to the ground. Neither Major Miller, nor any officer or soldier of his corps, ever received prize money on that account." *

Lord Cochrane's next attempt was upon the Island of Chiloe, the largest of an archipelago of seventy-two islands, stretching along the inhospitable coast between Valdivia and the Straits of Magellan. The navigation is very intricate and dangerous, on account of eddies, currents, and whirlpools; and a tremendous surf renders the coast almost everywhere unapproachable. The population of the island is loosely estimated at 34,000, who, in point of civilization, are but one

* Miller, vol. i. pp. 242—254. The Admiral's loss, according to Mr. Miers, was only seven men killed, and nineteen wounded; that of the enemy, three officers and ten soldiers killed, and twenty-one wounded. In the forts were captured, besides Colonel Hoyos, the Commander, five commissioned officers and seventy-six non-commissioned officers and privates. The military stores that fell into their hands, were considerable. "Lord Cochrane, on his return, instead of being hailed by the Government for the services he had rendered, was annoyed by every possible vexation, the minister of war declaring that, instead of reward, he deserved to have lost his life in the enterprise, as it was the act of a madman. He did not even receive a public acknowledgement of thanks for this brilliant exploit, till, for his own indemnification in having acted without orders, and for the satisfaction of the officers and men serving under him, he was obliged, after a long delay, to solicit the boon; and even then, the payment of prize money for the stores taken in the fortresses, was actually refused to the victors."—Miers, vol. i. p. 493. The language attributed to the Chilian minister, his Lordship could not wonder at, since he observed himself to Major Miller before the action: "Cool calculation would make it appear that the attempt to take Valdivia is madness."—Miller, vol. i. p. 243. As to the Chilian Government, he appears to have acted in utter disregard of its orders, and to have created disgust by his reckless and independent proceedings.

remove from the Araucanians. The Spaniards had here a very strong position; and Quintillana, the governor, apprised of Cochrane's intentions, instantly made preparations for defence. On the 17th of February, 1820, however, Major Miller effected a landing, and put to flight a detachment of the garrison. Fort Corona and a battery were carried without loss; but, on advancing to storm Fort Aguy, the principal defence, the assailants were exposed to a shower of grape and musketry, which mowed down thirty-eight men out of the sixty which composed Miller's company, their commander being among the wounded. A retreat was, of course, all that was left for the survivors; and Lord Cochrane was obliged to satisfy himself with having ascertained by this costly "reconnoitre," that there was safe anchorage in the port, and that Chiloe "was at the mercy of five hundred men whenever it should please the Government of Chile to incorporate it with the cause of liberty and independence."*

During these events, San Martin was indefatigably occupied in recruiting his army; but financial and other difficulties attended the equipping and fitting out of the expedition destined to act against Peru, which occasioned a delay of several months. At length, in August, the Liberating Army assembled at Valparaiso; and on the 21st, the whole sailed for Peru in hired transports, under convoy of the Chileno fleet. The total number (including the men afterwards taken on board at Coquimbo) did not exceed 4500 soldiers, with twelve pieces of artillery; while the royalist forces in Callao and Lima amounted to 7815 regulars, and the

* Graham, p. 61. Miller, vol. i. p. 262. In the Admiral's letter, he reduces the loss to four killed and ten wounded. Mr. Miller says, twenty were killed on the spot, and most of the others were mortally wounded.

total force in Peru, according to the official report of the viceroy, was 23,000 men. But San Martin had calculated upon the support of public opinion as his best auxiliary; and in undertaking the liberation of the Peruvians, he did not design the conquest of their country. This will explain his cautious policy, which soon involved him in serious misunderstandings with the Admiral, who was for carrying the capital, and effecting the whole business, by a *coup de main*. Notwithstanding the numerical weakness of the expedition, it was, under all the circumstances, a mighty as well as daring effort on the part of an infant state, especially considering the exhausted state of its resources. "It was, in truth," says Mr. Miller, "an imposing and exciting spectacle, to behold that bay crowded with shipping, under patriot banners, which formerly received only one merchant-vessel annually. The population of the capital and of the country had poured into Valparaiso, and every avenue was crowded with spectators. Many females who had shared the fortunes of other campaigns, were now unavoidably left behind; and their farewell ejaculations, accompanied by the weeping of children, gave a deep and distressing interest to the busy scene."

On the 8th of September, a landing was effected, without opposition, near Pisco. The town was abandoned by the Spanish garrison at the approach of the patriots; and on the 13th, San Martin established there his head-quarters. On the 22d, Colonel Alvarado advanced, and took possession of the two villages of Upper and Lower Chincha. The Marquess of San Miguel, who possessed large estates in that neighbourhood, joined the patriots, and was appointed aid-de-camp to the general-in-chief. On the 28th, at the request of the viceroy, Pezuela, a suspension of arms

for eight days was agreed upon, and the commissioners of both parties held a conference at Miraflores, near Lima, for the purpose of adjusting a pacification on the basis of the independence of Peru; but, as the Viceroy would not accede to the proposed terms,* hostilities recommenced at the expiration of the truce. On the 5th of October, General Arenales marched from Pisco, with two patriot battalions and some cavalry, and entered Ica, where they were received by the inhabitants with every expression of satisfaction; and two companies of the militia, with their officers, passed over to Arenales. The rest of the royalist troops abandoned Ica, and were pursued by a detachment of the patriot cavalry, who succeeded in surprising them, and making about 100 prisoners; 300 muskets, with a number of swords and lances, fell into their hands. At Nasca, information was obtained from the inhabitants, that a hundred mules, laden with military stores carried away from Ica, were still at Acari, thirty leagues to the southward. A party of cavalry were consequently detached thither, who were fortunate enough to capture the whole convoy. On the 20th, the division of General Arenales marched from Ica for the interior, leaving a detachment to retain possession of that province. The remainder of the liberating force re-embarked at Pisco on the 25th; and on the 29th, the squadron anchored in the bay of Callao. The transports, under convoy of the San Martin, sailed to the little bay of Ancon, a few leagues to the north of Lima, where some troops were landed for the purpose of reconnoitring the country. They had a skirmish with the royalists near Chancay, but retired before superior numbers, and re-embarked.

In the mean time, Lord Cochrane had planned the

* See Basil Hall, vol. i. p. 71.

cutting out of the Esmeralda, and was busily employed in making preparations for this daring enterprise. The Spanish frigate was protected by the castles of Callao, a corvette, two brigs of war, several armed merchantmen, and above twenty gun-boats.

"At eleven o'clock at night of the 5th November, 180 seamen and 100 marines, in two divisions, commanded by Captains Guise and Crosbie, put off in the launches of the squadron, led by Lord Cochrane in person. They approached the Esmeralda unperceived, until hailed by a sentry in a gun-boat astern of the frigate. Lord Cochrane answered, 'Silence or death!' In half a minute, the boats were alongside the Esmeralda, and boarded starboard and larboard at the same moment. The Spaniards made a spirited resistance with small arms, but before one o'clock of the 6th, the Esmeralda was in possession of the Admiral. Her cables were cut, her sails set, and she, with two gun-boats, at half-past one, was transferred to another anchorage. The British frigate Hyperion, and the United States ship Macedonian, which happened to be in the port during this operation, got under weigh, and hoisted lights as signals, as had been previously agreed upon with the governor, to prevent being fired upon, in the event of a night attack. Lord Cochrane, with admirable adroitness, ordered similar lights to be hoisted, so that the Spaniards could not distinguish neutral from enemy. In the whole naval career of Lord Cochrane, there will not be found any thing, perhaps, to exceed this ably planned and brilliantly executed exploit. His Lordship was wounded in the thigh by a musket-ball. The brave Lieutenant Grenfell, now a highly distinguished officer in the service of the Brazils, and who has since lost an arm, was wounded,

"The Spaniards lost 150 men, in killed and wounded, on board the Esmeralda. Amongst the latter was Captain Coy, the late commander, who, after capture, received a severe contusion by a shot from the castles or a gun-boat. The patriots had fifty killed and wounded. The Esmeralda was ready for sea; she had provisions for three months, and stores for two years on board.

"The garrison of Callao was so much exasperated by the result of the daring enterprise, that they massacred an officer and boat's crew sent on shore, soon after day-break, from the United States frigate Macedonian, under the pretext, that the 'Devil' Cochrane would never have succeeded unless he had been assisted by the neutral men-of-war.

"At ten o'clock on the morning of the 6th, the Admiral sent a flag of truce to propose an exchange of prisoners, upon principles to which, until then, the Viceroy would never accede." *

Shortly after this brilliant affair, Huanuco signified its adherence to the cause of Independence. Despatches had previously been brought by a schooner from Guayaquil, announcing that that province had declared itself independent, and offering to place its resources at the disposal of San Martin, in furtherance of the liberation of Peru. Lord Cochrane, leaving some of his ships to blockade Callao, sailed with the remainder of the squadron, including the Esmeralda (now named by San Martin, the Valdivia),

* Miller, vol. i. pp. 283—5. Lord Cochrane, it is said, intended to follow up this exploit by cutting out the other vessels, and then making an attack upon the castles; but the seamen were too much occupied with plunder; "they had broken into the spirit-room, and were rendered unfit for further service."—Miers, vol. ii. p. 42. See also, for Cochrane's Instructions, Basil Hall, vol. i. p. 77.

in convoy of the transports, to Huacho, where the troops were disembarked on the 10th of November. The head-quarters were established at Huara, a few miles in the interior, and about twenty-eight leagues N. of Lima. Some small affairs with the royalists took place, but nothing of any importance, as San Martin did not feel strong enough to attempt a decisive movement; and his policy was to increase his army by volunteers. On the 3d of December, the Spanish battalion of Numancia, 650 strong, with their officers, passed over in a body to the service of the patriots. This regiment had been originally sent out from Spain under Morillo; but, at the time of their joining the patriots, the men were nearly all Colombians, who had been pressed into the service, to fill up the vacancies occasioned by casualties. On the 8th, thirty-eight officers and several cadets absconded from Lima, and joined the advanced post of the liberating army at Chancay. In the mean time, General Arenales had performed a daring march into the interior as far as Tarma; and in a brilliant action with a superior force under the Spanish general, O'Reily, at Pasco, he totally routed the royalists, taking the general himself prisoner.* Misled by false intelligence, Arenales, however, instead of maintaining his ground, was induced to re-cross the mountains, in which his division suffered greatly; and the Indians who had risen against the royalists, unsupported by the patriot troops, were routed at several points with merciless slaughter, by the Spanish general, Ricaforte.

About this time, dissentions broke out among the royalist chiefs, which had considerable influence upon

* O'Reilly was an Irishman. He was permitted to return to Spain, but is said to have thrown himself overboard on the passage, and was drowned.

the progress of events. "General La Serna, having been foiled by the *gauchos* in all his boasted plans of carrying on the war *en règle*, obtained the King's leave to return to Spain. In 1819, he arrived at Lima to embark; but, in consequence of the expectation of an invasion from Chile, the Viceroy promoted him to the rank of lieutenant-general, and prevailed upon him to remain. Soon after San Martin landed at Huacho, La Serna was ordered to march against him; but he refused to have anything to do with military operations, unless the Viceroy would consent to the establishment of a sort of aulic council, to be composed of generals, and to be called the *junta directiva*, in which the Viceroy was to have only his individual vote. The directive junta was to decide upon all measures relative to carrying on the war; to have the power of applying the public funds to the payment of the army, in preference to the claims of other departments; to have the removal and nomination of governors and intendants of provinces, and other similar appointments. The majority of the junta being well disposed towards La Serna, the latter became, in point of fact, supreme in military matters. Colonel Loriga was named Secretary to the junta.

"Notwithstanding these arrangements, La Serna and the junta displayed but little spirit or ability. A very moderate degree of both, would have enabled them to drive the inferior forces of San Martin into the sea. But the measures of the junta appear to have been confined to encamping their army in the unhealthy position of Asnapugio, and to a demonstration of attack; which induced General San Martin, on the 18th of January, to fall back from Retes to the right bank of the river Haura, where he re-occupied his former position, threw up redoubts to command

the few fordable passages of the river, and fixed his head-quarters within a league of Haura, determined to accept the battle which now appeared inevitable.

" The royalist division of Valdez reached Chancay, where Captain Raulet had an affair with its advance, in which he displayed his usual intrepidity, but was forced to retire with some loss. Before Valdez could advance any further, he received an order from the vacillating directive junta, which compelled him to return to Lima ; in doing which, he lost above 100 men by desertion, most of whom passed over to the patriots.

" Whatever might have been the faults of Pezuela, it is evident that the junta, which soon managed to invest itself with vice-regal authority as to military matters, shewed neither energy, local knowledge, nor information as to the numbers and quality of the invading forces. Had San Martin been attacked upon his first landing at Huacho, he would have been compelled to re-embark and make for the port of Truxillo. Why the royalist army at Asnapugio, upwards of 8000 in number, did not instantly march against San Martin, is a question which La Serna, Canterac, Valdez, and Loriga are best able to answer. It may fairly be presumed, that the victory of Pasco, the cutting out of the Esmeralda, and the rencontres of Nasca and Chancay, had impressed the minds of the royalist leaders with a considerable degree of diffidence. Certain it was, that the sight of the patriot troops at this time, inspired respect. The revolutions of Guayaquil and Truxillo, and the defection of the Numancia regiment, appeared to paralyze the *junta directiva*. Divisions arose between the Spanish chiefs ; and Pezuela, who was loudly accused of being the cause

of the discouraging aspect of affairs, was deposed by military commotion on the 29th of February 1821, when La Serna was appointed Viceroy in his stead." *

On the 4th of January, one hundred individuals of various classes passed over to the patriots from Lima. Among the military were Colonel Gamarra and two lieutenant-colonels. About this time, a battalion of Peruvians was raised by order of San Martin. Still, he deferred his advance upon the capital; and six months elapsed without any affair of importance. "San Martin," says Captain Basil Hall, (who arrived at Callao about this time,) "having shewn sufficiently what his army and fleet were capable of, chose to rely less on military achievements, than on the effect of disseminating the principles of freedom throughout the country. By means of political publications, aided by the exertions of numerous able and active agents, he carried his intrigues not only into the provinces, but into the very heart of the capital; and in process of time, acquired sufficient influence in the surrounding districts, to cut off the principal supply of provisions to the capital by land. The port of Callao being at the same time closely blockaded by Lord Cochrane, the inhabitants of Lima were reduced to the greatest extremity, while every other part of the country was enjoying freedom and plenty." † At

* Miller, vol. i. pp. 295—297.

† Basil Hall, vol. i. p. 85.—"All the world expected," says Mr. Miers, "that the patriot forces would advance to the gates of the capital, but General San Martin had from the first determined to pursue a different line of policy.....The urgency of Lord Cochrane to attack the enemy, when the General had resolved upon a different line of conduct, created violent jealousies in the mind of San Martin against the Admiral, whom he now looked upon as a rival." This Writer goes on to accuse San Martin of endeavouring to lessen the Admiral's reputation, &c. And he

length, on the 12th of May, La Serna, pressed severely by want, and menaced by the growing spirit of independence in the surrounding districts, proposed an armistice. San Martin had by this time pushed his advanced posts within two leagues of the capital. On the 23d, an armistice was concluded for twenty days. San Martin and the Viceroy had an interview at Punchauca; and the latter gave his personal assent to the terms which were proposed as the basis of a treaty of peace: but, in two days after his return to Lima, he wrote to San Martin, to acquaint him, that, on consulting the chiefs of the royalist army, the proposals were pronounced to be inadmissible. They amounted, in fact, to a complete declaration of independence; and San Martin was well aware that the Cabinet of Madrid would never have ratified such a treaty; but "his secret object was, to compromise the royalist commanders, so as to leave them no other alternative than to unite with him in the cause of independence." *

Unable to retain possession of the capital, invested as it was by *Montonero* parties, who hovered around and cut off supplies, the Viceroy abandoned that city on the 6th of July; but it was not till some days after, that the patriots entered the city. In the mean time, the suspense and panic of the people were at their height. Multitudes deserted the city, to take refuge at Callao. Captain Basil Hall, the British naval commander, wishing to be at hand, to protect the merchants whom he had recommended to stay by their property, landed

hints, that his cautious policy looked like cowardice. All this is perfectly absurd. Captain Basil Hall has given us San Martin's own explanation of his policy; and the result fully justified his calculations.—See vol. i. pp. 215—208.

* Miller, vol. i. p. 303.

and proceeded to Lima; and he gives the following description of the scene, which he witnessed.

"It was with no small difficulty that I could make head against the crowd of fugitives coming in the opposite direction: groupes of people on foot, in carts, on horseback, hurried past; men, women, and children, with horses and mules, and numbers of slaves laden with baggage and other valuables, travelled indiscriminately along, and all was outcry and confusion.

"In the city itself, the consternation was excessive; the men were pacing about in fearful doubt what was to be done; the women were fleeing in all directions towards the convents; and the narrow streets were literally choked up with loaded waggons and mules, and mounted horsemen. All night long, the confusion continued; and at day-break, the Viceroy marched out with his troops, not leaving even a single sentinel over the powder-magazine. Up to this moment, many people, with a strange degree of incredulity, arising out of long-cherished prejudice and pride, would not believe that such events were possible. When the moment actually arrived, their despair became immeasurable, and they fled away like the rest. For an hour or two after the Viceroy's departure, the streets were filled with fugitives; but by mid-day, scarcely an individual was to be seen; and in the course of the afternoon, I accompanied one of the English merchants during a walk of more than a mile, through the most populous parts of Lima, without meeting a single individual: the doors were all barred, the window-shutters closed, and it really seemed 'some vast city of the dead.'

"An indistinct dread of some terrible catastrophe, was the principal cause of this universal panic: but there was a definite source of alarm besides, which

contributed considerably to the extraordinary effect which I have been describing. This was a belief, industriously propagated, and caught up with all the diseased eagerness of fear, that the slave population of the city meant to take advantage of the absence of the troops, to rise in a body and massacre the whites. I could not, for one, bring myself to suppose this at all probable; for the slaves had never any leisure to plan such a scheme: their habits were not those of union or enterprise, for they were all domestic servants, and thinly scattered over an immense city, with very rare opportunities of confidential intercourse. Had the panic, however, been less general, and not spread itself over all classes, from the highest to the lowest, there might have been some grounds to apprehend a riot, or other mischief, from the mob attacking the houses of obnoxious individuals; but, as all the inhabitants were equally under the influence of terror, there was no one left to take advantage of the moment.

"The Viceroy, on leaving Lima, had nominated the Marquis of Montemiré as governor of the city; and the selection was a judicious one, for this old nobleman, independently of being a native of the place, was so universally esteemed, that his influence was likely to prove most beneficial to the city at this juncture. In the course of the day, he sent for such of the principal inhabitants as had not fled to Callao, in order to consult with them on the measures to be taken for securing the peace of the town. As the British merchants had no trifling interest in this question, I considered it right to be present at this meeting, where I found a strange assembly of people.

"Some came to learn the news; others, to suggest plans; and all, to talk, smoke their segars, and finally do nothing. Many whose politics had obliged them

to keep out of sight for a long time, now came forward from their places of concealment; and many whose authority had a few days before carried all before it, now looked sadly crest-fallen. Some expressed the greatest alarm; some sorrow; others were exulting and congratulating one another on the consummation of their political hopes; and some bustled about amongst the crowd, merely to say how very much they were in doubt what ought to be done.

"In the midst of this universal confusion and doubt, the minutest points of etiquette were not forgotten. The new Governor had to receive a visit of ceremony from the Cabildo, or town-council;—from the Consulado, or commercial board;—and so on, through all the public bodies, or, at least, from as many of the members as remained in the city. In these idle forms, much time was lost; and the day was wearing fast away, when the necessity of doing something, and that speedily, became too obvious to be longer neglected, even by men never known to act promptly in their lives. At the suggestion of a little republican, whose indignation at these absurd delays was roused to the highest pitch, a short letter was written to San Martin, inviting him to enter the city, to protect it from the imminent dangers by which it was threatened. It was not only of the slaves and of the mob, that people were afraid, but, with more reason, of the multitude of armed Indians surrounding the city, who, although under the orders of San Martin's officers, were savage and undisciplined troops, and very likely to enter the place in a body as soon as the Spaniards had gone. These Indian auxiliaries were so near, that we could see them distinctly from the streets, perched along the heights overhanging the town. The rest of the patriot army, also in sight

from Lima, formed a semicircle round the northern side of the city, ready to march in at a moment's warning.

"The most profound stillness reigned over the capital during the night; and next morning, the same party assembled at the Governor's as on the preceding day, in order to receive San Martin's answer. It was brief, but admirably in point, stating merely the terms upon which he was willing to enter the city with his army, should it be the real wish of the inhabitants to declare their independence. He had no desire, he told them, to enter the capital as a conqueror, and would not come unless expressly invited by the people themselves. In the meanwhile, however, to prevent any disturbance in the city, and to give the inhabitants leisure to consider in security the terms he now put to them, he added; that orders had been sent to the troops surrounding Lima to obey implicitly the directions of the Governor, who might dispose of all or any part of the forces as he pleased, without reference to himself.

"This conduct, it may be said, was evidently the most judicious, on every account, that could have been adopted. But it is so seldom that men in real life recollect, on such tempting occasions, those maxims at other times so obvious, which stand between them and a display of their power, that the Limenians were quite taken by surprise; and could scarcely believe it possible, that they should be so treated by a man whom they had been taught to consider as an enemy. His answer, therefore, was considered as somewhat chivalrous; and certainly, it was very considerate of the feelings of the citizens. After discussing it for some time, however, a doubt was started as to its sincerity; and one of the company went so far

as to suggest that the whole was a mockery of their distress, and that, in a few hours, San Martin would be entering the city at the head of his troops to pillage and lay it waste. Upon this motion being suggested, the little old gentleman who had been so active during the consultations of yesterday, proposed that the matter should be put to the proof, by the Governor's sending an order to some of the troops investing the town; and the result would at once shew on what ground they stood. Accordingly, an order was written by the Governor to the commanding officer of a regiment of cavalry stationed within a mile of the gates, desiring him instantly to remove one league further from the city. Considerable anxiety prevailed during the absence of the messenger, and great surprise and satisfaction when he returned to say, that the officer, immediately on receiving the order, broke up his quarters, and never halted till the regiment had reached the required distance. The news of this delegated power being in the hands of the Governor, and the ready obedience of the troops, flew rapidly through Lima, and put an end to every idea of insurrection among the slaves, or of riotous behaviour on the part of the mob. It instantly restored confidence to every one, and put the whole society into good humour with San Martin. For, although it was obvious that the Governor could not turn the power thus placed in his hands to any improper use, yet, every one felt there was something noble and generous in this show of confidence towards people so recently his foes, and so completely at his mercy. His subsequent forbearance in not marching the army into the city, was a measure not less courteous and judicious: it not only spared the inhabitants the humiliation of a triumph, but kept

his own troops out of the reach of temptation at a moment the most dangerous of all, perhaps, to good discipline. It was not, indeed, until the city had been completely tranquillized, a vigorous police established, and many small parties of chosen soldiers introduced under the command of careful officers, that the body of the troops were permitted to come near, or even to hold any communication with the city.

"In a day or two, every thing was restored to its ordinary state; the shops were again opened; the women were seen in every quarter, stealing out of the convents; the men ventured forth to smoke their segars in the Plaza; the streets were lined with people returning to their homes, and with loaded mules bringing back trunks, boxes, and household articles of all kinds; the mass-bells were again tinkling; the street-cryers bawling as heretofore; and the great city once more restored to its wonted noise and bustle.

"When all was quiet in the capital, I went to Callao, and hearing that San Martin was in the roads, waited on him on board his yacht. I found him possessed of correct information as to all that was passing; but he seemed in no hurry to enter the city, and appeared, above all things, anxious to avoid any appearance of acting the part of the conqueror. 'For the last ten years,' said he, 'I have been unremittingly employed against the Spaniards, or rather, in favour of this country, for I am not against any one who is not hostile to the cause of independence. All I wish is, that this country should be managed by itself, and by itself alone. As to the manner in which it is to be governed, that belongs not at all to me. I propose simply to give the people the means of declaring themselves independent, and of establishing a suitable form

of government; after which, I shall consider I have done enough, and leave them.'

"On the next day, the 8th of July, a deputation of the principal persons from Lima, was sent to invite San Martin formally to enter the capital, as the inhabitants had agreed, after the most mature deliberation, to the terms proposed. To this requisition he assented, but delayed his entry till the 12th, some days after.*

"As a measure of primary importance, San Martin sought to implant the feeling of independence, by some act that should bind the inhabitants of the capital to that cause. On the 28th of July, therefore, the ceremonies of proclaiming and swearing to the Independence of Peru took place. The troops were drawn up in the great square, in the centre of which was erected a lofty stage, from whence San Martin, accompanied by the Governor of the city and some of the principal inhabitants, displayed, for the first time, the Independent flag of Peru ;† calling out at the same time : 'From this moment, Peru is free and in-

* "The cautious General, apprehensive of deceit on the part of the Spaniards, or from other causes best known to himself, did not order the troops to advance by land till the 9th, while he himself proceeded in a schooner to Callao····In the mean while, the people of Lima, left eight days without government, subject to the dangers of popular ferment, sought the protection of the British naval commander, Captain Basil Hall, who advanced with his marines, and preserved the public tranquillity."—Miers, vol. i. p. 49. Of this statement, the only part that is correct, it will be seen, is the simple fact, that San Martin was in no hurry to enter the city. Mrs. Graham's account is not more correct, but more malignant, breathing a passionate hatred against San Martin.

† "The new Peruvian flag represents the rising sun appearing over the Andes, seen behind the city, with the river Rimac bathing their base. This device, on a shield surrounded with laurel, occupies the centre of the flag, which is divided diagonally into four triangular pieces, two red and two white."

dependent, by the general wish of the people, and by the justice of her cause, which God defend!' Then, waving the flag, he exclaimed, '*Viva la Patria! Viva la Libertad! Viva la Independencia!*' which words were caught up and repeated by the multitude in the square and the adjoining streets; while all the bells in the city rang a peal, and cannon were discharged, amid shouts such as had never before been heard in Lima. From the stage on which San Martin stood, and from the balconies of the palace, silver medals were scattered among the crowd, bearing appropriate mottoes. The same ceremonies were observed at the principal stations of the city. Next day, (Sunday, 29th of July,) *Te Deum* was sung, and high-mass performed in the cathedral by the Archbishop, followed by an appropriate sermon preached by a Franciscan friar. As soon as the church service was over, the heads of the various departments assembled at the palace, and swore 'to God and the country, to maintain and defend, with their opinion, person, and property, the independence of Peru from the government of Spain and from any foreign domination.' This oath was taken and signed by every respectable inhabitant of Lima; so that, in a few days, the signatures to the declaration of Peruvian independence, amounted to nearly 4000. This was published in an extraordinary gazette, and diligently circulated over the country; which not only gave useful publicity to the state of the capital, but deeply committed many men who would have been well pleased to conceal their acquiescence in the measure." *

On the 3d of August, San Martin declared himself Protector of Peru, and assumed the supreme civil and

* Hall, vol. i. pp. 221—232; 256—261.

military command; announcing at the same time, in the decree issued on the occasion, that, as soon as the territory of Peru should be free from a foreign enemy, he would resign the command, in order to make room for the government the people should be pleased to elect.* He appointed D. Juan Garcia Del Rio, Don Bernardo Monteagudo, and D. Don Hipolito Unanue, ministers respectively for foreign affairs, for war and marine, and for finance; and General De las Heras was appointed commander in chief of the army. Among the first legislative acts of the Protectorate were, a decree, dated August 12, 1821, declaring that the children of slaves, born in Peru subsequently to the 28th of July preceding, should be free; another, dated August 27, abolishing the tribute, and forbidding the name of Indians to be applied to the Aborigines, who were thenceforth to share with the Creoles in the name of Peruvians; and on the 28th, a third abolishing the *mita* and every species of compulsory labour to which the Indians had been subjected. By another decree, every individual who sailed from Valparaiso in the liberating expedition, naval as well as military, was declared to be considered as belonging to the service of Peru, and entitled to a pension equal to half the amount of the pay he was in the receipt of, on leaving Chile. In the month of October, the Order of the Sun was established, upon the model of the Legion of Honour in France. It was divided

* In this address, distinguished by its manly frankness, San Martin says: "Ten years of experience in Venezuela, Cundinamarca, Chile, and the United Provinces of the River Plata, have taught me the evils which flow from the ill-timed convocation of congresses, while an enemy still maintained a footing in the country. The first point is to make sure of independence, and afterwards to think of establishing solid liberty."—Hall, vol. i. p. 270.

into three classes: 1. *Fundadores*; 2. *Beneméritos*; 3. *Asociados*. To the members of the first class, and to a certain number of each of the other classes, pensions were attached.* A certain number of those in each corps who had established the fairest claims to these honours, were recommended by a junta of general officers. On the 19th of December, property valued at 500,000 dollars, was granted to twenty general and field officers of the liberating army, as a reward for past services, and was equally divided among them.†

In the mean time, the Viceroy had joined the division of the army under General Canterac at Xauxa. On the 24th of August, Canterac left that town with 3000 infantry and 900 cavalry, and countermarching by the road of St. Mateo, arrived, on the 9th of September, in sight of St. Martin, encamped on the *hacienda* called Mendoza, a mile from Lima on the Arequipa road. The object of the royalist general was to attack the patriots and to succour the Castle of Callao, which was still under the Spanish flag; an attempt to surprise and take the principal fort, made by San Martin on the 12th of August, having failed. The state and appearance of the patriot army, says Mr. Miller, "were any thing but favourable, although it then exceeded 7000 in number. But, when Canterac beheld them strongly posted behind mud-walls, and supported in the rear by the

* "It might have been better," remarks Mr. Miller, "to postpone the formation of an order of knighthood until after the Spaniards were expelled; but the institution was a popular measure; and it was politic, inasmuch as it enabled Government to reward military and civil merit at a cheap rate; although it was evidently a step towards the introducing of principles savouring strongly of monarchy."

† Colonel Miller received 25,000 dollars for his share.

population of Lima, many of whom were on horseback, armed with sabres, knives, and pikes, he deemed it more prudent to pass on between Lima and the sea-shore, to take shelter under the guns of Callao. San Martin has been severely censured for not attacking the royalists upon this occasion; but, when it is considered, that many of his troops consisted of raw recruits, while the royalists were veteran soldiers and well disciplined, perhaps it may be allowed that he acted wisely." * On the night of the 17th, Canterac retreated across the Rimac, leaving General La Mar in the castle of Callao, with three days' provisions, to make the best terms he could. Las Heras, with the liberating army, was ordered to pursue the royalists, but to avoid a general action. After advancing to a distance of nine leagues from Lima, Las Heras gave over further pursuit, many of the chiefs appearing less eager to prosecute hostilities, than to indulge in the gayeties of the capital. Colonel Miller, however, at the head of the light companies, who were appointed

* Captain Hall states, that a great outcry was raised by all parties against San Martin on account of his "apparent apathy," and that "his loss of popularity may be said to take its date from this hour." The greater part of San Martin's army, it is admitted, consisted of raw levies; and "the slightest military reverse at that moment, must have turned the tide; the Spaniards would have retaken Lima; and the independence of the country might have been indefinitely retarded."—Hall, vol. ii. pp. 71, 2. Mrs. Graham tells us, that "Las Heras, after having in vain urged the advantages of attacking Canterac, broke his sword, and vowed never again to wear the habit of that disgraceful day."—P. 87. If Mr. Miller's account of the subsequent affairs be accurate, this must be pure invention. "It is curious," adds the latter Writer, "that some of the patriot chiefs most loud in condemning the inaction of the Protector, were those who had shortly before let pass the most brilliant opportunities to annihilate the royalists when scattered in the Sierra; as also when Canterac shortly afterwards retreated from Callao towards Xauxa."—Miller, vol. i. p. 372.

to act as a column of observation, followed the royalists, and some skirmishing took place. A hundred deserters from the Spanish army joined the patriots in the course of one day's march. Canterac had led his troops to believe, that they were to be marched against the patriots, promising them an easy victory; and when it became known that their destination was the Cordillera, discontents arose, which were prevented from breaking out into mutiny only by the execution of one officer and nine rank and file. Although the pursuit by the light division was not altogether successful, it led to the capture of 300 oxen, besides some horses and mules; it obliged Canterac to destroy his military stores; and it facilitated the desertion of above 1000 royalists, in spite of the exertions and severities of their chiefs." *

In the mean time, a disgraceful scene was exhibited at Callao, where Lord Cochrane, having come to an open quarrel with San Martin, was endeavouring to obtain possession, by negotiation, of the fortress; intending, in that event, to hoist the Chileno flag, in opposition to the views and policy of the Protector. A misunderstanding had existed for some time, the true cause of which it is not very easy, and not very important, to ascertain. The reasons assigned by his Lordship's panegyrists for his breach with the Protector, are, his utter disappointment and indignation at San Martin's assuming the supreme government, instead of summoning a congress, and his high-minded disdain at being offered the post of admiral of Peru, which would have rendered him, we are told, a traitor to the Government of Chile. San Martin is even

* Miller, vol. i. p. 279. The body of General Sanchez, who had been left in the rear by the retreating royalists, and who expired in a hut by the road side, was found by one of the Montenero parties.

represented as having refused to pay the squadron their arrears and the promised gratuities, unless the navy of Chile passed over to the service of Peru.* The plain fact appears to be, that the Admiral made claims upon San Martin, for arrears and prize-money, for which the Protector conceived the Chileno Government were alone responsible; while, with regard to the rest of the Admiral's demands, he admitted their validity, but required time to liquidate them. Lord Cochrane was highly dissatisfied, but affected to be urgent, only on account of the seamen, whom he represented as on the point of mutiny.† In the mean

* Miers, vol. ii. p. 66. "I assure you," says Lord Cochrane, in a letter to Monteagudo, "that *no abatement of my zeal towards his Excellency the Protector's service* took place, until the 5th day of August, the day on which I was made acquainted with his Excellency's installation, when he uttered sentiments in your presence, that *struck a chill through my frame*, which no subsequent act or protestation of intentions has yet been able to do away. Did he not say, aye, did I not hear him declare, that he never would pay the debt to Chile, nor the dues to the navy, *unless Chile would sell the squadron to Peru?* What would you have thought of me, as an officer sworn to be faithful to the state of Chile, had I listened to such language in cold, calculating silence," &c.—Graham's Chile, p. 94. If this letter be genuine, we have his Lordship's authority for discrediting all the tales respecting his previous disagreements with the Protector. On other occasions, his Lordship did not discover much concern about the claims and orders of the Government of Chile; and his affected horror at being pressed to enter the Peruvian service, was, at least, over-acted. Mr. Stevenson, however, his Lordship's own secretary, tells us, that in the conversation above referred to, *after* San Martin had declared, that he would not pay the Chileon squadron, unless it were sold to Peru, Lord Cochrane expressed his "sincere hope that the friendship which had existed between General San Martin and himself, would continue to exist between the Protector of Peru and himself."—Stevenson, vol. iii. p. 353. His Lordship's indignation seems to have been an after-thought.

† "Above all, the crews, who were at least half English, complained of the want of *grog*. The army, on the contrary, had been supplied with wasteful profusion, and all the advantages of the campaign had been bestowed on its soldiers."—Graham, p. 88.

time, the Royalist army approached the walls of Callao, where, as a matter of precaution, the coined and uncoined treasure belonging to Government, together with some property of private individuals, was removed from the Lima mint to transports lying at Ancon. Lord Cochrane, upon gaining intelligence of this, sailed to Ancon, and seized the treasure, to pay the squadron, "on account of, and in the name of, the Government of Chile." With regard to the sum thus seized, his Lordship's statement made it amount to little more than half of what the Protector asserted it to be. Part of it (about 40,000 dollars), which was proved to be private property, the Admiral thought proper to restore.* On the 21st of September, La Mar surrendered the fortress of Callao to the Protector, on terms highly favourable to the besieged. "On the 26th, the Protector transmitted to Lord Cochrane a copy of that article of his private instructions from the Chileno Government, which authorized San Martin, as Commander-in-Chief of the liberating expedition, to employ the whole, or any part of the squadron, as he might deem most expedient. In virtue of these powers, he ordered the Admiral and the vessels under his command, to leave the coast of Peru."†

* Mr. Miers says: "Even San Martin's property was restored." Mrs. Graham says, it was never taken, but "left untouched." The latter states the amount seized at 285,000 dollars. In Miller, Lord Cochrane's account is represented as making it 205,000; the Protector's, above 400,000. Mr. Miers tells us, his Lordship refused to receive any part as his own share! Besides this money, his Lordship "permitted some Spanish fugitives to ransom themselves, applying the money to the supply of the squadron." And he *intended* so to apply the "one-third of the Spanish property and passage-money," for which he stipulated in his separate negotiation with the governor of Callao.—Graham, pp. 87, 88.

† Miller, vol. i. p. 330, 331. Captains Guise, Forster, Spry, Carter, Esmonde, and others, instead of siding with the Admiral, entered

Instead, however, of returning to Valparaiso, as was expected, his Lordship sailed to the northward, with the O'Higgins, Valdivia, Independencia, and a small vessel, in pursuit of two Spanish frigates, which were ascertained to have touched at Panama. With his leaky and inefficient vessels, he proceeded to the coast of California; but learning that the frigates had not gone in that direction, he returned to the coast of Peru. During this long cruise, Lord Cochrane was constantly prevented from coming up with the Spanish vessels, by the state of his crews, consisting almost wholly of Chilenoes, and by the crazy condition of his ships, especially the O'Higgins.* It would seem as if this extraordinary man found his congenial element in scenes of peril and situations of extremity, which no one but himself would have so rashly encountered, or could, with equal fortitude and energy, have surmounted. Tossed about in a tempestuous and unfrequented sea, exposed to severe privation from a scarcity of water and provisions, the ill-paid and discontented crews were obliged to keep perpetually working at the pumps. At one time, after a long calm, and when

the Peruvian service; and most of the English sailors deserted from the squadron.

* "The O'Higgins, which had always been in a leaky condition, now, in consequence of the heavy gales she encountered, kept nearly one hundred men constantly at the pumps. All on board, except the Admiral, gave up the ship for lost, and expected she would founder at sea. But here again the character of the Admiral was displayed. The principal leak was under the bows: he caused a bulk-head or close well to be built, which confined the water to the fore-part of the ship; and having thus got at the leak, he personally superintended, and worked himself, day by day, repairing the rotten timbers, until he made her nearly water-tight. This circumstance, so characteristic of this extraordinary man, was performed during the chase, and at a distance of 600 miles from the shore."—Miers, vol. ii. p. 72.

ninety leagues from land, the stock of water in the whole squadron was reduced to less than a hundred gallons; and the crews were in a state of the utmost consternation at the horrid death which seemed to await them. Their feelings were wrought up almost to frenzy, when the sky became suddenly overcast, and a tempest, which, under other circumstances, would have been dreaded in such shattered vessels, was hailed with rapture. The rain fell in torrents for twenty-four hours, and every cask was filled. At length, on reaching Guayaquil from the northward, the Admiral found that the Spanish frigates had arrived there a fortnight before, and that the commander, fearful of being captured, had capitulated to the Peruvian agents in that city for a stipulated sum, on the 15th February, 1822. Lord Cochrane then sailed for Callao, where he found the Prueva (one of the frigates) at anchor, with the Peruvian colours flying; and he claimed her as his lawful prize. The Peruvian Government of course refused to comply with the demand,* and an altercation took place, which threatened to terminate in hostilities; but at last, his Lordship deemed it prudent to sail for Valparaiso, where he arrived on the 1st of September, 1822. In December, he received an invitation from the Emperor of Brazil to take the command of his navy; and notwithstanding his republican predilections, the Vice-admiral of Chile, on the 19th of January, 1823, left Valparaiso for Rio Janeiro.†

* The pretence for this extraordinary demand was, that he had driven the frigates into Guayaquil, under the colours of Chile.

† "Lord Cochrane," says his Secretary, "was bound by his allegiance to the existing government, not to become a party in any faction; and his own honour would not allow him to join General Freire, by whom he was solicited, although he was convinced that the authority of O'Higgins must succumb; he there-

To return to the affairs of Peru. The capitulation of Callao, the retreat of Canterac, and the departure of Lord Cochrane, left San Martin at liberty to take steps for the consolidation of his government and the termination of the war; but, unfortunately, Lima proved the Capua of the liberating army; and discontents and cabals arose, which threw fatal embarrassments in the way of any energetic measures. "The pleasures of a luxurious capital," says Mr. Miller, "had taken so firm a hold on the minds of the chiefs and others, that, when the march of some battalions had been determined upon, obstacles were raised, and pretences were fabricated for delay. When chiefs are remiss in the performance of duty, and inattentive to the claims and comforts of their men, it is no wonder that the junior officers become lukewarm, and the soldiers discontented. The inhabitants of Lima, who had received the independent army with so much enthusiasm, grew tired of their liberators, in proportion as discipline relaxed; nor could a quick succession of balls and entertainments prevent the growth of dissatisfaction and murmurs. Lima began to feel severely the burden of an army kept unemployed, while an enemy, whom the patriot chiefs affected to despise, retained possession of the interior."

The policy of the Protector in promoting to responsible commands several men of rank, whose principal merit consisted in their having declared for the patriot cause, though dictated by the most honourable

fore determined to proceed to Rio de Janeiro." In his farewell address, his Lordship told the Chilenoes, that he left them "*for a time*," in order not to involve himself in matters foreign to his duty, and for reasons concerning which he kept silence, that he might not encourage party spirit.—Stevenson, vol. iii. p. 465. We are not to imagine that the proposals of Don Pedro had any weight with the Marquess of Maranham.

motives, became the source of incalculable mischief. It was his wish, by these means, to encourage other influential persons to follow their example, and thus to establish the cause of Independence without bloodshed. But these appointments gave great umbrage to the liberal party; and they led, in the end, to a disastrous prolongation of the contest. General Don Domingo Tristan, a worthy landed proprietor, who had twice changed sides, had been appointed to the command of Ica, for the purpose of recruiting the patriotic forces in that neighbourhood. He took with him two battalions from Lima, and his instructions were, that, in the event of the approach of an enemy, he was to retire without risking an action. Ica is a bad position, and Tristan had taken no precaution either to procure proper information, or to secure his retreat. He was surprised by General Canterac in April 1822; and by making a detour to the Pisco road, the royalist General contrived to place himself at Macanona, in the line of his retreat. The independent troops dispersed immediately. Canterac took one thousand prisoners, who went to swell the ranks of the royalists, four pieces of artillery, and a great number of horses, mules, and oxen. A party of lancers who were advancing to Ica, in ignorance of Tristan's defeat, were also attacked and routed, with the loss of ten killed and ninety prisoners. And the immediate result of this disastrous and disgraceful affair was, to put into the hands of the victors a large quantity of muskets, sabres, &c. in depôt at Pisco, besides nearly 3000 stand of arms thrown away in the flight; for the want of which the royalists had been much distressed. The moral effect of this reverse was, to dispel the idea hitherto prevalent of the military superiority of the patriots, and to throw a

damp over the minds of the people, who had previously lent their cheerful aid to the cause.

The only counterbalancing event at this period, was the victory of Pinchincha.* This battle was won on the 24th of May, 1822, by the Colombian General, Sucre, with the assistance of an auxiliary Peruvian division sent from Truxillo under Colonel Santa Cruz. The contending forces were about equal, each being between three and four thousand men. The second Peruvian battalion bore the brunt of the action, but it was beginning to give way before superior numbers, when Colonel Cordova, with two Colombian battalions, came up, and gallantly charging the royalists, decided the fate of the day. The battalion Albion, commanded by the brave Colonel Mackintosh, distinguished itself particularly in another part of the field. Five hundred Spaniards and three hundred patriots were either killed or wounded. The remainder of the royalists capitulated; and by the issue of this battle, the independence of Colombia was finally secured.†

On the 26th of July, a meeting took place between the Protector of Peru and the Liberator of Colombia

* See page 95.

† Miller, vol. i. p. 417. A brilliant little affair at Rio-Bamba, which preceded the battle of Pinchincha, is supposed to have contributed in some measure to the victory, by overawing the royalists. Lieutenant-Colonel Lavalle, who commanded a squadron of horse, forming part of Colonel Santa Cruz's division, having followed up the enemy too closely, found himself in the presence of 400 royalist cavalry. Aware that to attempt retreat before such numbers would have led to the complete dispersion of his men, he boldly charged them with his few followers, and drove the cavalry back on the infantry with considerable loss. He then commenced his retreat, but, being pursued, wheeled round and charged the enemy a second time with equal success. He then made good his escape.

at Guayaquil, whither by agreement these two distinguished personages had repaired to hold a conference. From the shortness of the interview, it has been inferred, that the result was not altogether satisfactory. The Protector remained at Guayaquil only eight-and-forty hours, and then returned to Callao. He had been anxious, it is said, to obtain possession of Guayaquil, in order to make it the great arsenal of the Peruvian navy; but Bolivar had also set his mind on annexing it to Colombia.* There were other points upon which the respective policy of these two chiefs might differ; and Bolivar is represented as having assumed a deportment offensively haughty towards San Martin. On the other hand, Mr. Miller informs us, that one result of the interview was, the sending of an auxiliary force of 2000 Colombians to Lima, in order to strengthen San Martin's Government, but that the junta which succeeded to the protectorate, ordered the Colombian troops to return to Guayaquil.

San Martin, previously to quitting Lima, had delegated his civil and military powers to Torre Tagle, Marquess of Truxillo, now styled *Supremo Delegado;* a feeble-minded and pusillanimous man, who appears to have been a mere cipher in the hands of the minister Monteagudo. The power exercised by Monteagudo was little short of despotic, and is said to have

* "This province (Guayaquil) had preserved its independence from the time of its revolution in 1820, when the Senor Dr. Don J. J. de Olmedo, the celebrated poet, a native of the city, was placed at the head of the Government. But, soon after Bolivar arrived there, he declared that Guayaquil belonged to the territory of Colombia, and that it should thenceforward be incorporated with that republic. The independent colours of the province were consequently supplanted by those of Colombia."—Miller, vol. i. p. 419.

been abused for purposes of the most shameful avarice and grievous oppression. At length, the inhabitants, emboldened by San Martin's absence, assembled tumultuously, and demanded of the Supreme Delegate the immediate dismissal of the obnoxious minister. They were supported by the *cabildo*, or municipality; the military remained neutral; and the Supreme Delegate had no alternative but to accede to the demand. Monteagudo, fearful of becoming the victim of popular vengeance, put himself under the protection of the municipal authorities, by whom he was sent to Callao under arrest, but was permitted soon afterwards to sail for Guayaquil.*

The Protector arrived at Lima on the 19th of August, and on the 21st re-assumed the supreme command. Secure of the support of the army, he would have had little difficulty in quelling the spirit of

* Mr. James Thomson, (agent to the British and Foreign Bible Society,) who was in Lima at the time, gives the following account of the transaction, in a letter dated September 4, 1822. After speaking of the dissatisfaction which existed respecting the prime minister, owing to his suspected views of establishing a monarchical government, and on other grounds, he writes: "This dissatisfaction openly broke out a few weeks ago, on account of his interfering in the election of representatives for this city. The consequence was, that a petition was presented to the Marquis of Truxillo, requesting that the minister might be immediately dismissed. This petition was signed by so many of the respectable and powerful inhabitants, that it had the desired effect. The minister resigned before the petitioners left the palace; and in a few days after, he was sent off by sea to Panama. All this took place in San Martin's absence, and the leaders in it were the *republican party*. San Martin has very wisely fallen in with these measures since his return, and has confirmed the new minister in his situation."—Thomson's Letters, p. 47. Monteagudo resided in the city of Quito till the close of 1824, when he returned to Lima under the patronage and protection of Bolivar, but perished by the hand of an assassin, January 28, 1825.

insubordination that had manifested itself in the civil authorities and the people; but this would have involved a departure from the policy he had prescribed to himself, that would have justified the clamours of his enemies. There appeared but one alternative. Deputies had already been summoned, agreeably to a decree issued by the council of state; and on the 20th of September, the Congress was installed with due formalities. The Protector repaired in state to the hall of the deputies, where, divesting himself of the insignia of supreme power, he resigned his authority into the hands of the representatives of the people. He then withdrew, and immediately set out for his country-house near Callao. Two hours afterwards, a deputation of Congress waited upon his Excellency, to communicate a decree of that body, expressive of the gratitude of the Peruvian people, and another conferring upon him the office of generalissimo of the Peruvian forces. San Martin consented to accept the title, but refused the exercise of the command; and he embarked the same evening for Chile, leaving behind him the following proclamation as his farewell address.

"I have witnessed the declaration of the independence of the states of Chile and Peru. I hold in my possession the standard which Pizarro brought to enslave the empire of the Incas, and I have ceased to be a public man. Thus I am more than rewarded for ten years spent in revolution and warfare. My promises to the countries in which I warred, are fulfilled; to make them independent, and to leave to their will the election of their governments. The presence of a fortunate soldier, how disinterested soever he may be, is dangerous to newly constituted states. I am also disgusted at hearing that I wish to

make myself a sovereign. Nevertheless, I shall always be ready to make the last sacrifice for the liberty of the country, but in the rank of a private individual, and no other. With respect to my public conduct, my compatriots (as is generally the case) will be divided in their opinions: their children will pronounce the true verdict.

"Peruvians! I leave your national representation established. If you repose implicit confidence in it, you will triumph; if not, anarchy will swallow you up. May success preside over your destinies, and may they be crowned with felicity and peace!

"SAN MARTIN."

"*Pueblo-libre, Sept.* 20, 1822."

On the retirement of San Martin, General Don Jose de la Mar, Don Felipe Antonio Alvarado, and Count Vista Florida, were named by Congress to form an executive under the title of the *Junta Gubernativa*. Xavier de Luna Pizarro, a learned and eloquent Arequipeno, distinguished by the dignified firmness and political consistency of his character, had been chosen president of the Congress. One of the first measures of that assembly was, to decree, that General San Martin should bear the title of FOUNDER OF THE LIBERTY OF PERU, and enjoy a pension of 20,000 dollars *per annum*. Another decree awarded the thanks of the Peruvian nation to Lord Cochrane for his achievements in favour of the country.* These

* This document is given by Mr. Miers, and by Mr. Stevenson, while the vote respecting San Martin is not mentioned; and Mr. Miers, by an imperfect translation, would make it appear, that the "tribute of gratitude" to Lord Cochrane, was meant to cast an indirect insult and stigma upon the ex-Protector. Mr. Stevenson's translation exposes the utter fallacy of this representation. Not content with this, Mr. Miers represents San Martin as returning

acts of justice augured well for the subsequent proceedings of the Sovereign Legislative Body; but it split upon the same rock that proved fatal to the other congresses,—that of assuming a share of the executive power; and it closed its political existence by voluntarily dissolving itself, and resigning the undivided authority into the hands of a dictator. At this point in the history, we may be allowed to pause, and take a review of the character of the illustrious individual to whose services Chile and Peru were so mainly indebted for their independence.

Jose de San Martin was born in the year 1778, at Yapeyú, in the Entre Rios, his father being at that time governor of the Missions bordering on Paraguay. At the age of eight years, he was taken by his family to Spain; and being destined for the military profession, he was admitted a student of the College of Nobles at Madrid. He served in the peninsular war, and was aide-de-camp to Solano, Marquess of Socorro, then governor of Cadiz. When that nobleman fell a victim to popular fury,* San Martin narrowly escaped assassination, being mistaken in the confusion for the Marquess, to whom he bore a strong resemblance. San Martin distinguished himself at the battle of Baylen, in a manner which attracted the attention of General Castaños; and his name was mentioned with honour in the despatches. He was afterwards promoted to the rank of brevet lieutenant-colonel, and served under the Marquess de la Romaña and General Coupigny. But the cry of Independence arose in

to Chile "disgraced and degraded;" and he ascribes to Lord Cochrane, the signal merit of being the first to brave his authority, and to curb as well as humble his power. "Yet, even San Martin," adds this Writer, "was not destitute of merit."!!

* See MOD. TRAV., Spain, vol. i. p. 340.

his native land; and without having more than a vague idea of the true state of the contest in America, he resolved to quit Spain. Having, through the kind interposition of Sir Charles Stuart (now Lord Stuart), obtained a passport, he sailed for England, where he remained for a short period, and then embarked on the Thames for the shores of the Plata. Soon after his arrival at Buenos Ayres, he married Doña Remedios Escalada, a lady of one of the most distinguished families in that city. Having established his military credit on the banks of the Parana,* he was appointed, in 1814, to command the remains of the army of Belgrano, which had retired to Tucuman; but he was obliged, shortly afterwards, to remove to the Cordovese mountains, on account of ill health. On his recovery, he was appointed governor of the province of Cuyo, where he matured his plans for the emancipation of Chile. The slender resources of the provincial government, and the thinly-sprinkled population of 50,000 souls over a vast extent of pampas, prevented his being able to form an army strong enough to attempt the invasion of Chile in a shorter space of time than two years. Its organization reflected the highest credit upon his tact, talent, and perseverance; and the discipline which he established, shewed how well he had profited by the experience acquired in the Peninsular war. His popularity was evinced by the alacrity with which his exertions were seconded by the inhabitants of the province; and he

* San Martin was the first who raised and organized, conformably to the European system, a regiment of cavalry. It was called the *granaderos à cavallo*. In January 1813, with 150 of these horse, he attacked and defeated, at San Lorenzo, twice that number of royalists, and taught the patriots by that action, the advantages of the sword over the carbine.—Miller, vol. i. p. 76.

gained the confidence of his officers and men to a degree never before shewn towards any patriot commander. The victories of Chacabuco and Maypo raised his reputation to the highest pitch. Although he has had political enemies, he has always in fact, says Mr. Miller, been personally popular. Even when his army has pressed most heavily on the resources of a province, the inhabitants have continued to speak of him with respect and enthusiasm. In the formation of the government of Peru, he displayed the soundness of his judgement by selecting men of first-rate ability as ministers; and if he was less fortunate in the selection of some of his military leaders, it arose less from want of discernment, than from the policy which led him to promote to posts of honour, men of property and influence who had espoused the cause of Independence.

Passing over the more malignant aspersions that have been cast upon the character of San Martin,* the principal charges which have been brought against him, relate to, first, his want of activity and energy in the conduct of the Peruvian war; secondly, his assumption of the supreme authority; thirdly, his despotic expulsion of the old Spaniards in Lima, and the conduct of his minister, Monteagudo; and, fourthly, his desertion of the Independent cause at a season of great danger and perplexity.

* "Cowardice, cruelty, and treachery, the vices of his own character." Mrs. Graham, p. 99. At page 109 of the same work, San Martin is charged with being the instigator of two *supposed* attempts to assassinate Lord Cochrane. "Courage more than doubtful, talents not above mediocrity," "unfeeling cruelty," "scepticism in religion, laxity in morals, and coldness of heart," duplicity and the most sanguinary vindictiveness, (pp. 42, 43; 298,) complete the character of San Martin, as drawn by Mrs. Graham. Mr. Stevenson and Mr. Miers are not quite so intemperate.

With regard to the first of these charges, his cautious policy has been sufficiently explained. To those who consider desperate valour as the only qualification of a commander, the most obvious prudence may seem only a cover for cowardice; but to suppose that San Martin's declining to stake everything upon the issue of a battle, proceeded from a deficiency of personal courage, is to assign the most improbable motive for his conduct, and the absurd calumny is amply refuted by his whole previous career. The fact appears to have been, that he correctly estimated the character of his troops,* and knew that they would have been an unequal match against the disciplined force of the royalists, though half their numbers; he knew also, that a defeat would have been fatal to the cause of Independence, while the fall of Callao and the retreat of Canterac were all that could have been

* From the narrative of Mr. Stevenson, though abounding with virulent abuse of San Martin, we gather incidentally some important admissions. Thus, we are told, that the regiment of Numancia had declared, "that they would not march out of Lima against the enemy;" while "the greatest discontent reigned among the Chileans." (vol. iii. pp. 439, 441.) And Mr. Miller states, that "the *Logia* at this time pointedly supported the malcontents of the liberating army in every intrigue against the power of the Protector." (vol. i. p. 411.) The former Writer swells the patriot army to 12,000 men; Mr. Miller says, it amounted to only about 7000, many of them raw recruits. Mr. Stevenson tells us, that Lord Cochrane entreated the Protector to attack Canterac; and when San Martin coolly told him, that his measures were taken, his Lordship became "disgusted" and "exasperated." This is by no means a clear proof that San Martin was in the wrong. Mr. Mathison, who was at Lima at the time, represents the state of the capital to have been such as to render it doubtful, whether a large proportion of the inhabitants would not join the royalists. Several parties were actually detected in the attempt to escape with arms and ammunition to the enemy; and Canterac probably approached the capital with the expectation of being supported by the Spanish party. Mathison, pp. 252—257.

hoped for as the result of victory; and he therefore declined a battle which appeared to him alike unnecessary and hazardous. It is not improbable, that some of those who urged him to risk the encounter, and stigmatised his firmness as cowardice, would have rejoiced at his defeat.

His assumption of the supreme authority in the character of Protector of Peru, gave occasion to his enemies to charge him with ulterior views at variance with his patriotic professions. To these injurious surmises, his subsequent resignation is a sufficient reply. "It was more creditable," remarks Captain Basil Hall, "to assume the full authority in a manly and open manner, than to mock the people with the semblance of a republic, and at the same time to visit them with the reality of a despotism." All the evils which he had predicted from the premature convocation of a congress, ensued upon his abdication of the protectorate.*

It may be less easy to exonerate San Martin from being implicated in the tyrannical measures of the executive administration established by his authority. They were all carried into effect during the nominal government of Torre Tagle; and it was generally

* "With regard to his political bias," says Mr. Miller, "San Martin considered the representative monarchical form of government as best adapted to the South Americans. Nevertheless, his principles are republican; and it is the decided opinion of those who have had opportunities of forming one, that he never entertained the remotest idea of placing a crown upon his own head, although it is believed that he would willingly have assisted a prince of the blood royal to mount the throne of Peru; but, even in this case, it was to have been on the basis of absolute and complete independence from Spain."—Miller, vol. i. p. 425. This was, probably, an early scheme, and seems a branch or counterpart of the plan for inviting the Princess Carlotta to establish her court at Buenos Ayres.

believed, that their offensive and cruel execution originated with the prime minister, Monteagudo. But it may be supposed, that they had his general approbation. The first decree of the Supreme Delegate was, that all unmarried Spaniards who should leave the state, were to deliver to the national treasury one-half of their property; a measure which seems to have had for its object, to prevent their emigration.* But after the defeat of the patriot forces under General Tristan, several severe decrees were issued against the Spaniards, evidently dictated by the fear that they would avail themselves of that disastrous reverse to excite insurrection. On the approach of General Canterac, a proclamation was issued (April 17), prohibiting to the Spaniards the use of any weapons, or of cloaks under which arms might be concealed; not more than two persons were to be seen together, under the same penalty of confiscation and exile; and death was denounced against any persons who should be found out of their houses after sunset. On the 2d of May, not fewer that 400 Spaniards of the first families were forcibly taken from their houses, and marched to Callao, where they were thrust on board a vessel, which immediately sailed with them for Chile. The harsh and rigorous manner in which this summary act of vengeance was executed, admits of no justification; and indeed, it is evident, both from the unnecessary cruelty with which the act of expulsion was effected, and from the lan-

* Stevenson, vol. iii. p. 482. Captain Basil Hall gives a very different version of this decree, but apparently an erroneous one. "Towards the end of 1821, a decree was published, ordering every unmarried Spaniard to leave the country, *and* to forfeit half his property; and within a few months afterwards, this decree was extended to married men also."—Basil Hall, vol. ii. p. 87.

guage of the subsequent proclamation, that those who had the direction of it, were actuated by long cherished feelings of vindictive hatred.* The measure itself, however, appears to have been not unprovoked by the conduct of the Spaniards;† and the exigencies of the Government rendered it, perhaps, a necessary step. The enemies of San Martin admit, that it would have been justifiable, had he not so solemnly promised to the Spaniards, security of person and property; and it is against the duplicity and treachery involved in the breach of promise, that they chiefly inveigh. It is, however, utterly untrue, that the Protector had committed himself by any such unconditional assurances. So early as August 4, 1821, he issued a proclamation, in which he directed all the Spaniards who were not disposed to acquiesce in the

* This document is given by Mr. Mathison, who was an eye-witness of the "horrifying embarkation." "It is long," says the Proclamation, "since Peru cried aloud for a solemn act of expiation sufficient to satisfy in some degree the demands of that justice which has during so great a length of time been outraged with the most insolent impunity····How often have we heard unseasonable exclamations of regret in America, as vehement as they were useless, because we did not expel the Spaniards at an earlier moment."—Mathison, pp. 291—295.

† On the 20th of November, 1821, several Spaniards were apprehended on the charge of sedition and conspiracies, of whom eight were sentenced to confiscation and exile, and thirteen to fine and exile for two months to Chancay.—Stevenson, vol. iii. p. 429. But the conduct of the royalists in laying waste whole villages with fire and sword, seems more especially to have provoked this measure of retaliation. The Proclamation itself appears to have been intended as a practical answer to the address of Canterac to the inhabitants of Lima, in February 1822, in which he reminded them, that whole villages had, for their obstinacy in adhering to the patriots, been delivered to the flames. It thus concludes: "Let us not forget what we might still suffer beneath the yoke of those who recognise no other means of pacification than *the flames*."—Mathison, p. 295.

new Government, to request their passports within a given time; and threatened those who, while professing their confidence, should engage in secret machinations against it, with the whole rigour of the laws, and the loss of all their possessions.* It would appear too, that, of those who were thus forcibly exiled, a number were prisoners of war.† The charges brought against Monteagudo, moreover, respected his conduct towards not merely the Spaniards, but the patriots; and so far was San Martin from being implicated in them, that the obnoxious minister is represented as having taken advantage of the absence of the Protector from the capital, to prosecute his nefarious schemes.‡ The Protector's first public act, after

* Basil Hall, vol. i. p. 275.

† "The plan of transporting out of Peru the majority of the Spaniards who remained here at the expense of Government, in the midst of its urgent distresses, satisfies at once the claims of justice and of humanity." Such is the language of the Proclamation; and it is asserted, that a great part of the Spaniards still remaining, were "mere soldiers of fortune, always ready to make war, either in the field or the cabinet, against the cause of the country.

‡ Mr. Stevenson has given extracts from the papers published at the time at Lima, in which, amid much obvious exaggeration, there are some very material statements. How far they tend to exculpate San Martin, the reader will judge. "Unfortunately for us, the genius of the Revolution, San Martin, had to absent himself twice from our capital, to meet the Washington of Colombia. The perfidious oppressor (Monteagudo) availed himself of his absence, to manifest the whole perversity of his soul. Until that period, his persecutions were underhand, but now they became barefaced. All Spaniards were considered rich; they consequently became the prey of his insatiable avarice; and at the same time, those patriots who had contributed most to the success of the liberating army, were persecuted to the utmost extremity. He formed a long list of proscriptions, &c.···In eight days after the Protector left the capital, his insults to the patriots were incalculable. He caballed in the most barefaced manner to place in the coming congress his own creatures."—Stevenson, vol. iii. pp. 449—453. This last statement confirms Mr. Thomson's account of the true cause of the insurrection.

his return, was to confirm the appointment of the new minister.

The last charge against San Martin, is that of having deserted the patriot cause on the abdication of his protectorship; upon which, Captain Basil Hall makes the following just remarks. "He never made any secret of his wish for retirement, and lost no opportunity of declaring, both publicly and privately, his intention of gratifying his inclinations as soon as the independence of Peru should be established. The question, therefore, seems to be, not whether he was justified in leaving the Peruvians at all, but, whether he seized the proper moment for doing so. It is true, he undertook to stand by and protect Peru when the sole charge was placed in his hands; but, when the inhabitants, after a whole year's reflection, thought fit to claim the privilege of being governed by representatives chosen from among themselves, he did not feel justified in refusing their demand. Yet, at the same time, he may not have considered himself as at all called upon to serve a country that no longer sought his protection. It was altogether contrary to his usual practice and feelings, to use force in advancing his opinions; and finding that he had lost his influence, and that the whole country, and even Buenos Ayres and Chile, accused him of a wish to make himself king, he was resolved to abandon for the present a cause he could no longer benefit..... If we believe San Martin sincere in his desire for retirement, we shall have still more reason to respect that disinterested public spirit, and that generous love of liberty, which could for so many years surmount every consideration of a private nature. It is so rare, to see such high powers as he unquestionably possesses, united with a taste for domestic and retired

life, that many are slow to believe him in earnest. If, however, that doubt be removed, we shall arrive at an explanation of his conduct, by supposing him to have imagined, at the time he retired, that he had done enough, and that, consistently with his real character and feelings, he could be of no further service to the Peruvians; or that, at all events, for the moment, his presence was not likely to advance their cause; and that, by retiring for a time, he might, eventually, more essentially advance the great object of his life, than he could hope to do by struggling against the wishes of the country so decidedly expressed." *

In retiring from public life, San Martin had a great example before him in Washington, which he is said to have emulated. After remaining a few days at Valparaiso, he proceeded, under an escort of honour, to Santiago, where he resided till the close of 1822. Observing, however, the threatening aspect of affairs in Chile, owing to the fixed determination of his friend O'Higgins not to discard his favourite minister, Rodrigues, who had become extremely unpopular, San Martin crossed the Cordillera to his old and favourite residence at Mendoza. The death of his accomplished wife induced him, in the following year, to quit the country for Europe. He spent sixteen months in England, and after visiting his friend, Lord Fife, in Scotland,† went to Brussels, to superintend the education of his only child, a beautiful and accomplished daughter. Towards the close of 1828, he once more visited this country, leaving his daughter under the care of an English lady resident at Brussels; and on

* Basil Hall, vol. ii. pp. 97—100.

† The friendship between the Earl and San Martin was formed during the Peninsular war, in which his Lordship (then Lord Macduff) early distinguished himself

the 21st of November, sailed from Falmouth for Buenos Ayres.

The person of San Martin is described as "tall and full formed. He has a dark, but attractive countenance, with black, expressive, and penetrating eyes. His manners are dignified, easy, friendly, eminently frank, and prepossessing. His friendships are warm and lasting. Though economical and unostentatious in his habits, yet, he is of a most hospitable disposition. He writes his own language well, and speaks French fluently."* He possesses, in a remarkable degree, the great and important quality of winning the regard, and commanding the devoted services of other men; and is one of the very few prominent actors in the cause of South American independence, who have successfully combined the statesman with the soldier.

It is a little remarkable, that so shortly after the retirement of the Protector of Peru, the Supreme Director of Chile, his friend and compeer, should have been compelled to resign his authority, owing chiefly to the misconduct of a minister, who seems to have been the counterpart to Monteagudo. The circumstances which led to this change of government, will now require a brief notice. Mr. Miller gives the following statement.

"Towards the end of the year 1818, the Supreme Director, General O'Higgins, named the members of a committee to draw up a provisional constitution; which was done, and sworn to within a few days of its promulgation. But, as this provisional constitution was merely a string of ill-assorted regulations, it fell very far short of satisfying the just expectations of

* Miller, vol. i. pp. 425, 6. See also, B. Hall, vol. i. pp. 213, 232; vol. ii. p. 98. Caldcleugh, vol. i. pp. 293—296.

the people. A senate, composed of five individuals, was named by the Director. Their powers were so undefined, and their influence so equivocal, that it tended rather to strengthen and support the directorial powers, than to act as a counterbalance to them.

"In 1822, O'Higgins convoked a preparatory convention, to determine upon the basis of a constituent congress. The members of the convention were elected by the municipalities, but under such direct and discreditable interference on the part of Government as to excite general detestation. This was increased by the convention arrogating to itself the attributes of a general constituent congress, and by the minister of finance, Don José Antonio Rodrigues Aldea, endeavouring to intimidate those who opposed this unconstitutional assumption of power.

"The Chilenoes, enraged at perceiving a really absolute government supported by a nominally constitutional check, had recourse to the only means left to them. A general rising of the people of the provinces, was followed by a rising of the inhabitants of the capital, in January 1823. The minister, Rodrigues, who had continued attached to the royalist cause until a late period, hated for his tyrannical proceedings and shameful peculation in office, was driven from power. Unfortunately, this man was a favourite with General O'Higgins; who was, in consequence, compelled to give way to public opinion, by resigning the supreme directorship, and by retiring to Peru. With the exception of a tour made in accompanying the head-quarters of General Bolivar in 1824, O'Higgins has employed himself in the cultivation of a very fine estate, presented to him by the Peruvian Government in the time of the protectorate. Thus ended the public career of

one of the most illustrious men of the Spanish American revolution. His valour, integrity, patriotism, disinterestedness, and his capacity, are alike deserving of the highest applause; and his errors of judgement are forgotten in the recollection of the goodness of his heart."*

Another account of the causes which led to this revolution, places these transactions in a very different light, and renders it pretty clear, that they originated, in great measure, in the old feud between the provinces of Santiago and Concepcion. Under the directorship of O'Higgins, we are told, Chile enjoyed, with little interruption, during five years, a state of internal tranquillity; although the defects in the new constitution led to evils which at length produced an overthrow of the Government.† The senate named

* Miller, vol. ii. pp. 368—370. See also, Miers, vol. ii. pp. 93—97.

† The year 1821 witnessed the complete destruction of the Carrera family. Jose Miguel, the elder brother, after his retreat from Chile, had repaired to the United States, where he succeeded in obtaining the means of raising and equipping a force sufficient to re-establish his party in power; engaging, that the duty on American imports in Chile (when liberated), should pay the debt thus incurred. On returning to Buenos Ayres, however, Carrera's vessel was seized by the Government, and he was declared a prisoner. He escaped to Monte Video, and afterwards joined the partisan chief Ramirez, in the Entre Rios. Here, he learned that his two brothers, Luis and Juan Jose, who had escaped from Buenos Ayres in disguise, had been arrested at Mendoza, tried before a military commission, and shot. The surviving brother now thought only of revenge against the patriots. In alliance with Ramirez, Lopez, the governor of Santa Fé, and the roving brigands of the Banda Oriental, he invaded the territory of Buenos Ayres, and had a considerable hand in fomenting the disorders and sanguinary struggles of 1820. The history of his achievements is given with great minuteness, but very questionable fidelity, by one of his adherents, a young Irish adventurer, in the Appendix to Graham's Chile. At length, on the establishment of an effective government at Buenos Ayres, under Rodriguez, Carrera had recourse to an alliance with the roving Indians of the *pampas*; and

by the Director, instead of concurring in his enlightened views, formed a junction with the secretaries of the departments, and bade defiance to his too limited power. Heavy duties were laid on foreign merchandise; the due administration of justice was neglected; and the complaints of the people, on these and other grounds, became angry and loud. The exertions made in favour of Peru, rendered it necessary to impose heavy taxes, which, together with the little outlet for the productions of Chile, pressed severely on all classes; and the pay of the troops, as well as the salaries of the public functionaries, was many months in arrear.*

Such was the state of things when General Freire, who held the chief command in the province of Concepcion, was induced by the distressed state of the army, to grant a license to an English merchant to

carried on a barbarous and desolating warfare against the farmers and other inhabitants of the provinces. In one of those excursions, he succeeded in capturing the town of San Luis de la Punta, whence he marched towards Mendoza. The people of that town sent out a force to oppose him, and in the battle which ensued, Carrera was defeated. He was afterwards betrayed and taken; and on the 5th of September 1821, was shot as a rebel and outlaw, in the 36th year of his age —(Graham, pp. 373—471. Miers, vol. ii. pp. 88—92.) Carrera has found his admirers and panegyrists, who celebrate his bravery, generosity, and even humanity. It is not denied, that his selfish, boundless ambition rendered him the enemy of his country; that he was an infidel in creed, a libertine in principle, and a traitor to the cause of Independence. He appears, however, to have been more reckless than cruel; and his talents and manners might have gained him honourable distinction, had he been either less ambitious, or less thoroughly unprincipled.

* To meet the exigencies of the state, a loan of a million sterling was raised in May 1822; but it does not appear that the proceeds were applied to the payment of the troops, at least in the southern provinces.—Caldcleugh, vol. ii. p. 38. The history of this loan, a counterpart to the Greek loan, is given by Mr. Miers, vol. ii. pp. 210, 228.

embark a large cargo of wheat;—a measure strictly prohibited by the Government, with a view to harass the Spanish force under La Serna, at that moment suffering in Peru for want of provisions. This transaction excited the greatest indignation at Santiago, and Freire was charged with assisting the enemy. A warm correspondence ensued; and on the 18th of December, O'Higgins made a feeble show of reducing the general to obedience, by putting some troops in march towards the south. Freire, on the other hand, issued a proclamation complaining of the proceedings of the ministers, whom he accused of intending to starve the army; and he instantly marched to the capital. He abstained, however, from entering the city, and disavowed all intention of placing himself at the head of the government. O'Higgins had in the interim resigned his authority into the hands of a junta, on the condition that a congress should be immediately summoned; and, after some show of reluctance, Freire suffered himself to be constituted Supreme Director.

Many changes in the public offices now took place; and nothing but reforms was talked of. A general inquiry was ordered to be instituted into the peculations of the late minister;* but no report was ever made, and it soon appeared, that a change of men only, not of measures, had been effected. "The same

* Mrs. Graham represents O'Higgins as having been made the tool of a speculating trading company, through the influence of his mother and sister. Mr. Miers says: "It was suspected that the sister of O'Higgins participated in the speculations and illegal gains of the minister (Rodriguez), and his agent (a French adventurer); but no one ever ventured to impute any connivance in the transactions to the Director; and had any such connivance existed, it would, no doubt, have been brought to light after his abdication."—Miers, vol. ii. p. 96.

system of public robbery," says Mr. Miers, "the same procrastination and bad faith still continued to be practised. General Freire possessed no talent for government. In all cases, he refused to act upon his own responsibility, and referred every thing to the decision of the congress; a body which held its sittings only during a fourth of the year, and wasted that time in discussions of mere frivolity and etiquette."* After sitting above a twelvemonth, this assembly at length produced a new constitution for Chile, which virtually placed the whole power of the state in a small junta, self-elected, and invested with sovereign authority. The publication of this extraordinary legislative act excited great dissatisfaction in the provinces; which was not a little increased by the failure of an expedition against Chiloe, for which great preparations had been made, and which was headed by the Director in person. This enterprise had occupied the attention of Government under the administration of O'Higgins; but the embarrassments of the state had prevented the execution of the project, and that island still remained to the Spaniards. The disembarkation was effected without opposition, and one-half of the forces advanced upon Castro, driving the enemy before them; but their orders were, to wait half way for the junction of the remainder of the troops. The consequence of this ill arranged plan was, that the Spaniards took courage from their apparent hesitation, and attacked them in rear: panic-struck, they separated in confusion, and took to the boats, and the armament returned to Chile

* Miers, vol. ii. p. 112. The General is characterized by this Writer as "the weak-headed tool of a party;"—"a brave soldier, a well-meaning patriot, and an amiable, unassuming man; in person, address, and suavity of manners, greatly resembling O'Higgins, but still less competent to direct the government."

with the loss of about one-fourth of their force. It was not till the first month of 1826, that the Government found itself in a condition to fit out a second expedition, in which General Freire was supported by Admiral Blanco, with a better result. A landing was effected, and Fort Corona was taken, without much difficulty. The Spanish governor, Quintanilla, took up a strong position, with upwards of 3000 troops, on the south-eastern side of the bay; but, after some skirmishing, he capitulated; and "the territory of Chile was no longer sullied with the Spanish flag."

The ex-Director, O'Higgins, had shewn much anxiety to promote the establishment of schools, and the progress of liberal knowledge; but the elevation of General Freire to the supreme government, gave ascendancy to a fanatical party, at the head of which was a bishop who had been banished by the former Government, bringing back the reign of bigotry in all its force. No books were now allowed to pass the custom-house without the strictest examination, lest any work should be introduced, tending to the extension of heretical knowledge; and every obnoxious book was ordered to be destroyed. Yet, under the influence of Benevente, the prime minister, the very decided and courageous measure was had recourse to, with a view to relieve the exigencies of the state, of seizing all the property belonging to the monasteries, including some of the richest estates in Chile. What is most remarkable, the measure was so adroitly managed as to be sanctioned with the full approbation of the resident nuncio from the Pope, which silenced all shew of opposition; and the friars and the heads of convents acquiesced in the spoliation of the church

without a murmur.* Promises were indeed made to convert the despoiled monks into secular clergy; but these are not very likely to be ever realized.

It was anticipated, that these seizures would not merely have supplied the immediate exigencies of Government, but have invested it with a permanent revenue. A very great proportion, however, was, by artificial sales and similar subterfuges, lavished on certain favoured partisans, and but little money found its way into the exchequer. During the six years of O'Higgins's directorship, the resources of the state had been not merely equal to the ordinary expenditure, notwithstanding the shameful degree of peculation which prevailed in every department, but had answered to the extraordinary demands attendant upon the Peruvian expedition. Under General Freire's administration, on the contrary, the expenses of the state were nearly doubled, owing to a misapplication of the revenue to an extent unprecedented; and, notwithstanding the temporary relief derived from the church property, it became necessary to impose a direct tax (*contribucion directa*) upon all mercantile, agricultural, and other property, in imitation of the example set by Buenos Ayres. But, although the Chilenoes had submitted without a remonstrance to

* "I happened," says Mr. Miers, "to be in Quillota at the time the seizure took place, when the public authorities robbed the sanctuaries of their silver ornaments, the friars and heads of convents themselves assisting in the general plunder." "Throughout Chile at midnight, the military governor of every town, attended by a guard, took possession of every convent, seizing all the books and documents of the several brotherhoods."—Miers, vol. ii. pp. 204, 208. The net revenue derivable from the confiscated monasterial lands, after deducting the charge of maintaining the friars, is estimated by this Writer as certainly above 200,000 dollars. The bishop, being found intractable, was again banished to Melipilli.

the confiscation of the church property, they met this proposal with determined resistance. O'Higgins was now remembered with regret; and an attempt was even made to assassinate the friends and advisers of Freire; but it failed of success, and Benevente, who had wished to retreat from his critical situation, resumed his functions. These turmoils issued in the dissolution of the Congress in May 1825; and in July, a new constituent general assembly was summoned for the 5th of September following. This assembly met accordingly, but was forcibly dissolved on the 8th of October; and eleven members (among whom was Rodriguez Aldea) were placed under arrest, and sentenced to exile.* Early in 1826, another revolution took place; Freire resigned the office of Supreme Director, and was succeeded by Admiral Blanco; who soon, however, yielded the office to General Pinto,—"a man of liberal sentiments and cultivated mind," under whose administration, the country is reported to be rapidly improving in prosperity.†

We must now once more return to the affairs of Peru. The proceedings of the new Government were marked by the feebleness and discord which might have been anticipated under all the circumstances. In November 1822, an expedition, which had been decided upon before the resignation of the Protector, sailed from Callao, for the purpose of attempting the expulsion of the royalists under Valdez from the southern provinces.‡ It was unsuccessful at all

* Miers, vol. ii. pp. 203—210; 505—517.

† Miller, vol. ii. p. 371. Under proper management, Mr. Miers says, the revenue would be quite sufficient for the exigencies of the state. See his chapter on Finance.

‡ The royalists had at this time about 5000 troops under Can-

points; and General Alvarado, to whose incompetency the failure was chiefly attributable, returned to Lima with only a few hundred fugitives, the wreck of his beaten army. About 4000 troops (including 1200 Colombians) had remained in the neighbourhood of Lima, under General Arenales, who was directed to advance upon Xauxa, and threaten the royalists in that valley, so as to prevent Canterac from detaching any troops to the southward; or, if succours were sent to the support of Valdez, Arenales was to push forward and act on the offensive. He did not, however, advance beyond a few leagues from Lima, notwithstanding that he was well aware that Canterac had withdrawn great part of his force from Huancayo, to form a junction with Valdez; alleging, as an excuse for his inactivity, that he could obtain neither shoes nor great coats, which he deemed indispensable to crossing the Andes. These circumstances excited a clamorous discontent against the Governing Junta, and wrought the downfal of the triumvirate soon after the reverses of Alvarado were known at Lima. On the 26th of February, 1823, the chiefs of the army, headed by General Santa Cruz, the second in command, presented a strong remonstrance to Congress, and significantly recommended the nomination of Colonel Don José de la Riva Aguero as President of the Republic. Congress demurred; but a second message from Santa Cruz was imperative, and Riva Aguero was proclaimed accordingly. Arenales having suddenly withdrawn and sailed for Chile, Santa Cruz assumed the chief command of the Peruvian army,

terac in Xauxa, about 3000 with Valdez, near the coast of the Puertos Intermedios, and about 3000 with Olaneta, in the vicinity of Potosi; besides a few detachment in Cuzco, La Paz, and other garrisons.

which was now for the first time headed by a Peruvian ;* and notwithstanding the expectation that Canterac would advance upon the capital, it was decided in a council of war, to make another effort in the *Puertos Intermedios*. By extraordinary exertions, the troops destined for this service were ready to embark by the 14th of May, and landed at Iquique on the 15th of June.

In the mean time, about 3000 troops had arrived at Lima from Guayaquil under the Colombian general, Sucre, which, with 1000 Buenos Ayreans, (the remnant of the army of the Andes,) and 1000 Peruvian militia, were all that remained for the defence of the capital. On the approach of Canterac at the head of 9000 well-disciplined troops, it was determined that the capital should be abandoned. On the 18th of June, Canterac entered Lima. Riva Aguero had retired with the Congress to Callao, where the deputies continued their sittings in a small church. After much boisterous discussion, Sucre was named supreme military chief, with powers little short of a dictatorship ; a step imperiously demanded by the critical situation of affairs. On the 22d, Riva Aguero was divested of his authority, and retired, with the members of the Congress, to Truxillo, leaving Sucre in undisturbed command.† Canterac meanwhile had formed the

* Santa Cruz is a native of Guarina, near La Paz, and son of the Cacica Caluamani, a noble Indian lady. It is remarkable, that this general, as well as Riva Aguero, Colonel Herrera, the minister of war, and Colonel Gamarra, chief of the staff, all held Spanish commissions for some time after the landing of San Martin in Peru.

† This general was born at Cumana in 1793; was educated at Caracas; and served with credit under Miranda. From 1814 to 1817, he served in the staff of the Colombian army; and in conjunction with Santa Cruz, achieved the decisive victory of Pinchincha in 1822.—See page 95.

whole of his troops in line within range of the castles, and some skirmishing took place between the light troops. Finding, however, that he could effect nothing decisive, and that Sucre had sent off the greater part of his army to co-operate with Santa Cruz in the south, Canterac evacuated Lima on the 17th of July, having levied heavy contributions on the remaining inhabitants, and destroyed the mint.*

The capital being once more in the hands of the patriots, Sucre determined to place himself at the head of the expedition which had sailed for Chala; and, delegating his powers to the Marquess Torre Tagle, he sailed on the 20th of July. Santa Cruz had by this time established his head-quarters at La Paz; and so confident was he of success, that he evaded the acceptance of the offer of co-operation which Sucre transmitted to him from Chala. He was, however, compelled to retire before the united forces of the Viceroy and Valdez; and a retreat has generally proved fatal to the patriot armies. Owing to a series of misfortunes, and the dissolution of all discipline, his army was completely broken up; so that, out of 7000 men, less than one-seventh returned to Lima. The royalist generals were thus enabled to direct their whole attention to the expulsion of Sucre, who was ultimately compelled to embark with his troops at Quilca for Callao. The cause of Independence in Peru, now seemed to hang by a thread. The forces of the royalists, augmented by recruits, and by prisoners of war compelled to serve, were calculated at 20,000 men; and there appeared very slender ground for hope, that the patriots would be able to make an effectual resistance against victorious and overwhelming numbers.

* Basil Hall, vol. ii. p. 94.

At this crisis, Bolivar, who could not behold with indifference the successes of the Spaniards, resolved to attempt, in person, the restoration of the falling cause of Independence in Peru. Having obtained the permission of the Congress of Colombia, he left the Vice-president, Santander, at the head of the Government in Bogota, and on the 1st of September, 1823, made his public entry into Lima. He was received with the greatest enthusiasm, and was immediately invested with supreme authority, military and political, although the Marquess Torre Tagle still retained the title of President of Peru. The ex-president, Riva Aguero, however, had, on arriving at Truxillo with the fugitive members of Congress, thought proper to call in question the validity of his dismissal. Having re-assembled the deputies, he proceeded to raise troops; and in a short time, some thousands of recruits from the northern province were armed and equipped in the department of Truxillo. He next dissolved his congress, and banished its refractory members. Peru had at this period, therefore, two presidents and a dictator. The royalists in the south were, shortly afterwards, placed in similar circumstances. The ultra-royalist general, Olañeta, in Upper Peru, refused to obey orders from the Viceroy, whom, as well as Canterac and others, he denounced in his proclamations, as *free-masons*; and he despatched a messenger to Madrid, by way of Buenos Ayres, to inform the King of his proceedings, in full confidence of obtaining the royal sanction.

Bolivar marched from Lima in the second week of November; and at Pativilca, he opened a correspondence with Riva-Aguero, with a view to induce him to acknowledge the Government of which Torre Tagle was the nominal head. The ex-President refused to

accede to the terms; and Bolivar, discouraged and disgusted, is said to have entertained the thought of abandoning Peru to its fate. But that which the Liberator could not effect by negotiation, was brought about by the treachery of Riva Aguero's own troops, who, headed by one of his most confidential officers, made him prisoner on the 25th of November. Torre Tagle, with the concurrence of Congress, sentenced him to be shot as a traitor, it being alleged that he had agreed to join the royalists. This sentence, however, was commuted into banishment, and Riva Aguero sailed from Guayaquil for Europe. His troops submitted to Bolivar, but retained their hostile feelings towards the Colombians.

Fresh misfortunes awaited the patriots. In Feb. 1824, the troops stationed in the castles of Callao, headed by a mulatto serjeant, rose and imprisoned the Governor, General Alvarado, and the officers of the garrison. The mutineers declared their only object to be, the obtaining their arrears of pay, and being provided with a passage to their native countries, Chile and Buenos Ayres. But such was the supineness of the Congress, that no steps were taken either to redress their grievances or to suppress the revolt. Torre Tagle and his minister of war were, indeed, secretly meditating how they should make their own peace with the royalists. The consequence was, that Colonel Casariego, a royalist prisoner of war, was released by the mutineers, and invested with the command of the fortress. The Spanish colours were hoisted on the 18th of February; and a letter was sent to General Canterac, then in the valley of Xauxa, inviting him to take possession of the castles. General Monet, accordingly, entered Callao, at the head of a royalist division, on the 3d of March; and Lima was

again abandoned by the patriots. The Congress, before it finally dissolved itself and dispersed, closed its political existence by abdicating its powers, and naming Bolivar dictator. About this time, two or three squadrons of cavalry at Cañete, and another squadron at Huacho, with its commanding officer, Navajas, passed over to the service of the royalists. The Marquess Torre Tagle, Count San Donas, (the minister of war,) General Portocarrero, and many other officers of all ranks, also deserted what must have appeared a desperate cause.*

Bolivar was at this time in the vicinity of Pativilca and Huaras, with a force augmented to nearly 6000 Colombians and 4000 Peruvians.† "He is, perhaps, entitled," remarks Mr. Miller, "to more credit for his conduct at the critical time which succeeded to the mutiny at Callao, than for any thing else he ever did in Peru. By his firmness, activity, and seasonable severities, he checked further defections, and obtained the respect and entire confidence of every faithful patriot. There was a charm in the name of Bolivar, and he was looked up to as the only man capable of saving the Republic. He did not disappoint general

* Miller, vol. ii. p. 119. This Navajas is stated to have changed sides no fewer than four times during the war of Independence. Torre Tagle, with his beautiful and accomplished wife and infant, perished in want of the common necessaries of life, during the subsequent investment of Callao by the patriots. San Donas once more deserted to the patriots a few days previously to the surrender of the castle, but met with the reward of his double treachery at the hands of the executioner.

† The system of recruiting which was had recourse to, was extremely arbitrary and cruel, and "barely justified," Mr. Miller says, "by the emergency of the case." The provincial quotas were levied indiscriminately, and often in the most unfeeling manner.

expectation; for, in less than a year from that time, South American Independence was finally established."

In the month of July, the liberating army began its advance towards Pasco. It was formed into three divisions, tolerably well clothed and armed; two of Colombians, headed by Generals Lara and Cordova, and one Peruvian under La Mar. The cavalry of Peru were commanded by General Miller; the Colombian horse by Colonel Caravajal; and the Buenos Ayrean by Colonel Bruiz; while General Necochea, as the senior officer, commanded the united cavalry force. General Sucre was chief of the staff of the whole army. This officer had displayed the most admirable skill and activity in his preparatory measures for facilitating the passage of the army to Pasco, a distance not far short of 200 leagues from Caxamarca, over the most rugged districts of the most mountainous country in the world. The labour of rendering tracks passable over such abrupt ridges, and along tremendous precipices; of erecting sheds at intervals on the long, barren, and uninhabited tracts of country; and of forming magazines of barley and maize for the cavalry, must have been immense. About 6000 head of horned cattle, collected from Caxamarca and the adjoining provinces, followed the army at the distance of two or three days' march, in charge of a commissary, who supplied the division, whenever provisions could not be procured where they halted. Every precaution was taken that experience could suggest,* and the most rigid discipline was observed. Unmolested by the

* The horses were shod on all four feet, (not commonly practised in South America,) and were kept well clothed in blankets during the night, in crossing the cordillera, by which means they effected the passage without serious loss.

royalists, who remained inactive in their cantonments at Xauxa, the patriots issued from the horrible defiles of the mountains; and on the 2d of August, Bolivar reviewed his army, 9000 strong, on the plain between Rancas and Pasco. An energetic address from the Liberator, which was read to each corps at the same moment, produced indescribable enthusiasm.

Roused at length from his dream of security, Canterac had, on the 5th of August, advanced to Carhuamayo, and pushed on with his cavalry to Pasco. But, on learning that the liberating army was in full march on the opposite side of the great lake, he fell back upon his infantry. On the 6th, he continued his retreat, while the Independents pursued their march along the southern extremity of the lake, in order to intercept the royalists. After a march of five leagues through a mountainous district, the patriots obtained from the elevated ground a sudden view of the enemy, marching, at the distance of two leagues, over the plains of Junin. At four P. M., 900 of the patriot cavalry, having dashed forward, came up within a short distance of the royalist forces, consisting of 8000 infantry, 1200 cavalry, and a proportion of field artillery. Canterac, finding his further retreat endangered, put himself at the head of his cavalry, and ordered a charge. The shock was tremendous, and under circumstances so disadvantageous to the patriots, whose enthusiasm had led them incautiously to place themselves in a most unfavourable position,* that the consequence was a total rout; with the exception of a few of the Colombian cavalry under Major Braun, who cut his way through the assailants, and of a

* They had advanced too far across a defile formed by a rivulet and swampy ground on one side, and an abrupt line of hills on the other, which prevented their deploying.

Peruvian squadron under Lieutenant-Colonel Suares, which happened to be a few hundred yards in the rear. The Spanish cavalry, instead of preserving their original order, now divided in opposite directions, in pursuit of the patriots. This gave opportunity to Suares to advance, unopposed, with his unbroken squadron; and getting completely in their rear, he began to charge in turn those who were pursuing the left of the patriots under Miller, who, embarrassed by the swampy nature of the ground, faced about. The royalists, now in an extended and disorderly state, perceiving themselves threatened in front and rear, began to waver, and fled. The seasonable succour of Suares enabled the routed patriot squadron on the right also to rally; and the Spanish cavalry were soon in a state of disgraceful flight, pursued to the very bayonets of their infantry by comparatively a handful of their opponents. The action lasted about three-quarters of an hour, during which not a shot was fired, the lance and sabre alone being used. The Spaniards lost 19 officers and 345 rank and file in killed, besides 80 prisoners. The loss of the patriots was, 3 officers and 42 rank and file killed; 8 officers and 91 rank and file wounded.

Bolivar had himself directed the first movements of the cavalry; but, on perceiving the dispersion, he galloped back to his infantry, which he posted about a league in the rear; and the next day, notwithstanding the retreat of the royalists, he thought it advisable to order the whole army to fall back upon Reyes. After a halt of thirty-six hours, the army again advanced, and successively occupied Tarma, Xauxa, Huancayo, Guanta, and, on the 24th, Guamanga, where they remained nearly a month. It seems impossible to account for this inactivity on the part of Bolivar, except by sup-

posing, that he did not deem his army strong enough to risk a general action, and that he awaited reinforcements expected from Colombia. Canterac was allowed to retire to Cuzco with little molestation, although his loss by desertion was great. He was there joined by Valdez, who had been recalled by the Viceroy from Potosi, after the affair of Junin. La Serna then placed himself at the head of the united forces, which, by indefatigable exertions, were soon augmented to between twelve and thirteen thousand men.

In the first week of October, the Liberator quitted the army, to return to the coast; leaving instructions with Sucre to go into cantonments at Andahuaylos and Abancay, on the presumption that the approach of the rainy season would prevent the renewal of offensive operations for the present on the part of the royalists. The judgement of Bolivar was here again strangely at fault; as it was manifest that the situation of the patriots would become very critical, should the enemy advance with superior force. Unwilling, however, to act in opposition to the instructions of the Dictator, Sucre did not think proper to advance, (as Miller strenuously recommended,) but he determined to send out reconnoitring parties, to ascertain the plans and strength of the royalists. It soon became evident, that the Viceroy, having been joined by Valdez, was about to commence offensive operations; and the royalists were actually descried in full advance by a party under General Miller, who had pushed on into the valley of Oropesa. The plan of the Viceroy was, to get into the rear of the patriots, so as to cut off their communications with Lima. With this view, he made a detour by the route of Pampachira, and on the 16th of November, reached Guamanga, whence he

made a counter-movement, by taking the high road to Cuzco. Sucre had, in the mean time, fallen back as far as Andahuaylas; and on the 20th, the advanced guard of each army met on the heights of Bombon, near Chincheros. The royalists were driven down into the deep and rugged valley of Pomacochas; and, crossing the river, they bivouacked upon the opposite heights. The hostile forces were within two miles of each other, as the bird flies; but the distance, by the tortuous track by which it is necessary to descend and ascend, is at least ten. A series of movements and counter-movements now took place, most harassing to the patriots; but they retreated in the best order, notwithstanding a skirmish on the 3d of November, in the valley of Corpaguayco, in which their rear-guard was overpowered, with the loss of their field-train depôt, the spare horses, and one of the two remaining field-pieces. Sucre conducted the retreat with skill; but his numbers became so alarmingly reduced by casualties, that nothing but some desperate effort seemed likely to save his army from destruction. The Indians of Guanta, Huancavelica, Chincheros, Huando, and the adjacent villages, had been induced to rise against the patriots; and upwards of 100 sick were massacred, together with their escort, and the escorts of some of the baggage. The Viceroy, determined to play a sure game, advanced with the greatest caution; and the most rigid discipline was enforced, to prevent the possibility of desertion. He even refrained from sending out detachments in search of cattle, and avoided entering the villages, so that the royalists suffered still more than the patriots, from want of provisions.

At length, on the 6th of December, the patriots had reached the village of Quinua; and the royalists, by

entering Guamanguilla, once more cut off their retreat, placing them in a situation extremely critical. On the afternoon of the 8th, the Viceroy moved from Guamanguilla, and occupied, with his whole force, the heights of Condorkanki, just without gun-shot of the encampment of the patriots. Two hours before sunset, a royalist battalion of light infantry descended the hill, and extended itself at the foot; and some sharp skirmishing in extended files took place in view of the two armies.* The night which succeeded, was one of deeply anxious interest. A battle on the following day was inevitable; and that battle was to decide the destinies of South America. "The patriots," continues Mr. Miller, "were aware that they had to contend against twice their own numbers, and that nothing but a decisive victory could save them and their country from ignominious servitude. They knew full well, what would be the cruel policy of the Spaniards, if they proved victorious. Every one felt that the approaching battle was to have no common result.

"Quinua, an Indian village, is on the western extremity of the plain of Ayacucho, the shape of which is nearly square, about a league in circumference, and flanked right and left by deep, rugged ravines. In the rear of the plain, or towards the west, is a gradual descent of two leagues to the main road from Guamanga to Guanta, which runs along the base of a mountain range, that rises like a wall with no apparent outlet. The eastern boundary of the plain is formed by the abrupt and rugged ridge of Condor-

* "The interest of the scene," says Mr. Miller, "was much enhanced by occasional cessations of firing, by tacit consent; during which intervals, several officers of the opposite parties approached each other, and conversed." In one instance, those who thus met, were brothers!

kanki, which gigantic bulwark, running north and south, overlooks the field of Ayacucho. A little below the summit of this ridge, was perched the royalist army.

"The liberating army was drawn up on the plain, in front of the Spaniards, at the distance of about a mile, having Quinua in the rear, each corps formed in close column, to await the attack of the royalists.

"During the night of the 8th, a brisk fire was maintained between the royalist and patriot out-posts. It was the object of Sucre, to prevent the royalists descending in the night. For this purpose, the bands of two battalions were sent with a company near to the foot of the ridge, and continued playing for some time, whilst a sharp fire was kept up. This feint had the desired effect, for the royalists did not stir from their lines.

"At nine A.M., the division Villalobos began to descend. The Viceroy on foot placed himself at its head, and the files wound down the craggy side of Condorkanki, obliquing a little to their left. The division Monet, forming the royalist right, commenced at the same time to defile directly into the plain. The cavalry, leading their horses, made the same movement, though with greater difficulty, at intervals between the infantry of each division. As the files arrived on the plain, they formed into column. This was a moment of extraordinary interest. It appeared as though respiration were suspended by feelings of anxiety, mingled with doubts and hope.

"It was during this operation, which had an imposing effect, that General Sucre rode along his own line, and, addressing a few emphatic words to each corps, recalled to memory its former achievements. He then placed himself in a central point, in front of

his line, and in an inspiring tone of voice, said, 'That upon the efforts of that day depended the fate of South America;' then, pointing to the descending columns, he assured his men, 'that another day of glory was about to crown their admirable constancy.' This animating address of the General produced an electric effect, and was answered by enthusiastic '*vivas*.'

"By the time that rather more than half the royalist divisions Monet and Villalobos had reached and formed upon the arena, General Sucre ordered the division Cordova and two regiments of cavalry to advance to the charge. The gallant Cordova dismounted,* and placed himself about fifteen yards in front of his division, formed into four parallel columns with the cavalry in the intervals. Waving his hat above his head, he exclaimed, *Adelante, con paso de vencedores* (onwards with the step of conquerors). These words were heard distinctly throughout the columns, which, inspired by the gallant bearing of their leader, moved to the attack in the finest possible order. The Spaniards stood firmly and full of apparent confidence. The Viceroy, Monet, and Villalobos, were seen at the head of their divisions, superintending the formation of their columns as they reached the plain. The hostile bayonets crossed, and for three or four minutes, the two parties were seen struggling together, so as to leave it doubtful which would give way. At this moment, the Colombian cavalry, headed by Colonel Silva, charged. This brave officer fell covered with wounds, but the intrepidity of the onset

* Plunging his sword into his charger, he exclaimed to his troops: "There lies my last horse; I have now no means of escape, and we must fight it out together."

was irresistible. The royalists lost ground, and were driven back with great slaughter. The Vice-king was wounded and taken prisoner. As the fugitives climbed the sides of Condorkanki, the patriots kept up a well-directed fire, and numbers of the enemy were seen to drop and roll down, till their progress was arrested by the brush-wood or some jutting crag.

"General Miller, who had accompanied Cordova's division, perceiving its complete success, returned to the regiment of Usares de Junin, which fortunately, as it turned out, had been left in reserve.

"At dawn of day, the royalist division Valdez had commenced a detour of nearly a league. Descending the sides of Condorkanki on the north, Valdez placed himself on the left of the patriots at musket-shot distance, separated by a ravine. At the important moment of the battle, just described, he opened a heavy fire from four field-pieces and a battalion in extended files. By this, he obliged two battalions of the Peruvian division La Mar to fall back. The Colombian battalion Bargas, sent to support the Peruvian division, also began to give way. Two royalist battalions crossed the deep ravine, already spoken of, on the left, and advanced in double quick time in pursuit of the retiring patriots. At this critical juncture, General Miller led the hussars of Junin against the victorious Spaniards, and by a timely charge drove them back, and followed them across the ravine, being further supported by the *granaderos à cavallo* and by the division La Mar, which had rallied. The artillery of Valdez were taken; his cavalry retired; and his infantry dispersed.

"The royalists had now lost the battle, and fled to the ridge from which they had descended, in the morning, with so much confidence. The action lasted

an hour. Of the royalists, 1400 were killed, and 700 wounded. The loss on the part of the patriots was 370 killed, and 609 wounded.

"The royalists, upon regaining the heights of Condorkanki, rallied as many of their defeated troops as they possibly could. The patriot divisions La Mar and Lara gained the summit of the heights at about one P.M. Before sunset, Canterac sued for terms, and an hour afterwards, rode down to the tent of Sucre, where a capitulation was agreed upon. The Viceroy La Serna,* Generals Canterac,† Valdez,‡ Carratala, Monet, Villalobos, and 10 others, 16 colonels, 68 lieutenant-colonels, 484 officers, and 3200 rank and file, became prisoners of war. The rest had dispersed." §

* "La Serna commenced his career in the artillery, and when lieutenant-colonel, served under Palafox, at Saragoza, in 1809. He was created Conde de los Andes on the very day of the battle of Ayacucho. Having withdrawn from public life, he now resides in his native town of Xeres de la Frontera, in Andalusia."

† "General Canterac is a Frenchman, whose parents emigrated to Spain in 1792. He first served in the Spanish artillery, and then in the cavalry. When a subaltern, he was a good deal employed in active partisan warfare, and signalized himself by his intelligence and bravery. He served on the staff of O'Donnel. Canterac is a disciplinarian, an excellent tactician, and possesses a fine address. He is turned of forty, is unemployed at present, and resides at Valladolid, where he has lately married."

‡ General Valdez, born in 1786, at Placentia in Estremadura, was educated for the bar, but took arms on the French invasion of the Peninsula. In 1811, he was aide-de-camp to Ballasteros, and was supposed to be the writer of that General's remonstrance to the Regency upon their nominating Lord Wellington generalissimo. He retired with Ballasteros on his removal from command, but, in 1813, was again employed, and served with distinction. In 1815, he accompanied General La Serna to Peru, as chief of the staff. He is, in his manners, violent, abrupt, overbearing, and uncourteous, very negligent of personal appearance or comforts, remarkably disinterested, a thorough soldier, "feared by his officers, but idolized by his men." He is now second in command of the province of Arragon.

§ Miller, vol. ii. pp. 194—201.

The battle of Ayacucho is pronounced by Mr. Miller, "the most brilliant ever fought in South America." The troops on both sides were in a state of discipline that would have been creditable to the best European armies; the ablest generals and chiefs of either party were present; and every man fought with undaunted bravery.* The plan of the royalists was, to wait until Valdez had out-flanked the left of Sucre's position, upon which the whole army was to advance and complete the victory. The mistake of the Viceroy in attacking at all, originated in suffering himself to be impelled to it by the eagerness of his troops, whose patience had been worn out by the terrible marches. After the battle, many Spanish officers, availing themselves of the terms of the capitulation, received their passports, and set out for Spain: a few remained to settle their private affairs. Some of the royalist soldiers entered the patriot battalions, but the greater part dispersed and returned to their homes.

General Sucre, determined to lose no time in following up his advantage, ordered General Gamarra to march with a Peruvian battalion for Cuzco. The Spanish garrison there under Alvarez, surrendered on the 25th of December, conformably to the capitulation of Ayacucho. General Tristan (who shamefully broke his parole in 1813) now assumed the title of Viceroy, and made some efforts to maintain himself in that character; but, disappointed in his hopes of support, he surrendered with a small garrison at Arequipa, to a patriot colonel sent from Guamanga to that city.

* "The men of one squadron, and all the officers of a royalist cavalry regiment, wore silver helmets. These became the objects of the particular attention of the patriot soldiers in the pursuit. Some had the presence of mind to save themselves by throwing off these gorgeous casques."

Olañeta, however, was still at the head of about 4000 troops in Upper Peru, and he obstinately refused to listen to any proposals.

Having allowed his troops to rest for a fortnight in Cuzco, Sucre advanced upon Puno, where he learned that the royalist garrisons of Cochabamba, Chuquisaca, and Santa Cruz de la Sierra, had declared for the patriots; and that Colonel Lanza, who, during nearly the whole struggle for independence, held possession of the valleys of Yungas, had entered La Paz. Leaving General Miller as prefect and commandant-general of the department of Puno,* Sucre marched to give battle to Olañeta; and he had reached Chuquisaca, in April 1825, when tidings were received of the death of Olañeta, who had been mortally wounded at Tumusla, (16 leagues S. of Potosi,) in an affray with a body of his own troops, who, headed by Colonel Medina Celi, had risen against their general. The few remaining adherents of Olañeta were speedily obliged to surrender; and thus, the whole of Peru was freed from its enemies, excepting the garrison of Callao, which still held out under General Rodil.

Bolivar, on quitting the liberating army, had taken up his residence at Chancay. Lima was permanently held by neither party, but was alternately in the possession of each. The royalists, however, retained it longer than the patriots, who generally confined their attempts to sending in a few *montoneros*, who seldom remained there a considerable time. Being at length re-inforced with Colombian troops, who arrived subsequently to the battle of Ayacucho, General Salom was enabled closely to invest Callao, while the patriot squadron under Admiral Guise, blockaded it by sea.

* He was subsequently appointed president (or prefect) of Potosi.

During the protracted siege, the patriot troops suffered very severely from ague, and many hundreds died. The besieged suffered still more from a pestilential fever, which broke out in consequence of a scarcity of fresh provisions, and carried off several thousands. Many whole families of the highest rank, who had shut themselves up with Rodil, became exterminated.* Undismayed by these surrounding horrors, that General obstinately persisted in his gallant but unavailing defence. He suppressed several attempts at mutiny on the part of the garrison, and sustained bombardment from both the Peruvian squadron and the batteries of the investing army. Having thus held out unaided for nearly thirteen months, during part of which time the garrison subsisted on the flesh of horses, asses, and dogs, he was reduced by absolute famine to the last extremity, and capitulated upon honourable terms, on January 19, 1826.† "The last link of the chain that had but lately bound seventeen millions of Americans to the tottering monarchy of Spain, was thus finally broken."

The Provinces of Upper Peru had, previously to the Revolution, formed part of the Viceroyalty of Buenos Ayres.‡ "As, however, the manners, customs, and even language of the majority of the inhabitants were extremely dissimilar to those of the natives of the provinces of the Rio de la Plata, the Argentine Republic

* Out of above 4000 of the unfortunate people who retired to Callao, not more than 200, says Mr. Miller, survived the ravages of famine and epidemic disease. Of the numerous family of Torre Tagle, every individual perished.

† Rodil is now commandant-general of the guards in Madrid.

‡ A few days after the affair of Ayacucho, and before the news could have reached Brazil, a party of about 200 troops took possession of the province of Chiquitos in the name of the Emperor, but they speedily retired before the patriots.

generously and judiciously," Mr. Miller says, "relinquished its claim, and concurred in allowing it to decide upon its own political destiny, conformably to the known views of the Liberator and General Sucre. The latter was to continue the exercise of the supreme power until a new government should be duly organized. A general assembly of deputies met at Chuquisaca in August 1825, and proclaimed the national will to be, that Upper Peru should become an independent nation. The deputies having fulfilled the object for which they had been convened, it was hoped, rather than expected, that they would have separated in order to make way for a general legislative body. Unwilling, however, to relinquish the captivating title of legislators, they continued their session, and assuming congressional powers, passed various laws. They decreed, that Upper Peru should in future be called BOLIVIA. They put forth a declaration of Independence, very proper in its intention, but so pompously written as almost to throw an air of ridicule over the whole proceeding. A million of dollars was voted to Bolivar as a reward for his past eminent services; but the Liberator, with characteristic disinterestedness and magnanimity, accepted the grant only upon condition that the money should be employed in purchasing the liberty of about one thousand negro slaves existing in Bolivia. A million of dollars was also voted to those who had served in the campaign of 1824."

This assembly having dissolved itself on the 6th of October, a general congress was summoned for the following May. In the mean time, Bolivar, having re-assembled at Lima the deputies of the congress of Lower Peru, resigned to them (February 10, 1825) his Dictatorship; but, being solicited to remain at the

head of affairs, he, with the appearance and expressions of reluctance, acceded to the wishes of the people. Having decreed the convention of a new congress in the February of 1826, the Dictator set out from Lima in April, on a triumphal progress through the country which had received his name. "On Bolivar's approach to the capitals of departments, the prefects, at the head of the public authorities, accompanied by a great part of the population, went out to meet him; and he was received with a degree of pomp and rejoicing highly flattering to his feelings. Triumphal arches were raised; costly presents were made to him; and grand dinners, balls, and bull-fights were given. The same honours were paid him, on a smaller scale, at every town and village through which he passed. Cuzco and Potosi struck medals of copper, silver, and gold, to commemorate the Liberator's arrival in those cities." *

In January 1826, Bolivar quitted Chuquisaca, in order to be present at the installation of the Congress at Lima, at which, it seems, he was expected again to resign his absolute power. Several of the deputies arrived in the capital a short time before the day fixed for the opening of the session; and many of them expressed their sentiments very freely as to the propriety of the Colombian troops being withdrawn from the Peruvian territory, agreeably to the declaration of Bolivar, that, when the Independence of Peru should be achieved, he would return with all his troops, without carrying away even a grain of sand. The deputies had gone so far as to hold their preparatory meeting, when they received orders from Bolivar to submit their qualifications to examination by the

* Miller, vol. ii. p. 302.

supreme court of justice. They contended, that they formed themselves the proper tribunal for such scrutiny; and an altercation ensued between them and Dr. Unanue, president of the council of government. Bolivar, upon hearing of this refractory disposition, threatened to quit Peru. Petitions that Congress might *not* be installed, were now got up. Their prayer was acceded to. The deputies returned to their homes, and the Liberator consented to remain. Santa Cruz was named by Bolivar president of the council; and in June he entered upon the office.*

It was about this period, that Bolivar framed a constitution for the new republic of Bolivia, which was submitted to the Congress installed at Chuquisaca in May 1826. Upon the report of the committee appointed to examine this legislative instrument, it was resolved to adopt it; and it was sworn to by the people accordingly. In conformity to its provisions, a *presidente vitalicio* (president for life) was to be elected; and the choice fell, of course, upon Sucre. He consented to accept the office, however, only for two years, and upon condition that 2000 Colombian troops should be permitted to remain with him. To these conditions, Congress acceded.

"The Liberator," remarks Mr. Miller, "was, no doubt, exceedingly desirous that the *Code Boliviano* should be also adopted in Peru. From the highly flattering manner in which he had been received in his tour through the provinces, he had, perhaps, been induced to imagine, and certainly with some appearance of probability, that whatever he recommended would be implicitly acceded to. He was confirmed in this erroneous way of thinking by those around

* The offer was made by Bolivar to La Mar, but indisposition disabled him from undertaking the office.

him, and by others who constantly advocated the necessity of what they called a 'strong government.' This opinion was sustained by some of the ablest and best informed men in office, whose personal interest induced them to mislead Bolivar on this point; in which they were seconded by others anxious for place and emolument. These gentlemen reasoned as if every cause of complaint was to be traced to demagogues and party spirit, which a strong government would, as they persisted in declaring, have been able to keep down. But they forgot that no government in Peru could be really strong and durable, unless supported by public opinion; and they overlooked the inapplicability of remedies which might, perhaps, better suit the meridian of Europe.

"The Peruvians, freed from the apprehension of danger from Spain, began to feel with impatience the burden of supporting expensive allies; and although the Colombian troops observed the strictest discipline, their national manners and habits were widely different and uncongenial to those of the Peruvians. The *Code Boliviano* was therefore unpopular with the majority; and the very efforts made to prepare the minds of the Peruvians to accept the constitution, increased their aversion to it. For a long time before this, an anti-Colombian spirit had existed: this spirit now led to the formation of a strong party. To distaste, succeeded avowed disgust and open discontent. A conspiracy was discovered, having, it was said, for its object, the assassination of General Bolivar, and the expulsion of the Colombians. Although many affirmed that it was limited to a few subalterns, and others, that it was altogether imaginary, strong measures were taken. A supreme tribunal was formed to meet the exigency; and its members, the learned

Doctores Estenos, Pancorvo, and Freyre, rivalled the zeal displayed by Rivadeneyra, who had been president of a permanent court-martial. Lieutenant Aristizabal, a Peruvian, was condemned to be shot. His last exclamations were, that he died to serve his country. A guerrilla chief, named Ninavilca, and several others, who had all fled, were condemned, *par contumace*, to be strangled, in contravention of the decree passed on the 3d of January, 1822, by which that mode of punishment was abolished. Colonel Vidal, whose courage, activity, and military talents, as well as excellent private character for probity and the purest patriotism, have always been thrown too much in the shade by his natural diffidence, escaped to the interior; but he was sentenced to be cashiered, and to ten years' exile. Others were condemned in like manner to similar punishments. Admiral Guise was tried, but acquitted. Every Buenos-Ayrean or Chileno resident in Peru, was ordered by the Council of Government to present himself in the capital. Generals Necochea and Correa, Colonels Estomba and Raulet, and many highly respectable merchants, (among whom was Don Juan José Sarratea, known for his patriotism from the very commencement of the Buenos-Ayrean revolution,) were ordered to quit the country. Necochea indignantly sent in his commission as a general of Peru, and some bills which had been given to him in payment of a grant in reward for past services; declaring, that he would carry nothing from Peru but his wounds. The Council of Government coolly received the resignation and the bills, but had not the courtesy to acknowledge the receipt of General Necochea's letter inclosing them.

"The affairs of Peru were again enveloped in gloom; and persons of property and friends to tran-

quillity became exceedingly apprehensive of the return of anarchy. These alarms were considerably augmented, among a numerous class, by the announcement of Bolivar's second determination to quit the country. He had fixed on the 13th of August for the day of his departure. The most frightful tumults were foreboded; and it was said, that Government would be reduced to a chaos. The public mind continued in a state of fearful excitement from the morning of the 13th until the evening of the 16th. The advocates for the formation of a *strong government*, used every argument in their power to induce his Excellency to alter his professed determination, and employed all their influence to prevail upon the people to second their wishes." *

If credit may be given to the florid statements of the Lima journalists, the municipality, the army, the church, all the bodies corporate, the matrons of the city, the peasantry of the provinces, all with one accord, by deputations and petitions, implored the Liberator to remain with them, in terms of the grossest adulation; and when at length he yielded to their importunities, loud acclamations filled the city, the church bells were set ringing, and kept up their thundering harmony all night, while a grand ball concluded the dramatic scene.† On the following morning, the electoral college of the province and that of the city of Lima resolved, that the Bolivian constitution should be adopted in Peru, and that Bolivar

* Miller, vol. ii. pp. 340—345.

† The performers in this farce, Mr. Miller says, were rewarded in proportion to their utility and subserviency. "With the exception of the praise uttered by those immediately dependent upon the smiles of the Liberator, it may be confidently asserted, that not one grain of sincerity was mingled with the flatteries which saluted the ear of His Excellency at that truly histrionic exhibition."

should be named *Presidente Vitalicio.* Their example was followed by the other provincial colleges, with the exception of that of Tarapaca. Bolivar, now President for life elect, had received despatches, however, from Bogota, informing him that General Paez had refused to obey the orders of the Executive Government; and he determined upon returning to adjust these unhappy differences. A farewell entertainment was given on the 2d of September; and the next day, Bolivar sailed for Guayaquil, leaving Santa Cruz at the head of the government, and reached Bogota on the 14th of November.

We must now leave the Peruvians for a while in the enjoyment of the Code Bolivar, while we advert to the circumstances which so peremptorily required the return of the Liberator to Colombia.

Neither Venezuela nor Quito had ever very cordially united in the constitution of the Colombian Republic; and the Executive Government at Bogota, aware of this lurking dissatisfaction, had taken the utmost pains to conciliate the inhabitants of the eastern provinces more especially, as well as the most judicious precautions against any disturbance of the public tranquillity. Notwithstanding the disaffection which vented itself, through the medium of the press, in acrimonious attacks upon the Bogota Government and Legislature, all went on pretty quietly, till, in 1824, the Executive issued a decree (agreeably to the provision of the first congress in 1821) for a general enlistment, in the militia, of all citizens between the ages of sixteen and fifty. In eleven of the departments, the decree was carried into execution without exciting any symptom of repugnance. In Venezuela alone, it encountered opposition of the most determined character; and General Paez, the Governor of

the department, had at length recourse to calling in a military patrole, in order to compel the citizens to submit to be enrolled. Of this violent exercise of arbitrary power, as it was deemed, the intendant and municipality of Caracas made indignant and exaggerated representations to the Congress; and in a transport of zeal for the liberties of the people, the legislative body thought proper, without further evidence, to institute an impeachment against the General. On receiving the order, with notice of his consequent suspension from command, Paez was thrown into a transport of anger; but, in letters addressed to persons of distinction at Bogota, he declared his determination to yield obedience to the Legislature, and he apparently betook himself to making preparations for his departure to the capital. The intelligence, however, excited at Valencia, where Paez appears to have been especially popular, a strong sensation, which was probably worked upon by secret agitators. The issue was a popular tumult. The people filled the air with cries of *Viva Paez!* and rushing to the General's house, conducted him to the assembled municipality, where he was, by acclamation, invested with the authority of military chief, which he accepted. Whatever secret influence he acted under, or whatever were his original intentions, by accepting a command thus illegally tendered, he placed himself in open resistance to the constituted authorities of the Republic. As a pretext for these proceedings, the insurgents of Valencia, identifying themselves with the anti-constitutional party in Venezuela, declared their aim to be, the promotion of reforms in the constitution. The municipality of Caracas precipitately confirmed the act of Valencia; and, from a dread (as is supposed) of the insurgent soldiery, other towns followed the example. An assembly of delegates from

various *cabildos* of Venezuela and Apure, subsequently met at Valencia, declared Paez innocent of the crime for which he was impeached, and proposed a grand convention. Paez, meanwhile, made arrangements for withstanding any attack from the Government; uniformly declaring, however, that he should act wholly on the defensive, and appealing to Bolivar as the great mediator and umpire to accommodate all the national differences. In his public manifestoes, he charged the Congress with having wantonly precipitated a revolution by admitting of his impeachment. He removed the regular officers commanding at Puerto Cabello and La Guayra, appointing partisans of his own in their stead, and raising new troops; thus, in effect, holding military occupation of Venezuela.

When intelligence of these proceedings reached Bogota, the Vice-president, with exemplary discretion, began by addressing a confidential letter to Paez, urging upon him the criminality of his conduct. This proving ineffectual, he issued a manifesto, containing a complete vindication of the course taken by the Executive. But, reluctant to appeal to the decision of arms, the Central Government seemed disposed, like the Venezuelans, to refer the dispute to Bolivar, whose return from Peru was now earnestly demanded.

Matters remained nearly in this state for several months. Cumana, Barcelona, Maracaybo, Cartagena, and Margarita, successively declared in favour of Paez and of a federal union. General Bermudez, however, who commanded in the department of Orinoco, issued a proclamation denouncing the movements of the insurgents; and being joined by the battalion of Apure, which had deserted Paez, he prepared to invest Cumana, in order to enforce the authority of the laws, but was repulsed. At Truxillo a slight conflict took

place between the garrison and a party of the soldiers of Paez. But all parties seemed averse to commencing hostilities, and for the most part declared their willingness to abide by the decision of Bolivar.

The personal influence of this extraordinary man must, indeed, be singularly great, according to the representation given of the effects of his appearance, making every allowance for a general willingness to see public tranquillity restored. On arriving at Bogota, he entered upon the exercise of the extraordinary powers with which the constitution invested the President, in cases of interior commotion threatening the security of the Republic. "To re-establish the financial credit of the state, by directly reducing the expenditure, and by introducing sundry changes in the civil and military administration of the government with that view, was," we are told, "the first act of his discretionary authority. Remaining but a few days at Bogota, he hastened to the immediate scene of convulsion, followed by a numerous suite, but with nothing deserving the name of a military force. He issued decrees in all the principal towns, enjoining a cessation of hostilities, and obedience to the constituted authorities; and was received by the inhabitants with every demonstration of enthusiastic welcome. On Bolivar's arrival at Maracaybo, Puerto Cabello, Valencia, and Caracas, successively, every vestige of insurrection disappeared before him. He reached Valencia at the end of the year; and early in January, fixed his head-quarters at Caracas. Assuming the immediate government of the departments of Venezuela, Apure, Orinoco, and Zulia, he proclaimed an amnesty for all things done or said with reference to reform, guaranteeing to protect the persons, property, and offices of individuals, notwithstanding their having

been engaged in that cause, and pledging himself to convoke a great national convention, in order to determine the fate of the Republic. To put a finishing hand to the work of pacification, he recognised Paez as superior chief of Venezuela, and General Mariño as commandant-general of Maturin. With these events, all the signs of approaching civil war and violent political convulsion, terminated."*

On his return to the capital, His Excellency endeavoured to procure the adoption of his favourite code by the Colombians, in order that it might, according to the language of its advocates, extend from Potosi to the Orinoco. The grand confederacy of Bolivia, Peru, and Colombia under one supreme president, began to be talked of as an event close at hand. But the *Code Boliviano* was as unpopular in Colombia as in Peru; and the attempt to introduce it, has hitherto been equally unsuccessful.†

On the 9th of December, 1826, the anniversary of the battle of Ayacucho, the ceremony of swearing to the Bolivian constitution was observed throughout the provinces of Peru, in pursuance of a decree of the Council of Government. But the genuine expression of popular feeling could not longer be smothered by the efforts of the public authorities. The new-fangled code was scarcely less disliked by the Colombian troops

* N. Amer. Review, No. lvi., art. "*Insurrection of Paez.*" As this article is compiled from documents published at Bogota and Valencia, we have deemed it, at least as regards the facts, good authority. Paez is a mulatto, and has been aptly styled the Blucher of the Colombians.

† "The democratic party," says Mr. Miller, "considered that the *Presidente Vitalicio* was in effect an elective monarch, with the additional power of nominating his successor; a principle diametrically opposite to that which Bolivar professed to act upon throughout the struggle for Independence."

in Peru, than by the Peruvians. No sooner was Bolivar gone, than this spirit manifested itself; and the Peruvians began to devise measures for getting rid of the system and the Colombians together. Colonel Bustamante, a young Colombian, commenced the revolt, by repairing, with a party whom he had engaged in his enterprise, on the night of the 26th of January, 1827, to the quarters of Generals Lara and Sands, and arresting them in their beds, together with such other Colombian chiefs as they deemed inimical to their plans. Lara had been forewarned of the plot, but had totally discredited the report. Bustamante, having chartered a vessel, shipped off the arrested officers for Guayaquil. The immediate effect of this bold measure was, the resignation of the ministers; and a new ministry was formed; but Santa Cruz (who happened to be out of Lima at the time) was continued at the head of affairs. In the ministerial journals which announced this change, Bolivar was spoken of with respect; but applause was bestowed upon the resolution of the new administration to prevent *foreign* interference in Peruvian affairs.

The Government were now impatiently desirous that the Colombian troops should quit Peru altogether. The principal difficulty in effecting this, arose from want of money, as it was necessary to pay them all arrears before they could be embarked. By great exertions, 200,000 dollars were scraped together, three-fourths of which were distributed among the troops, and the remainder was employed to defray the expenses of conveying them by sea to Guayaquil, to which place they all sailed with Colonel Bustamante, in March 1827.

The people of Peru now almost unanimously declared, that the Bolivian Code had been forced upon them, and that the electoral colleges had not powers to

decide upon its adoption, it being the province of a general congress alone to determine upon the form of government by which the country should be ruled. Orders were issued for the election of deputies for a new congress, which assembled at Lima on the 4th of June. The Bolivian constitution was now disdainfully flung aside; and General La Mar* was elected President of the Republic, with Don Manuel Salazar y Baquijano as Vice-president. The nomination of La Mar, Mr. Miller says, gave universal satisfaction, and was hailed as an auspicious event. Unfortunately, led away by his wish to conciliate all parties, "he lent too ready an ear to the noisy declamations of certain learned orators," who counselled the assuming a formidable military attitude, in order to prevent the encroachments of Colombia. Instead of reducing the standing army, and thereby bringing the expenditure within the public resources, La Mar unwisely augmented it to 12,000 men; a number which absorbed the revenues, and gave rise to all kinds of oppression and extortion.

* La Mar is a native of Guayaquil, but was educated in Spain. In 1793, he served with credit as lieutenant in the campaign of Roussillon. In 1808, Major La Mar was one of the heroic defenders of Saragossa, where he was wounded. He afterwards commanded a grenadier column in the province of Valencia. In 1814, he was advanced to the rank of brigadier; and in 1816, set out for Lima, with the appointment of inspector-general of the army of Peru. After capitulating at Callao, he sent in his resignation to the Viceroy. "President La Mar," says Mr. Miller, "is a man of cultivated mind, of mild, persuasive, and refined manners; he is much beloved and highly respected; and has no personal, and very few political enemies. Perhaps, the only defect in his political character is the trait of occasional indecision. He is fifty years of age, and has lately had the misfortune to lose a most amiable wife, sister to H. E. Señor Don Vicente Rocafuerte, the Mexican envoy.

These measures, however, it soon appeared, were but preparatory to the commencement of actual hostilities, for which the menaces of Colombia might furnish a plea, but in which the Peruvians appear to have been actually the aggressors.* The desire of

* In a furious proclamation, issued by General La Mar, dated Tambo Grande, October 12, 1828, he attempts to lay the blame of the aggression upon the Liberator personally, whom he stigmatizes as "the sworn enemy of Peruvian independence, the violater of our national rights; the only man who proclaims despotism on the continent of America." "General Bolivar," continues the Peruvian President, addressing his soldiers, "has dared to declare war against us, his presence on the frontiers being to serve as a signal for the combat. You will conquer the arrogant slaves who accompany him on so fratricidal an enterprise; you will revenge the outrages offered to your honour, the insults heaped upon the Republic," &c. In the *Colombia Gazette* of November 9, this conduct on the part of La Mar is justly reprobated as utterly unbecoming the chief magistrate of a nation. "To content himself with calling him tyrant, who gave liberty to Peru, and with laying the blame of the aggression upon Colombia and Bolivia, when the occupation of the latter and of our frontiers by the Peruvian troops, is still so recent, is the greatest immorality of which a Government can be capable. We can assert, that, to the well-known intentions of Peru to subjugate Bolivia, General Sucre opposed only the precautionary measures which his duty dictated; and we can clearly disprove the intention attributed to both Republics, of uniting in a war against Peru, by the single fact, that, at the very time when this combination would have taken effect, our Government had considerably reduced the army of the south." One of the most curious documents that have appeared in the Colombian papers, is a proclamation from Riva Aguero, dated Santiago, September 12, 1828, in which he announces his intention to come to their aid as their legitimate president. In this proclamation, he refers to the treacherous defection of Torre Tagle and his other enemies;—remarks, that Peru would still have been Spain's, had not the genius of Bolivar interposed;—and tells the Peruvians, that the men who at that time endeavoured to sell their country to the common enemy, are the same who had now engaged them in an iniquitous struggle with a warlike nation. "The war you are waging against Colombia, is impolitic, and will cover you with ignominy. The personal complaints of General La Mar are not just,

taking possession of Guayaquil, and of rendering it a Peruvian port, appears to have been one motive for their declaring war. There were, however, other grounds of dispute. The principal one on the part of Colombia, was the non-payment of the debt due from Peru, amounting to about 3,595,000 dollars. But the foundations of the dispute were more deeply laid in personal animosities and national jealousy. The hatred of the Peruvians to the Colombians is represented, by Mr. Miller, to be not less strong, and perhaps more unanimous, than that which they once entertained for the Spaniards.

On the declaration of war on the part of Peru, Bolivar marched to Popayan with 10,000 men, 3000 of whom he despatched to Guayaquil, to defend that place against the expected attack of the Peruvian squadron under Admiral Guise; but, on the 21st of January, 1828, the city appears to have surrendered to the Peruvian Admiral. The army now entered the Colombian territory; and at Tarqui, near Jiron, in Quito, a sanguinary conflict took place, on the 25th of February, in which, after a gallant resistance, a considerable portion of the Peruvian army was destroyed. On the following day, preliminaries of peace were agreed to between the commissioners chosen on either side, the terms of which reflect great honour upon the moderation and equity of the conquerors. The chief stipulations are: That the military forces in the north of Peru shall be reduced to the footing of garrisons; that commissioners shall determine the limits of the two states, on the basis of the political division of the

causes for war. He blinds you: do not confide in his hypocritical discourses. Sheath your parricidal swords." Mr. Miller states, that it was at the invitation of Riva Aguero, that Bolivar took the command of all the military forces in Peru.

viceroyalties of New Granada and Lima, in August 1809; that the Peruvian Government shall discharge its debt to the Colombian army engaged in the war of Peruvian independence; that neither Republic shall interfere in the form of government or domestic affairs of the other, and that the independence of the Bolivian Republic shall be respected by both; and that, as soon as the treaty of peace shall be ratified, the Government of the United States of North America shall be solicited to guarantee the fulfilment of its stipulations in the character of mediator.*

Not content with expelling the Colombian troops from their own territory, the Government of Lima had lent their aid to an anti-Colombian party in Bolivia, in bringing about a revolution in that Republic. Although General Sucre had been chosen President of Bolivia by the spontaneous voice of the people, legitimately expressed by Congress; and although his proposal to retain 2000 Colombian troops for two years, was also assented to by that same Congress; the pride of the Bolivians was mortified by the presence of foreign troops, and they determined to accelerate the departure of their liberators. It is said to have been comparatively a small party, however, most of whom had some personal motives for their dislike to the Colombians, with whom the conspiracy origi-

* This treaty is given in the *Times* of June 22d, 1829, with the ratification of General Sucre, "Grand Marshal of Ayacucho," as "Superior Chief of the South of Colombia,' and General La Mar, as President of Peru. The signature of the former is accompanied with the following remarkable explanation: "Desirous of giving a distinguished testimony and incontestable proof that the Colombian Government is adverse to war, that it loves the people of Peru, and has no wish to abuse the victory obtained, to humiliate Peru, or to take any part of the Peruvian territory, I hereby approve, confirm, and ratify this treaty.

(Signed) ANTONIO JOSE SUCRE."

nated, and who invited the aid of the Peruvian Government to assist them in bringing about the revolution. A force was accordingly sent under Colonel Gamarra, to co-operate with the malcontents; an act which reflects deep disgrace upon the Lima Government, and for which they have been justly punished. "Sucre made a gallant defence, and even after receiving a dangerous wound in the arm, he persevered with redoubled energy. In contending for his rights, he ceded his ground by inches, until, abandoned and overpowered, he capitulated and embarked for his own country. Thus fell," remarks Mr. Miller, "the Conqueror of Ayacucho; but his descent from power was marked by a dignity of conduct worthy of his elevated character." * On arriving off Callao, he generously tendered his offices for attempting a settlement of the differences between the Peruvian and Colombian Governments. The offer was probably unwelcome, as well as too late. On his arrival in Quito, he was named by Bolivar, Superior Chief of the Departments of Southern Colombia; in which capacity he enjoyed the magnanimous revenge of dictating the terms of an equitable pacification to the defeated Peruvians.

While these changes were taking place in Bolivia and Peru, a formidable conspiracy in Colombia threatened, not only the power, but the life of the Liberator. The real character and objects of the plot are but imperfectly known; but it appears to have been the last desperate effort of a republican faction, to

* Miller, vol. ii. p. 364. In an admirable letter to the Peruvian President, dated, "Off Callao, September 10, 1828," (given by Mr. Miller,) the General uses these remarkable expressions: "God grant that I may not be revenged by events and the struggle of pretensions between the very persons that have offended me."

whom the person and the measures of Bolivar were alike odious. At the head of the conspiracy were the ex-general Padilla, and the ex-vice president Santander. The latter had already incurred the sentence of virtual banishment to North America, for treasonable machinations; and he is said to have desired, that the execution of the plot might be delayed till after his arrival in the United States, whence he might return if required.* The conspirators, however, having some suspicion that their designs had been betrayed, fixed on the night of the 25th of September for making their diabolical attempt; and Bolivar appears to have been indebted for his narrow escape to the courage and fidelity of his attendants. Colonels Ferguson and Bolivar† fell in repelling the assassins. Almost immediately afterwards, Padilla is stated to have embraced the Liberator, in the great square of Bogota, congratulating him on his escape. His co-operation in the execrable plot was, however, clearly proved, and he met with his deserved fate on the scaffold, together with the other principal culprits.‡ Santander

* According to the declarations of Colonel Carreo and Florentino Gonzales, two of the conspirators, as well as others, while in prison.

† This officer was no relation of the Liberator's, but both he and Ferguson were much esteemed for bravery, and the latter is said to have been highly appreciated by Bolivar, who made him one of his aides-de-camp. He was a native of Ireland.

‡ Among those who suffered, occur the names of Guerra, Sylva, a commandant of artillery, Zuliva, Professor Azuerro, and Houment. Florentino Gonzales was condemned to ten years' imprisonment *in presidio*. A milder sentence of exile was passed upon the culprits, Carrejo, Ejeguire, Roxas, Diego Gomez, Arevedes, Mendoza, Bueiro, and Agalindo. Besides these, Colonel Obando, one of the ringleaders, escaped, and put himself at the head of some banditti in Popayan; but they were soon dispersed by a party of troops. Santander is said to have carried on a secret correspondence with Obando, and through him to have instigated the Government of Peru to take up arms against Bolivar.

also was condemned to death by the council of war, of which General Urdaneta was president. The Liberator, however, who was delicately situated with regard to General Santander from known personal animosities, was resolved to give him every possible opportunity for his benefit that the laws afforded, and transmitted the sentence for revision to his council of ministers. This high judiciary court commuted the sentence of death for degradation and banishment for life; and the Liberator signed his approval instantly. The reasons publicly assigned by the Council for their lenity towards the arch-conspirator, are somewhat singular, and deserve to be recorded.

"The crime meditated and attempted to be carried into execution was, most certainly, of unutterable atrocity; but, not having been consummated nor followed by the fatal consequences which it might have produced, the shedding of more blood could not now be productive of any salutary effect, but might perhaps rather excite more horror at the punishment than at the crime itself. In such a case, the just moderation of the Government, mercy, the lively desire of re-establishing peace and confidence, and many other considerations not unknown to the Liberator, ought to soften the rigour of justice, and present to the world the contrast of the clemency of a highly offended Government, with the enormity of the crimes of its offenders. If the same proofs of co-operation in the conspiracy of the night of the 25th, existed against General Santander as existed against the defunct ex-general Padilla, the Council would not hesitate a moment in advising the Liberator President to order the sentence pronounced by the district court-martial on the 7th current to be carried into execution. But, as

such proofs do not exist, as the above circumstances have some weight, and as General Santander has proved that he prevented the assassination of the Liberator, which was intended to have been effected in the town of Suacha on the 21st of September; and as it has been clearly made to appear that such assassination was actually contemplated, and did not take place on that day; the Council are of opinion, that the Government would do better to commute the punishment of death into deprivation of office and banishment from the dominions of the Republic, with a prohibition never again to put his foot upon his native soil, without the special permission of the Supreme Government; under condition that, in case he should at any time act contrary to the above prohibition, the punishment of death shall be inflicted upon him by any judge or military chief of the place where he may be apprehended; and that his estates shall be held as it were in trust by the Government, without his having the power to sell, mortgage, or in any way encumber them, in order that they may serve as a pledge of security for his not breaking the aforesaid prohibition, and that they may be confiscated in case he should do so; and also, that, in the mean time, the culprit be allowed to live upon the produce of the said estates. By this proceeding, the Council are of opinion, that the ends of justice will be fulfilled, that the Government will secure the love, admiration, and respect of the people, and, as a necessary consequence, the peace and confidence of the citizens."

According to concurring accounts, Bolivar appears to have conducted himself throughout this painful and trying crisis with signal magnanimity; and his popularity has been naturally augmented by this atrocious

attempt upon his person. This seems the proper place for introducing a brief notice of the life and character of this truly illustrious personage.

Simon Bolivar was born in the city of Caracas, July 24, 1783. His father was D. Juan Vicente Bolivar y Ponte, who held the hereditary office of *regidor alferez real* in the municipality of Caracas; and his mother was Doña Maria Concepcion Palacios y Sojo. He was left an orphan at a very early age. In his sixteenth year, he embarked for Spain, with a view to complete his education; and after finishing his studies at Madrid, he made the tour of France and Italy. On his return to Madrid, he married a lady of one of the first families in Spanish America, the daughter of Don N. Toro, uncle of the Marquess of Toro, in Caracas. But his domestic happiness was of brief duration. He returned with his lady to Caracas, where, a few months after her arrival, she sickened of the yellow fever, and died. To relieve his feelings from the pressure of grief, Bolivar again repaired to Europe, and was present at the coronation of Napoleon. He returned to Caracas, visiting the United States in his way, about the same time that his friend D. Vicente Emparan arrived there as captain-general of Venezuela, to which office he had been appointed, first by King Joseph, and afterwards by the Central Junta of Seville. Soon after the raising of the standard of Independence, in April 1810, Bolivar received from the Junta the rank of colonel, and was sent, together with D. Luis Lopez Mendez, to solicit the protection of Great Britain for the newly formed government. He was well received by the Marquess Wellesley, then secretary for foreign affairs; and the British Government offered its mediation between Spain and her colonies; but the offer was rejected by the Court of

Madrid, and Great Britain maintained a perfect neutrality. Bolivar returned to his own country in company with General Miranda, who was placed in command of the Venezuelan troops; and he served as a member of his staff till the unhappy capitulation of July 1812. His subsequent career has already been traced, from his arrival at Cartagena, in September 1812, up to the complete liberation of Colombia in 1822. On the 16th of June, in that year, the Liberator entered Quito, where his attention was soon attracted to the discontents which had arisen at Guayaquil. His Excellency proceeded to that town, and, under his auspices, the provisional Government annexed the province to Colombia; a measure, however, to which the inhabitants seem never to have been cordially reconciled. The Colombians have always been extremely unpopular there, as well as generally throughout Quito; and ultimately, both Quito and its port will probably be incorporated with Peru.

"The person of Bolivar," says Mr. Miller, "is thin, and somewhat below the middle size. He dresses in good taste, and has an easy military walk. He is a bold rider, and capable of undergoing great fatigue. His manners are good, and his address unaffected, but not very prepossessing. It is said, that, in his youth, he was rather handsome. His complexion is sallow; his hair, originally very black, is now mixed with gray. His eyes are dark and penetrating, but generally downcast or turned askance, when he speaks; his nose is well formed; his forehead high and broad; the lower part of his face is sharp; the expression of the countenance is care-worn, lowering, and sometimes rather fierce. His temper, spoiled by adulation, is fiery and capricious. His opinions of men and things are variable. He is rather prone to personal

abuse, but makes ample amends to those who will put up with it. Towards such, his resentments are not lasting. He is a passionate admirer of the fair sex, but jealous to excess. He is fond of waltzing, and is a very quick, but not a very graceful dancer. His mind is of the most active description. When not more stirringly employed, he is always reading, dictating letters, &c., or conversing. His voice is loud and harsh, but he speaks eloquently on most subjects. His reading has been principally confined to French authors; hence the Gallic idioms so common in his productions. He is an *impressive* writer, but his style is vitiated by an affectation of grandeur.* Speaking so well as he does, it is not wonderful that he should be more fond of hearing himself talk, than of listening to others, and apt to engross conversation in the society he receives. He entertains humerously; and no one has more skilful cooks, or gives better dinners; but he is himself so very abstemious in both eating and drinking, that he seldom takes his place at his own table until the repast is nearly over, having pro-

* On this subject, a writer in the *North American Review* makes the following just remarks: "Strange as it is, we frequently observe faults of taste, nay, dishonest motives, imputed to Bolivar, solely in consequence of the peculiar nature of his vernacular tongue. The chief characteristic of the Spanish language is a spirit of dignity and grandeur. It delights in hyperbole. It deals in picturesque, imaginative expressions. Its inherent vice, therefore, is a tendency to exaggeration. Hence, when we peruse the proclamations and addresses of their public men in poor translations, bald without truth, and literal without exactness, we do extreme injustice to their authors by recurring, for an object of comparison, to the majestic simplicity of our best models. We, moreover, who enjoy the comparatively phlegmatic temperament congenial to the colder zones, should consider the excited feelings of the ardent inhabitants of the South,—

'Souls made of fire, and children of the sun.'"

—North Amer. Rev., No. lvi. p. 112.

bably dined in private upon a plain dish or two. He is fond of giving toasts, which he always prefaces in the most eloquent and appropriate manner; and his enthusiasm is so great, that he frequently mounts his chair, or the table, to propose them. Although the cigar is almost universally used in South America, Bolivar never smokes, nor does he permit smoking in his presence. He is never without proper officers in waiting, and keeps up a considerable degree of etiquette. Disinterested in the extreme, with regard to pecuniary affairs, he is insatiably covetous of fame. Bolivar invariably speaks of England, of her institutions, and of her great men, in terms of admiration. He often dwells with great warmth upon the constancy, fidelity, and sterling merit of the English officers who have served in the cause of Independence, under every varying event of the war. A further proof of his predilection towards England is, that he has always had upon his personal staff, a number of British subjects." *

This portrait has the merit of distinctness, and can hardly be considered as flattering. It is defective, however, in leaving unexplained the personal gifts, the seductive or commanding qualities, to which the Liberator owes his popularity and ascendancy. It is utterly incredible, that Bolivar should so long have retained the distinguished station to which he has been elevated, while he has had to contend with such powerful rivals and such subtle and

* Miller, vol. ii. p. 331, 332. His first aide-de-camp, Colonel O'Leary, is a nephew of the celebrated Father O'Leary, who, at the age of seventeen, embarked in the cause of South American Independence. Lieutenant-Colonel Ferguson, already mentioned, was another. A third aide-de-camp is Lieutenant-Colonel Belford Wilson, son of Sir Robert Wilson. The surgeon who constantly attends Bolivar, is Dr. Moore, an Irishman.

malignant enemies,—that a whole nation should with enthusiasm recognize his title of Liberator,—that he should be deferred to by contending factions as an umpire,—were he possessed of no extraordinary qualities to command admiration. Like San Martin, he has had, in this country as well as in his own, his virulent detractors, who would represent him as aspiring to be "a second Bonaparte, without possessing a single talent for the duties of either the field or the cabinet." * Perhaps, the following remarks upon Bolivar's character, by a French Traveller, M. Mollien, who visited the Republic in 1822, will throw some light upon the qualities to which he owes his greatness.

"The management of his troops was the great art of Bolivar. His partisans, in their enthusiasm, have compared him to Cæsar, but he much more nearly resembles Sertorius. Like him, he had to reduce a savage people to obedience, and to combat a powerful and experienced nation. The places of contest were nearly alike; for there were, in this portion of America, the same difficulties to surmount, in the badness of the roads and the height of the mountains, as existed in Spain, in the time of Sertorius. Like him, Bolivar disconcerted his enemies by the rapidity of his marches, by the suddenness of his attacks, and by the celerity of his retreats, which rendered it easy for him to repair his defeats at a distance. In the mountains, he displayed the same activity as in the plains; and he set an example of sobriety and temperance to his troops, whose numbers he thus increased from those of a small band, until they formed a powerful and irre-

* These expressions, and others more virulent, occur in Hippisley's Narrative of the Expedition to the Orinoco. (London, 1819.) Pp. 464, 524, 527.

sistible army. If his military tactics were different from those of the Spaniards, his conduct was still more so. He knew how to gain the affections of mankind, by pardoning the vanquished and those who had deserted the cause of their country: thus he increased their numbers. The priests even did not refuse him their prayers, for he respected their ministry, which had often been despised by the Spaniards since their wars with the French; and finally, by flattering the pride of the Americans, in constantly extolling their valour and intelligence, he, by these encomiums, rendered the disdain with which the Spaniards treated them, still more insupportable.....His disinterestedness is greatly extolled, his income being principally devoted to the payment of the pensions which he allows to the widows and children of the soldiers who have fallen in battle.

"Although his education has been much neglected, a residence of some length in Europe had given to him a taste for languages and history, in which he made a rapid progress. He has already been compared to Sertorius; and, in fact, his manner of making war, his long marches to come up with the enemy, together with the quickness with which he traverses immense distances, give the idea of a bold partisan, rather than of a general competent to the wielding of large masses. Two thousand more men would probably have embarrassed his plans.

"Nor is he supposed to possess more profound views in the art of governing. He has hitherto contented himself with founding a republic, which is but a bad imitation of that of the United States, and which he can maintain only by a standing army. This is chiefly composed of herdsmen, who followed him from the plains to the heights of Santa Fé. It is in this por-

tion of his troops that he places his chief confidence; and, as the greater part of them belong to the caste of Mulattoes, he is obliged to pay them great attention, and to conciliate them by frequent rewards.*

"A happy chance has hitherto rendered him invulnerable. His enemies therefore say that he possesses no courage; but can this be the case with him who aspires to the supreme government? He is not wanting in eloquence, for his speeches possess great warmth of sentiment, though they are often diffuse; but this, it must be admitted, is a fault difficult to be avoided in the Spanish language." †

In discriminating between the inhabitants of the Cordillera and those of the plains, this Writer observes, that "those of Caracas, in particular, appear to be characterized by vivacity and even self-conceit, when compared with the native of Bogota, who seems to be endowed with a fund of simplicity and good sense." Bolivar is a Venezuelan.

"One great and rare virtue belonging to the character of Bolivar," remarks Colonel Hamilton, "is his thorough disinterestedness and the little regard he pays to himself under the most severe privations; always anxious to share what he has with his companions in arms, even to his last shirt. It is a well-known fact, that he is at this time a poorer man than when first the civil war broke out. He had then some of the finest estates in the neighbourhood of Caracas, cultivated by slaves, producing excellent cocoa, tobacco, and indigo. He gave liberty to almost all his slaves, making only one condition, that they should not serve against the cause of Independence.

* Padilla was a Mulatto, originally a pilot of Cartagena, afterwards raised to the command of a flotilla.

† Mollien's Travels in Colombia, (London, 1824.) pp. 145, 152.

Most of the Negroes entered the Colombian service, and proved excellent soldiers. Bolivar's determined perseverance, under the most disheartening circumstances; his skill, ability, and dexterity in amalgamating the different materials which now form the state of Colombia; his courage and coolness in action; and his prudence and foresight in seizing instantaneously all the advantages to be derived from victory; cannot be too much admired. He is rather hasty in his temper, and frequently, on these occasions, makes use of intemperate expressions, for which he is afterwards extremely sorry and anxious to make atonement to the person whose feelings may have been wounded. But revenge was never harboured in the bosom of this great man." *

Mr. Thomson, Agent to the British and Foreign Bible Society, who had an interview with the Liberator at Lima, in December 1823, speaks of his Excellency in the following terms. "He is in appearance a very modest, unassuming man; very active and intelligent; but I could not read any thing of an extraordinary nature in his countenance. He has not the eye of San Martin, whose glance would pierce you through in a moment. Bolivar's weather-beaten face tells you that he has not been idle." † Several instances are given of Bolivar's enlightened zeal in the cause of education. During his stay in Peru, a college of friars at Ocopa, near Huanuco, was, by his authority, transformed into a seminary for the education of youth on the British system; ‡ and a few months

* Hamilton's Colombia, vol. i. pp. 230—234. Bolivar being at the time in Peru, Colonel Hamilton had not the good fortune of becoming personally acquainted with him.

† Thomson, p. 105.

‡ The Dominican college of St. Thomas, at Lima, had previously

afterwards, he issued a decree for establishing a central school in the capital of each province throughout Peru. In pursuance of another decree, two young men from each province were sent to this country, to be educated at the expense of Government, that they might return to act as directors of these institutions. The sum of 20,000 dollars has also been appropriated by Bolivar to the promotion of schools in his native city. These patriotic traits of character indicate, that it is not upon the sword that the Liberator relies for establishing the freedom of South America.

Bolivar has been compared with Bonaparte and with Washington; in neither case with much fairness or propriety, except as he may be regarded as the hero of the South American Revolution, as the latter was of the North American, and the former of the French. The points of contrast are, however, more striking than those of resemblance. Of Napoleon, Bolivar has been suspected to be an imitator; but if so, it is of the brighter parts of his character, as a legislator and the friend of his soldiers. The Code Napoleon may have inspired the Liberator with his passionate desire to give a Bolivian Constitution to the emancipated states, and to be the Numa as well as Romulus of his Republic. Nor ought this pardonable ambition or vanity, which, after all, may blend itself with an honest desire to promote the true interests of the country, to be imputed to the lust of power, a guilty aspiring after universal dominion. As justly might Jeremy Bentham be charged with aiming at the conquest of Colombia by his "*Codification proposals*" to its Government. Were it even proved, that, like San Martin, he is inclined to monarchical, rather

been converted into a central school during the government of San Martin.

than to democratic principles,—that he would deem the British constitution better adapted to South America, than that of the North American Federacy,—this would not prove him to be a tyrant or a usurper. "It is true," remarks an American writer, "that the constitution which he made for Bolivia, and which, it is fully understood, he desires to introduce into Peru and Colombia, however judiciously it may be devised in some points, is, in its main features, anti-republican, if not absurd and impolitic. But all this may be said without necessarily impugning Bolivar's motives as a patriot. He may be true to his country, and yet be the author of a very defective constitution." *

* North American Review, No. lvi. p. 110. In No. liii. of this ably conducted journal, is given an analytical and comparative view of the Constitution of Colombia, as agreed upon by the Congress of Cucuta in 1821. In many of its great features, it resembles that of the United States; and some of its most valuable provisions are copied almost literally from it. But there is one point, this Writer remarks, in which the respective forms of government differ so essentially, that they cannot be considered as even entitled to a common name. "The government of the United States is a confederacy of states, each reserving to itself unlimited powers of legislation on most local subjects, and on all subjects, of which the control has not been clearly surrendered, and maintaining distinct local legislatures for the exercise of those powers; they have also their executive and judiciary in full exercise of the ordinary functions of those departments. The government of Colombia is central or consolidated. All the powers of legislation are confided to a single central legislature. The republic is divided into departments, and has also smaller subdivisions for the more convenient internal administration; but every officer is indebted for his authority, and owes responsibility, to the great central power residing in the national metropolis." "From the (first) idea of independent governments almost as numerous as the provinces, the revolutionists have gone successively, under the sense of the necessity of concert, through all the intermediate stages, to the adoption of a central government, and have suppressed all kind of authority not flowing from it." The Federalist party in Colombia is, however, nu-

On the other hand, it is too soon to style Bolivar the Washington of Colombia. Before he can be compared with that truly great man, it has been justly observed, he must not only have resigned the truncheon, but must have exhibited to his countrymen "the graceful and edifying example of a private life corresponding, in dignity and purity, to the glory of his public career, and must have brought his earthly course to an honourable end." We do not see that Bolivar is called upon to do this, or that he would best serve his country by following the example of San Martin, and abdicating a supremacy to which the voice of the country has called him; at least till the talisman of his name shall have lost its power, and he can no longer retain his authority except by political crime. "Many persons among us appear to forget," remarks the eloquent Writer already cited, (himself an American and a republican,) "or never to have regarded, the peculiar character, condition, and language of the people of South America. Accustomed to the regulated movement of our own political establishments, they fail to remember, that our revolution was prepared by more than a century of self-government, under the most propitious circumstances; while the revolution of the South was precipitated by causes out of the control of the colonists, namely, the prostration of Spain at the foot of Napoleon. Our English extraction, our climate, our habits, the similarity of complexion in our free population, the diffusion of knowledge among us, and our perfect familiarity with the routine of government, are striking circumstances, wherein our good fortune is deeply contrasted with the want of it in Spanish America.

merous, and comprises some of the most intelligent statesmen. Which form will ultimately prevail, is a matter of speculation.

When great men have arisen among us, men of commanding intellect, formed to act the part of leaders in the land, they have found the pursuit of virtue and patriotism here, not only coincident with their interest, but consonant to the whole spirit of our institutions. Every thing has impelled them to purity of conduct. Hence, to have betrayed his country in the hour of her trial, has consigned the name of Benedict Arnold almost to a solitary immortality of infamy.

"Not so in Spanish America, where treason has done its worst work, and where the virtuous and high-minded patriot has obstacles without number to struggle against in the path of honourable ambition. A motley population, uneducated, uninitiated into the mysteries of government, suddenly emerging from the tutelage and tyranny of colonial administration, was plunged at once into the frantic contests of revolutionary warfare. That scenes of anarchy and confusion ensued, which persons of desperate fortunes and depraved principles looked to as an opportunity for individual aggrandizement, is no more than we should naturally anticipate. But Providence raises up extraordinary men for extraordinary occasions. Bolivar came forward to control the troubled elements in the South, as Washington had ruled them in the North. And if it be premature now, when Bolivar is in the midst of his career, to unite their fame in the same tribute of grateful veneration, it is equally premature to condemn his cause untried, and hastily to abandon a reputation justly favoured by every friend of freedom."*

The abuse lavished upon Bolivar by the Peruvians, is particularly ungenerous as well as unjust. Up to

* North Amer. Rev., No. lvi. pp. 110, 111.

the time of his leaving Peru, the people overwhelmed him with professions of gratitude, and addressed him in language unsuitable to any being below the Deity. There was, probably, less insincerity in this demonstration of popular enthusiasm, than the fickle transition to opposite feelings might seem to indicate. However this may have been, Bolivar, Mr. Miller remarks, was completely deceived by this means as to the true state of public feeling; and this through "the misrepresentations of interested sycophants possessing or aspiring to office, and, though republicans, ambitious even of titles." "Few individuals," it is added, "have received so copious a share of adulation, and it would have been almost miraculous had Bolivar been altogether proof against it. Those who are most prone to censure him, would probably have grown dizzy long before they had attained to such an eminence." *

The petulant rejection of the Bolivian Constitution by the Peruvians, has evidently been dictated by the spirit of faction; nor does it appear that any less objectionable form of government has hitherto been substituted for it. Bolivia, so far as our present information extends, still retains its name, although we almost hesitate to receive it at present as a geographical denomination. It is impossible to say, what changes in the form of government and in the demarcations of territory may yet take place. While these pages have been passing through the press, intelligence has been received, that the Lima Congress has refused to ratify the treaty of peace between Colombia and Peru; a refusal which, if it does not lead to the dissolution of the legislative body and the downfal of

* Miller, vol. ii. pp. 350, 363.

the war faction, threatens to plunge the country into fresh disorders, and to renew the alarming state of oscillation between anarchy and despotism, which is so fatal to the best interests of the country. In Buenos Ayres also, a renewal of sanguinary contentions has taken place, most disheartening to the friends of liberty and social order.*

Still, whatever time may elapse before the waves lash themselves to rest, the storm is past, and these are but the dangers of the calm. Nor let it be thought, that the blood which has drenched the soil of South America, has been shed in vain. If we look merely to the present flimsy institutions and shifting governments that have been substituted for the colonial viceroyalties, or examine the state of the people in general, little may seem to have been gained. Liberty,

* At page 102, it has been stated, that General Dorrego, who succeeded to the government of Buenos Ayres on the resignation of Rivadavia, has been deposed and shot. This took place about the 6th of December, 1828; and was brought about through the ostensible agency of a division of the army lately returned from active operations in the Brazilian territory under General Lavalle. A private letter charges Rivadavia with being the known director of this conspiracy, and ascribes it to the same evil policy which led to the war against Brazil. It certainly wears the apparent character of a military insurrection; and the execution of Dorrego without even a mock trial, in front of the line, was a very violent measure. Lavalle has of course succeeded to the government; and an appointment of ministers has taken place, all of whom were in office under Rivadavia's administration. Among them are D. Francisco de la Cruz, D. Tomas Guido, and General D. Martin de Pueyrredon; and General Soler is President of the Council. Rivadavia is on his way to Europe. The provincials and montoneroes took part with Dorrego, and an insurrection fomented by his partisans, broke out in the provinces after his death; a circumstance which would induce unfavourable conclusions regarding the character of Dorrego and his faction; but, upon the true nature of these transactions, it would be premature to pronounce an opinion.

civil or religious,* is at present but little understood; and what has been lost to superstition has, for the most part, been gained by infidelity. But, viewing the present as the parent of the future, in the breaking up and clearing away of the old system, the foundations of which were deep-laid in ignorance and moral bondage, we see the completion of a preparatory process adapted, and certainly designed, to lead to the most beneficent results. The abolition of slavery throughout the South American republics, the emancipation of the native race, the establishment of schools in every province as the result of a general conviction of the evils arising from popular ignorance, and the partial access already obtained for the Holy Scriptures and the literature and moral influence of England,—these are surely circumstances of no insignificant importance, and auguries full of promise as to the coming age,—extraordinary indications of the times, which, to a devout mind, strikingly combine with the substantial import of the Divine predictions. Without laying too much stress upon isolated or particular facts, it may fairly be asked, who, five and twenty years ago, would have ventured to anticipate, that at Bogota, in the heart of the Andes, a Colombian Bible Society should be established in the principal Dominican convent, with the patronage of the Rector and Prior, and the open approbation of the Executive, one of the secretaries being a Dominican friar, formerly secretary to the district tribunal

* Soon after San Martin entered Lima, a provisional law was issued, in which religious toleration was publicly acknowledged, for the first time in South America. This was the act of the Protector alone. The first legislative declaration in favour of religious freedom was issued by the province of San Juan, June 6, 1825, under the government of D. Salvador Carril; and the example was followed by Buenos Ayres.—Thomson, pp. 32, 275.

of the Inquisition ?* or that at Lima, the Dominican college should be appropriated to a Central School, where the New Testament is used as the principal school book ?† Ecclesiastical prejudices and hostile interests still survive, which will, no doubt, struggle hard against the progress of liberty and truth; but whoever dreams that their march can be arrested, or that the vigorous expansion of the mental energies of a nation, that has burst its ancient bonds, can be repressed and subdued,—may indulge the hope, or fear, that seventeen millions of Americans will be brought again to bow beneath the yoke of Rome and Spain.

The political geography of South America must be regarded as at present in a very imperfect and, as it were, transitive state. The grand divisions, according to the latest authorities, are as follow :—

	Governments.	Square Miles.	Population.
Spanish America.	1. Republic of Colombia	328,000	2,712,000
	2. Republic of Peru	373,000	1,737,000
	3. Republic of Bolivia	310,000	1,200,000
	4. Argentine Republic	688,000	700,000
	5. Republic of Chile	129,000	1,200,000
	6. Dictatorship of Paraguay	67,000	200,000
			7,749,000
	7. Empire of Brazil	2,313,000	4,000,000
	Add, for French and English Guiana, Arauca, and Patagonia		251,000
			12,000,000‡

* See Thomson's Letters, pp. 252–265. This society was formed March 17, 1825. The President is Don Pedro Gual, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

† *Ib.* p. 282.

‡ Our authorities for this computation are, Humboldt's Personal Narrative, vol. vi. p. 336 *et seq.*; "Companion to the Almanack for 1829;" (in which Balbi's "Balance Politique du Globe" has been followed;) and Miller's Memoirs, vol. i. p. xxxvii. Balbi

The total population of the countries formerly included in Spanish America, is thus estimated:—

Republic of Mexico	7,500,000
Republic of Central America	1,650,000
South American States	7,749,000
	16,899,000

The provincial subdivisions of these territories, it is impossible to give with any precision or certainty, owing, partly, to the complicated system of the old arrangements, and partly, to the changes of nomenclature and jurisdiction which have recently been introduced. The following enumeration, however, will, we believe, be found tolerably correct.

PERU PROPER.

Present Departments. (Maritime.)	*Old Divisions.*	
1. Truxillo	Intendancy of Truxillo.	
2. Lima	,, Lima	
3. Arequipa	,, Arequipa	Under the jurisdiction of the *Audiencia* of Lima.
(Inland.)		
4. Junin	Xauxa, Tarma	
5. Ayacucho	Guamanga, Huancavelica	
6. Cuzco	Cuzco	*Audiencia* of Cuzco.

assigns to Bolivia, 1,300,000, and to Chile, 1,300,000. Humboldt assigns to the latter, only 1,100,000, or 76 to the square marine league. We have adopted Mr. Miller's estimate as not only the mean, but apparently the most exact and authentic. To Colombia, Humboldt assigns 2,785,000, or 30 to the square league; Balbi, 2,800,000; Miller, 2,711,296. The latter estimates the population of the Argentine Republic at only 600,000; we have followed Balbi. To Paraguay, the former gives half a million; (evidently a mere conjecture;) while Balbi allows half that number; but, on more distinct information, it is stated, that the total population is something short of 200,000, of whom seven-tenths are Creoles, scattered over a territory not less extensive than France.—North American Rev., No. lix. p. 465. To Brazil, Balbi allows five millions:

7 Puno.....	Lampa. Azangaro.	Paucarcolla.. Chucuito..	*Audiençia* of Charcas.*

UPPER PERU OR BOLIVIA.

1. La Paz.....	Formerly under the jurisdiction of the *Audiençia* of Charcas; and included in the Viceroyalty of Buenos Ayres.
2. Cochabamba	
3. Oruro	
4. Chuquisaca, or Charcas ..	
5. Potosi	
6. Santa Cruz de la Sierra...	

ARGENTINE REPUBLIC.

1. Catamarca	Viceroyalty of Buenos Ayres.
2. Tarija	
3. Salta.....	
4. Tucuman	
5. Rioja	
6. Santiago del Estero.....	
7. Corrientes	
8. Missiones.....	
9. Entre Rios.....	
10. San Juan.....	
11. San Luis	
12. Cordova	
13. Santa Fé.....	
14. Buenos Ayres.....	
15. Cuyo or Mendoza.....	

CHILE.†

Departments.	*Provinces.*
1. Coquimbo	Coplapo.
	Coquimbo.
2. Santiago	Quillota.
	Aconcagua.
	Santiago.
	Melipilla.
	Rancagua.
	Colchagua.
	Maule.

we have followed Humboldt and Miller. See also MOD. TRAV., Brazil, vol. i. p. 4; Colombia, pp. 4—9; and p. 28 of the present volume.

* These districts, on the N. and W. of Lake Titicaca, formerly under the jurisdiction of the Viceroy of Buenos Ayres, are included in Peru on the authority of Mr. Miller.

† Miers, vol. i. p. 400. Schmidtmeyer, p. 353. Some slight variation occurs in the subdivisions given by the latter Traveller,

Departments.	*Provinces.*
3. Concepçion	Chillan.
	Itata.
	Rere, or Huilquilemu.
	Penco, Puchacay, or Concepçion.
4. Valdivia.	
5. Chiloe.	

COLOMBIA.*

1. Orinoco	Cumana.
	Barcelona.
	Margarita.
	Guayana.
2. Venezuela	Caracas.
	Carabozo
3. Apure	Varinas.
	Apure.
4. Zulia	Maracaybo.
	Coro.
	Merida.
	Truxillo.
5. Boyaca	Tunja.
	Pamplona.
	Socorro.
	Casanare.
6. Cundinamarca	Bogota.
	Antioquia.
	Mariquita.
	Neiva.
7. Magdalena	Cartagena.
	Santa Marta.
	Rio de la Hacha.
8. Cauca	Popayan.
	Choco.
	Pasto.
	Buena Ventura.
9. Istmo	Panama.
	Veragua.
10. Equador	Pinchincha.
	Imbubura.
	Chimborazo.

* For this table, we are indebted to Mr. Miller, vol. i. p. xl. In our description of Colombia, a somewhat different arrangement is given, according to the best information to which we had then access.

Departments.	*Provinces.*
11. Assuay.....	Cuenca.
	Loja.
	Jaen.
	Maynas.
12. Guayaquil.....	Guayaquil.
	Manali.

Of the Colombian provinces, a general description has already been given, so far as they have been made known to us by the invaluable researches of Baron Humboldt and other recent travellers. We are now to enter upon Peru, a country hitherto very imperfectly explored; and our topographical description must, therefore, of necessity, be much less complete and satisfactory than we could wish. We shall begin at the capital.

TOPOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION.

NOTHING can be more dreary and comfortless than the spectacle which presents itself on approaching the island of San Lorenzo, which forms the southern side of the bay of Callao. Not a tree or shrub, not even a blade of grass presents itself; it is one continued heap of sand or rock. But, having passed the head-land, the vessels in the offing, the town, and the batteries, at once open on the view. The principal fortress, the *Real Felipe*, though disadvantageously situated, has a somewhat majestic appearance. It is on a level with the sea; behind it (on a clear day) are seen the hills in successive gradations, crowned with the gigantic summits of the Andes, towering in the distance, in some parts above the clouds, which, resting upon the tops of the lower ranges, seem to have yielded their places in the atmosphere to these enormous masses, and to encircle their feet. On approaching the anchorage, the numerous spires and domes of Lima are seen to the left of the town of Callao, giving to the city an air decidedly oriental. The prospect at sunset, Mr. Miller tells us, is particularly interesting: "for, when twilight has already thrown the landscape of the plain into deep shade, the domes of the city are still gilded by the departing sun; and when these are also become shrouded in darkness, the peaks of the mountains continue for some time to be illumined by his lingering beams."*

The houses of Callao make a very sorry appearance, being only about twenty feet high, divided into two

* Miller, vol. i. p. 382. Stevenson, vol. i. p. 139. See, for nautical directions on entering the bay, Basil Hall, vol. ii. App. Nos. 3 and 5; and Brand's Voyage, p. 174.

stories, with mud walls and flat roofs. The ground floors form a row of small shops, open in front, and the upper stories an uncouth corridor. The slightness of their construction is sufficiently explained by two circumstances; the frequency of earthquakes, and rain being unknown. The city of Callao (for such was the title conferred upon it in 1671) was entirely destroyed by the earthquake of 1746, which laid three-fourths of the capital in ruins. By that terrible convulsion, upwards of 3000 people are said to have perished at Callao alone. The city stood at a short distance to the southward of the present town; and on a calm day, the ruins may yet be seen under water, at that part of the bay called the *Mar Brabă* (rough sea), where a sentry is placed on the beach, for the purpose of taking charge of any treasure that may be washed ashore, which not unfrequently happens.* The government warehouses and residences of the chief officers, are inside the fort, which occupies a considerable extent of ground, surrounded with thick walls, a moat, and batteries of great strength. In the centre, a large square is occupied with spacious barracks, a chapel, the governor's house, and other public buildings. No persons of respectability reside in the town, which is dirty and wretched, inhabited only by a few fishermen and

* Stevenson, vol. i. p. 138. In Alcedo's Dictionary, it is stated, that, of 3000 inhabitants, only one man was left to record the dreadful catastrophe. Mr. Stevenson, however, "became acquainted with an old mulatto, who was one of the three or four who were saved. He told me," (says Mr. S.) "that he was sitting on some timber, which had been landed from a ship in the bay, at the time that the great wave of the sea rolled in, and buried the city; and that he was carried, clinging to the log, near to the chapel, a distance of three miles." The island of San Lorenzo is said to have been separated from the main land by this convulsion. It is between two and three miles in circuit, the soil mere sand and black rock.

smugglers, and altogether a disgrace to the capital of Peru. There is an inn, but of the worst description, kept by an American.* The castle of Callao stands in lat. 12° 3′ 45″ S., long. 77° 6′ 10″ W.†

From Callao to Lima, it is a distance of six miles, along a good road, for which the country is indebted to the public-spirited viceroy, Don Ambrosio O'Higgins, Marquess of Osorno. Unfortunately he died, after being viceroy three years, leaving this useful work incomplete. The finished part extends only about two miles from a noble gateway at the entrance of the city, and has a double row of lofty willows on each side, shading the foot-walk. A small stream of water runs by each walk, irrigating the willows, and nourishing numberless weeds and flowers. This promenade is also furnished with stone benches every hundred yards; and at about every mile is a large circle formed of walls of brick and stone, four feet high, with stone seats round it, for carriages to turn in with greater ease than on the road. It was the intention of the Viceroy, to carry the road down to Callao in the same style; but only the carriage-road is finished, which has a parapet of brick on each side to keep together the materials. On the right hand side, going from the port, are the ruins of an Indian village, built before the discovery of South America. Some of the old walls are left, formed of clay, about two feet thick, and six feet high. To the right is the town of Bellavista, to which parish Callao is annexed, where is a hospital for seamen and the poorer class. Half way between the port and the city stands a very neatly built chapel, with a small cloister attached to it, dedicated to Our

* Caldcleugh, vol. ii. p. 51. Mathison, p. 224.

† Basil Hall. In Alcedo, lat. 12° 2′; long. 77° 4′.

Lady of Mount Carmel, the protectress of seamen. Near it, is a house at which are sold good brandy and wine, which is the more frequented of the two. On approaching the city, the soil improves; large vegetable gardens and fields of lucern and maize are seen; and close to the city walls are extensive orchards of tropical fruits, all irrigated by canals from the river Rimac. The gateway is a triple arch of brick, stuccoed, with cornices, mouldings, and pillars of stone. The dilapidated insignia of the crown of Spain, over the gate, now serve as an emblem of the fall of its empire.

LIMA.

IMMEDIATELY on passing the gateway, the stranger is struck with the contrast which the interior of the city presents to the grandeur of the approach and distant view. He finds himself in a long, dirty street of low houses, with small shops, having their goods placed on tables at the doors,—no glass windows, no display of articles of commerce,—the people of all colours, from the black African to the white and florid Biscayan. In some parts of the city, however, are to be seen a number of smart shops, exhibiting a rich display of French silks and jewellery, and British goods of every description. The English costume is now quite prevalent in Lima, mingled with the French; while the fair Limeñas have a dress peculiar to themselves. Everywhere, the streets are full of bustle; and when a church procession or some other object of interest draws together the various classes of the population in some of the public squares, the groupes which are formed, present altogether a most motley and extraordinary appearance, well described by Mr. Mathison. "Priests, in rich sacerdotal vestments; friars, of various orders, Franciscan, Bene-

dictine, Dominican, and others, many of whose portly persons and ruddy countenances belie the austerity of their profession; men, dressed up as nuns, with black veils and masks, selling little waxen images of the Virgin; women of all classes,—some in shawls and hats, others with the showy *saya* (petticoat) and black silk *manto*, so put on as carefully to conceal the face and expose the person; blacks and mulattoes, male and female; and Indians, whose squalid, hideous features bear no resemblance to the pictures which imagination is wont to draw of their ancestors, 'the gentle children of the sun;' loaded mules and asses, with their attendant *peons*, just arrived from the port; country creoles of both sexes, on horseback, mounted and equipped alike; carriages (here termed *valencins*) made and painted in the Spanish fashion, and filled with smartly dressed ladies, their black servants and postilions bedecked in the most tawdry liveries; cavaliers of all nations, and patriot officers in gay uniforms,—some on foot, courting the attention of the fair beholders, others shewing off the paces of their prancing steeds; venders of ice and *chicha* (a favourite Peruvian drink); beggars, imploring alms in the name of the Virgin and all the saints of the Romish calendar;—these and other innumerable objects, during the procession, and for some hours afterwards, contribute to enliven and diversify the scene." *

The city of Lima, founded by Francis Pizarro in 1535, stands on the left bank of the Rimac,† from which it takes its modern name, (corrupted into Lima,)

* Mathison, pp. 230, 1.

† "The name of the valley was taken from an idol of the Peruvians, which was denominated, by way of distinction, *Rimac*, or he who speaks."—Malte Brun, vol. v. p. 424. Mr. Stevenson tells us, that the valley was called by the Indians, *Rimac Malca*, "the place of witches;" it being the custom, even before the time of the

in a broad and fertile plain, which gently slopes to the Pacific. It is situated in lat. 12° 2′ 31″ S., long. 76° 58′ 30″ W. The great chain of the Andes passes within twenty leagues of the city, but spurs proceeding from it approach within three quarters of a league of the gates, and form an amphitheatre, within which the city is built. These *sierras*, which are from 1300 to 2650 feet high, keep off the northerly and easterly winds. The great square of Lima is on an elevation of 480 feet above the sea. The figure of the city is described by Alcedo as triangular. Mr. Stevenson says, it approaches to a semicircle, having the river for its diameter. It is two miles long from east to west, and one and a quarter broad, from the bridge to the wall. It is, for the most part, divided into squares (*quadras*), of which there are 157; and there are said to be 355 streets, all built at right angles, and generally about twenty-five feet wide. Those running east and west, have a small stream of water flowing down them; and the Rimac passes through a part of the town. On the other side of the river is the suburb of San Lazaro, which is inhabited by the less respectable part of the community. Lima is stated to contain nearly 4000 houses, four large monasteries with numerous dependent conventual and collegiate establishments, fifteen nunneries, and four *beaterios*, and a population of between 60 and 70,000 souls.*

The city received from Pizarro, the dedicatory name

Incas, to banish to this valley those persons who were accused of witchcraft, where they generally were carried off by intermittent fevers.—Stevenson, vol. i. p. 143. No authority is given for this strange legend.

* Cosme, in 1764, estimates the population of the city at 54,000 souls, of which the Spaniards formed 17,200; the Indians and Negroes, 12,200; the Mestizoes and other castes, 24,600. There were 1390 monks and priests; and 1580 nuns. In Alcedo's Dictionary,

of *La Ciudad de los Reyes* (City of the Kings, i. e. Magi), in commemoration of the day of its foundation (January 6); to which the arms of the "Royal City," three crowns Or, on a field Azure, with the Star of the East above, obviously allude.* It is surrounded (except towards the river) with a wall of sun-dried bricks,† about ten feet thick at the bottom, and eight at the top, forming a beautiful promenade round two-thirds of the city. Its average height is twelve feet, with a parapet of three feet. It is flanked with thirty-four bastions, but without embrasures. There are seven gates and three posterns, which are closed every night at eleven, and opened at four A. M. This wall of inclosure, rather than of defence, was built by the Viceroy, the Duke de la Palata, in 1685, and repaired in 1808. At the south-eastern extremity of the city is a small citadel, called Santa Catalina, in which are the artillery barracks and a military depôt.

The *plaça mayor*, or principal square, has, on the eastern side, the cathedral, a very handsome pile; to the north of which is the *sagrario*, or principal parish church, having a very beautiful façade; and adjoining it is the archiepiscopal palace, which surpasses in appearance every other building in the square. Green balconies run along the front, on each side of an arched gateway leading into the *patio*; but the lower

the population is estimated at 60,000. Mr. Miller states it at about 70,000. Mr. Stevenson says, that in 1810, it was rated at 87,000, of which number about 30,000 were whites. The fluctuation has, no doubt, owing to political circumstances, been very considerable.

* These arms and the title of Royal City were granted to Lima by the Emperor Charles V. in 1537.

† These bricks (*adobes*), which contain a very large proportion of chopped straw, are deemed better calculated to resist the shock of earthquakes, than stone; and their elasticity would make them a tolerable defence.

part is disgraced with a row of small shops, the nearest one to the Sagrario being a *pulperia* (grog-shop). Under the area of the cathedral, which is ten feet above the level of the square, there is also a range of shops. On the north side is the Viceroy's palace,* the lower part of which is in like manner concealed by a range of shops and stalls; and over these runs a long gallery with tiers of seats for the accommodation of the inhabitants when there is any *fête* in the square. At the north-western corner is a gallery for the family of the Viceroy, which, on days of ceremony, was fitted up with green velvet hangings. The south side of the square is formed by a row of private houses, but with an arcade or piazza in front, occupied with the shops of drapers and mercers. On the north side is the *cabildo*, or town-hall, a building very much in the Chinese style; and under it is the city gaol. In the centre of the square is a beautiful brass fountain, erected in 1653, the water of which is the best in Lima; and at all hours of the day, water-carriers are busily employed in conveying it to all parts of the city. In this square is held the principal market.

The interior of the cathedral is very rich.† The

* "The interior of the Viceroy's palace is very mean; but it is said to have been a magnificent building before it was destroyed by an earthquake, October 20, 1687. The *sala de los Vireys*, so called on account of its containing full-length portraits of all the viceroys from Pizarro to Pezuela, was used only on days of ceremony. It is a curious circumstance, that this hall was exactly filled with portraits when the liberating forces entered Lima, there not being one spare panuel."—Stevenson, vol. i. p. 220.

† "The riches which have been lavished at various times upon the interior of this edifice, are scarcely to be credited any where but in a city which once paved a street with ingots of silver, to do honour to a new viceroy. The balustrades surrounding the great altar, and the pipes of the organ, were of silver. It may be mentioned, as a proof of the abundance of silver ornaments, that, three weeks prior to my arrival (April 1821), a ton and a half of

walls and floor are of good free-stone; and the roof, which is beautifully pannelled and carved in compartments, is supported by arches springing from a double row of neat square pillars of stone work. All these, on festivals, are covered with hangings of crimson velvet, fringed with the richest gold lace; but, in Passion week, purple velvet hangings are substituted. The high altar has a most magnificent appearance. It is of the Corinthian order; the columns, cornices, and mouldings are cased with pure silver; and over it is a celestial crown of silver gilt; the sacrarium in the centre is richly ornamented with chased silver work. The custodium is of gold delicately wrought, and enriched with a profusion of diamonds and other precious stones: from the pedestal to the points of the rays, it measures seven feet, and is too heavy to be lifted by a person of ordinary strength. The front of the altar-table is of embossed silver, very beautiful. The front of the choir is closed by tastefully wrought palisades of iron gilt, with large gates of the same. The stalls are of carved cedar. There are two organs of fine tone, and the choral music is very good. On grand festivals, the *coup d'œil* is very imposing. The high altar is then illuminated with more than a thousand wax tapers. The large silver candelabra, each weighing upwards of a hundred pounds, the superb silver branches and lamps, and the splendid service of plate on the left of the altar, have a most magnificent effect. The archbishop, in his costly pontifical robes, is seen kneeling under a canopy of crimson velvet with a reclinatory and cushions of the same material. A number of assisting priests, in their robes of ceremony, fill the presbytery; next to which, leading towards

silver was taken from the various churches, without being missed to meet the exigencies of the state."—Caldcleugh, vol. ii. p. 56.

the choir, are seats covered with velvet, on the left for the officers of state and the corporation, on the right for the judges, who attend in full costume. In the centre, in front of the altar, a state chair covered with crimson velvet was appropriated to the Viceroy, when he attended in state, having, on each side, three halberdiers of his body-guard; while behind him stood his chaplain, chamberlain, groom, the captain of the body-guard, and four pages in waiting. Three times during mass, one of the acolites used to descend from the presbytery with a censer, and bow to the Viceroy, who stood up amid a cloud of smoke: the acolite bowed as he retired, and the Viceroy again knelt down.

At the back of the high altar is a chapel dedicated to St. Francis Xavier, in which are effigies of two archbishops in white marble, kneeling. In this chapel is the vault where the archbishops of Lima were formerly buried; but it is now closed, and the bodies of the primates are at present carried to the Pantheon, the common burial-place, where the first corpse interred was that of Archbishop La Reguera, which was exhumed for the purpose.

The interior of the Sagrario is very splendid. The roof is lofty and beautifully pannelled; and in the centre is a cupola resting upon the four corners formed by the intersection of the cross aisle. The several altars are splendidly carved, varnished, and gilt. Great part of the high altar is cased with silver, and the custodium is of gold, richly set with diamonds and gems. The font is incased with silver.

The parish churches of Lima have nothing to recommend them to particular notice.* Of the con-

* The church of San Pedro is mentioned by Mr. Caldcleugh as remarkable for its architecture, but he does not describe it; and

ventual churches, only those belonging to the principal houses are remarkably rich. That of San Domingo, about 100 yards from the *plaça mayor*, is truly magnificent, and its tower is the loftiest in the city. It is about 180 feet high, built chiefly of *bajareque* (wood-work and plaster). The roof of the church is supported by a double row of light pillars painted and gilt; the ceiling is divided into pannels by gilt mouldings, and the large central pannels exhibit some good paintings in fresco. The high altar is ornamented with Ionic columns varnished in imitation of marble, with gilt capitals and mouldings. At the foot of the presbytery, on the right, stands the silver altar of Our Lady of the Rosary. This altar, Mr. Stevenson says, exceeds any other in Lima, both in richness and effect. "It is entirely covered with pure silver. Its elegant fluted columns, highly finished embossed pedestals, capitals, and cornices, some of them doubly gilt, are superb. In the centre of the altar is the niche of the Madonna, of exquisite workmanship: the interior contains a transparent painting of a temple, the light being admitted to it by a window at the back of the altar. The effigy is gorgeously dressed; the crown is a cluster of diamonds and other precious gems, and the drapery is of the richest brocades, laces, and embroidery; the rosary is a string of large pearls of the finest orient. Such is the abundance, or rather profusion of drapery, that the same dress is never continued two days together throughout the year.

"the small church built by Pizarro, which has never been totally ruined by the earthquakes, and which is situated *abajo de la puente* (beyond the bridge), is visited by all strangers."—Caldcleugh, vol. ii. p. 57. Mr. Stevenson says, the church of San Lazaro "has an elegant façade, and presents a good appearance from the bridge: the interior is tastefully ornamented."

Before the niche, fifteen large wax tapers are continually burning in silver sockets; and in a semicircle before the altar are suspended by massive silver chains, curiously wrought, fourteen large, heavy lamps, kept constantly lighted with olive oil. Besides these are, similarly suspended, eight fancifully wrought silver bird-cages, whose inmates, in thrilling notes, join the pealing tones of the organ and the sacred chaunt of divine worship. Four splendid silver chandeliers hang opposite the altar, each containing fifteen wax tapers; below are ranged six heavy silver candelabra, six feet high, and six tables cased in silver, each supporting a large silver branch with seven tapers; also four urns of the same precious metal, filled with perfumed spirits, which are always burning on festivals, and emit scents from the most costly drugs and spices; the whole being surrounded with fuming pastillas, held by silver cherubim. On those days when the festivals of the Virgin Mary are celebrated, and particularly at the feast of the Rosary, the sumptuous appearance of this altar exceeds all description: at that time, during nine days, more than a thousand tapers blaze, and the chanting and music of the choir are uninterrupted. At the celebration of these feasts, many miracles are pretended to be wrought by the Madonna, and many absurd legends are related from the pulpit.

"On the left of the high altar stands one dedicated to Saint Rose; it is richly ornamented, and has a large urn containing an effigy of the saint, in a reclining posture, of white marble and good sculpture. On each side of the church are six altars, coloured and varnished in imitation of different marbles, lapis lazuli, &c. with gilt mouldings, cornices, and other embellishments. The choir is over the entrance at the prin-

cipal porch; it is capacious, and has two good organs. The music belonging to this church, is all painted on vellum by a lay brother of the order; and some of the books are ably done. Three of the cloisters are very good; the principal one is elegant; it has two ranges of cells, and the pillars and arches are of stone, of fine workmanship. The lower part of the walls is covered with Dutch tiles, exhibiting sketches from the life of St. Dominick, &c. Above are large indifferently executed paintings of the life and miracles of the tutelary saints: they are generally concealed by pannelled shutters, which are opened on holidays and festivals. At the angles of this cloister are small altars, with busts and effigies, most of them in bad style. The lower cloisters are paved with freestone flags; the upper ones with bricks. Some of the cells are richly furnished, and display more delicate attention to luxury, than rigid observance of monastic austerity. The library contains a great number of books on theology and morality. On the wall of the stairs leading from the cloister to the choir, is a fine painting of Christ in the Sepulchre. The rents of this convent amount to about 80,000 dollars annually. Belonging to this order is the sanctuary of Saint Rose, she having been a *beata* or devotee of the order. In the small chapel are several relics of the saint." *

* Stevenson, vol. i. pp. 237—242. Notwithstanding the profane legend which makes this sainted lady the contemporary of our Saviour, she is, we presume, the personage alluded to in a subsequent page, as a native of Lima, and the only person born in the Spanish colonies who has been canonized; Santa Rosa de Santa Maria, patroness of Peru. She is believed to have foretold the independence of the country, in the prediction, "that after the dominion of the kings of Spain should have lasted as long as that of the Incas, the sceptre would drop from their hands. This prophecy was printed in the first edition of her life in 1662, but was expunged from the succeeding ones."—*Id.* p. 291.

" The church, chapels, and convents of St. Francis, about 200 yards from the *plaça mayor*, are the largest and most elegant in Lima.* The church does not possess the riches of St. Dominick's, but its appearance is more solemn. The porch is filled with statues and other ornaments, and the two steeples are lofty and somewhat elegant. The roof is supported by two rows of stone pillars, and is of pannel-work, in the Gothic style. Some of the altars are curiously carved and gilt, and the pillars, &c. of the sacrarium are cased with silver. Like the cathedral, this church has a complete set of crimson velvet hangings, fringed with gold. The chapel *Del Milagro* † is most tastefully ornamented. Some of the paintings, executed by Don Matias Maestre, are good. The high altar is cased with silver, and the niche of the Madonna is beautifully wrought of the same material. Mass is celebrated here every half hour from five in the morning till noon. In the vestry of this chapel are paintings of the heads of the apostles by Rubens, or, as some assert, by Morillo: however this may be, they are undoubtedly very fine. Another chapel, elegantly ornamented, is that of *N. Señora de los Dolores*; and one in the interior of the convent contains five beautiful paintings of the Passion of Christ, by Titian: they belong to the Count of Lurigancho, and are only lent to the chapel. Inside the convent is a mausoleum for the order and some of the principal benefactors; but it is now closed. The principal cloister is very hand-

* Mr. Caldcleugh says, that the convent of the Franciscans is calculated to cover one-eighth of the city.

† Our Lady of the Miracle: so named from a silly legend, that, in the earthquake of November 1630, the effigy of the Virgin, then standing over the porch facing the street, turned round to the high altar in a supplicating posture, and thereby saved the city from destruction.

some. The lower part of the walls is covered with blue and white Dutch tiles; above which is a range of paintings, neatly executed, the subjects taken from the life of St. Francis. The pillars are of stone, the mouldings and cornices of stucco, and the roof of pannel-work, which, with the beams, is laboriously carved. In the middle of this cloister, there is a garden with an arbour of jessamine on trellis-work crossing it at right angles; in the centre is a beautiful brass fountain, and in the middle of each square, formed by the intersection of the arbour, is a smaller one, throwing the water 20 feet high. The minor squares are filled with pots of choice flowers, and a number of birds in cages hang among the jessamines. Two large folding gates lead from the church to the cloister; and whether the garden be viewed from the former, or the music of the choir be heard from the latter, the effect is equally fascinating.

"The order, being a mendicant one, possesses no property: it is supported by charity; and having the exclusive privilege of selling shrouds, it acquires a very large income, as no one wishes that a corpse should be buried without the sacred habit of St. Francis.* The library is rich in theological works.

"The small *Recoleto* of San Diego, in the suburbs, belongs to the same order. The friars wear the coarse grey habit, and are barefoot. The gardens are extensive, and contain a large stock of good fruit-trees and medicinal plants. The solemn silence which reigns in the small but particularly clean cloisters of this convent, seem to invite to religious seclusion. Here is a cloister of small cells, with a chapel, to which any man

* "The shroud is, in fact, exactly the same as the habit of the friar; which gave rise to the curious remark of a foreigner, that he observed none but friars died in this place."

may retire for a week from the hurry and bustle of the town, and dedicate a portion of his life to religious meditation. During Lent, the number of those who thus retire is very great. Their principal object is to prepare themselves to receive the communion.

"The church of the Augustinians is small, but light and ornamented with sculpture and gilding. The convent is of the second class, but the order is rich; and their college of San Ildefonso is considered as the best conventual college in Lima. The church of *N. Señora de la Merced* is large, but not rich. In the churches belonging to the nunneries, there is a great quantity of tasteful ornaments, but nothing very costly, although the income of one, *La Concepcion*, exceeds 100,000 dollars annually." *

Among the other public establishments at Lima, are,—the hospital of *San Andres*, for Whites, containing 600 beds, which number can be doubled, and attached to it are a botanic garden and an amphitheatre; adjoining it is the college of *San Fernando*, for the study of medicine and surgery, founded by the Viceroy Abascal; the hospital of *San Bartolome*, for negroes and people of colour; that of *Sant' Ana* for Indians, founded by the Cacica Catalina Huanca; that of *Espiritu Santo* for sailors; *San Pedro de Alcantara* and *La Caridad* for females; and *San Lazaro* for lepers. Besides these public hospitals, in the convent of San Pedro, formerly belonging to the Jesuits, and now occupied by the congregation of San Felipe Neri, is an asylum for poor ecclesiastics; and the monks of

* Stevenson, vol. i. pp. 232—248. It used to be said, that the four best situations in Lima were, the viceroyalty, the archbishopric, the provincialate of San Domingo, and the office of the Mother Abbess of Concepcion. Independently of other pious donations, the dowry of each nun, on taking the veil, amounts to 3000 dollars.

Belen and San Juan de Dios have each under their charge a private hospital, where any individual is received on paying a dollar a-day.*

The University of Lima was founded in 1549, by a bull of Pius V., with the same privileges as those of Salamanca. It is a handsome building with several good halls and an extensive library. In the same square once stood the Holy Office; whence the *plaça* derives its name, and also the hospital *La Caridad:* hence, Mr. Stevenson says, it is often called "the square of the three cardinal virtues,"—the Inquisition being the representative of Faith; the University, of Hope; and the Hospital, of Charity. Besides the University, there are, the royal college of *San Carlos*, founded by the Jesuits for secular studies; the college *Del Principe*, where young Indian caciques are educated for the church; the medical college of *San Fernando*, already mentioned; the college of *San Toribio*, an ecclesiastical seminary†; and a nautical academy in what was the palace of the Viceroy. The respective costumes of the collegians are not a little singular. The dress of the students of *San Carlos* is a full suit of black, with a cocked hat and a dress sword; that of *Del Principe* is a full suit of green with a crimson shoulder ribbon, and also a cocked hat; that of *San Fernando*, is a full suit of blue with yellow buttons and collar trimmed with gold lace; and that of *San Toribio*, an almond-coloured

* Mr. Stevenson speaks highly of the attention paid, in all the hospitals, to the diet, cleanliness, ventilation, and comfort of the sick. He was himself twice in that of San Juan de Dios, where more particular attention is paid to the sick, and he received all the assistance and indulgence he could expect.

† St. Thoribio de Mogroviejo, the founder of this college, was Archbishop of Lima from 1578 to 1606, and was canonized by Benedict XIII. in 1727.

gown (called the *opa*), very wide at the bottom, and made like a *poncho*, with a scarf of pale blue cloth, and a square bonnet of black cloth.

The preceding description, for which we are indebted to the volumes of Mr. Stevenson, will give an idea of what Lima was in the days of its wealth and pride, when it was the richest city of South America. This Traveller arrived in that city in 1811, during the vice-royalty of Abascal; and during his stay there, the act of the Cortes was received, abolishing the Inquisition. A short time before, he had been cited before that dread tribunal for rashly engaging in a dispute with a Dominican friar; he had now the opportunity of paying a second visit, under very different circumstances, in company with some friends who had obtained the Viceroy's permission to explore the empty den of the monster. His account of the visit must not be suppressed.

"The doors of the hall being opened, many entered who were not invited, and seeing nothing in a posture of defence, the first victims to our fury were the table and chairs: these were soon demolished; after which some persons laid hold of the velvet curtains of the canopy, and dragged them so forcibly, that canopy and crucifix came down with a horrid crash. The crucifix was rescued from the ruins of inquisitorial state, and its head was discovered to be moveable. A ladder was found to have been secreted behind the canopy, and thus the whole mystery of this miraculous image became explained: a man was concealed on the ladder, by the curtains of the canopy, and by introducing his hand through a hole, he moved the head, so as to make it nod consent, or shake dissent. In how many instances may appeal to this imposture have caused an innocent man to own

himself guilty of crimes he never dreamt of! Overawed by fear, and condemned, as was believed, by a miracle, falsehood would supply the place of truth, and innocence, if timid, confess itself sinful. Every one was now exasperated with rage, and 'there are yet victims in the cells,' was universally murmured. 'A search! a search!' was the cry, and the door leading to the interior was quickly broken through. The next we found was called *del secreto:* the word secret stimulated curiosity, and the door was instantly burst open. It led to the archives. Here were heaped upon shelves, papers containing the written cases of those who had been accused or tried; and here I read the name of many a friend, who little imagined that his conduct had been scrutinized by the holy tribunal, or that his name had been recorded in so awful a place. Some who were present, discovered their own names on the rack, and pocketed the papers. I put aside fifteen cases, and took them home with me; but they were not of great importance. Four for blasphemy bore a sentence, which was three months' seclusion in a convent, a general confession, and different penances—all secret. The others were accusations of friars, *solicitantes in confesione*, two of whom I knew, and though some danger attended the disclosure, I told them afterwards what I had seen. Prohibited books in abundance were in the room, and many found future owners. To our great surprise, we here met with a quantity of printed cotton handkerchiefs. These, alas! had incurred the displeasure of the Inquisition, because a figure of Religion, holding a chalice in one hand, and a cross in the other, was stamped in the centre: placed there, perhaps, by some unwary manufacturer, who thought such devout insignia would insure purchasers, but who forgot the heinousness of

blowing the nose or spitting upon the cross. To prevent such a crime, this religious tribunal had taken the wares by wholesale, omitting to pay their value to the owner, who might consider himself fortunate in not having his shop removed to the sacred house. Leaving this room, we forced our way into another, which, to our astonishment and indignation, was that of torture. In the centre stood a strong table, about eight feet long and seven feet broad; at one end of which was an iron collar, opening in the middle horizontally, for the reception of the neck of the victim; on each side of the collar were also thick straps with buckles, for inclosing the arms near to the body; and on the sides of the table were leather straps with buckles for the wrists, connected with cords under the table, made fast to the axle of an horizontal wheel; at the other end were two more straps for the ancles, with ropes similarly fixed to the wheel. Thus it was obvious, that a human being might be extended on the table, and, by turning the wheel, might be stretched in both directions at the same time, without any risk of hanging, for that effect was prevented by the two straps under his arms, close to the body; but almost every joint might be dislocated. After we had discovered the diabolical use of this piece of machinery, every one shuddered, and involuntarily looked towards the door, as if apprehensive that it would close upon him. At first, curses were muttered, but they were soon changed into loud imprecations against the inventors and practisers of such torments; and blessings were showered on the Cortes for having abolished this tribunal of arch tyranny. We next examined a vertical pillory, placed against the wall; it had one large and two smaller holes; on opening it, by lifting up the one half, we perceived apertures in

the wall, and the purpose of the machine was soon ascertained. An offender having his neck and wrists secured in the holes of the pillory, and his head and hands hidden in the wall, could be flogged by the lay brothers of St. Dominick without being known by them; and thus, any accidental discovery was avoided. Scourges of different materials were hanging on the wall; some of knotted cord, not a few of which were hardened with blood; others were of wire chain, with points and rowels like those of spurs; these too were clotted with blood. We also found tormentors, made of netted wire, the points of every mesh projecting about one-eighth of an inch inward, the outside being covered with leather, and having strings to tie them on. Some of these tormentors were of a sufficient size for the waist, others for the thighs, the legs, and arms. The walls were likewise adorned with shirts of horse-hair, which could not be considered as a very comfortable habit after a severe flagellation; with human bones, having a string at each end, to gag those who made too free a use of their tongues; and with nippers, made of cane, for the same purpose. These nippers consisted of two slips of cane, tied at the ends; by opening in the middle when they were put into the mouth, and fastened behind the head, in the same manner as the bones, they pressed forcibly upon the tongue. In a drawer were a great many finger-screws; they were small semi-circular pieces of iron, in the form of crescents, having a screw at one end, so that they could be fixed on the fingers, and screwed to any degree, even till the nails were crushed and the bones broken. On viewing these implements of torture, who could find an excuse for the monsters who would use them to establish the faith which was taught, by

precept and example, by the mild, the meek, the holy Jesus! May he who would not curse them in the bitterness of wrath, fall into their merciless hands! The rack and the pillory were soon demolished; for such was the fury of more than a hundred persons who had gained admittance, that, had they been constructed of iron, they could not have resisted the violence and determination of the assailants. In one corner stood a wooden horse, painted white: it was conceived to be another instrument of torture, and was instantly broken to pieces; but I was afterwards informed, that a victim of the Inquisition, who had been burnt at the stake, was subsequently declared innocent of the charges preferred against him; when, as an atonement for his death, his innocence was publicly announced, and his effigy, dressed in white, and mounted on this horse, was paraded about the streets of Lima. Some said, that the individual suffered in Lima; others, that he suffered in Spain, and that, by a decree of the inquisitor-general, this farce was performed in every part of the Spanish dominions where a tribunal existed. We proceeded to the cells, but found them all open and empty: they were small, but not uncomfortable as places of confinement. Some had a small yard attached; others, more solitary, had none. The last person known to have been confined was a naval officer, an Andalusian, who was exiled in 1812 to Boca Chica:

"Having examined every corner of this mysterious prison-house, we retired in the evening, taking with us books, papers, scourges, tormentors, &c., many of which were distributed at the door, particularly several pieces of the irreligious handkerchiefs. The following morning, the archbishop went to the cathedral, and

declared all those persons excommunicated, *velut participantes*, who had taken and should retain in their possession any thing that had belonged to, or had been found in, the ex-tribunal of the Inquisition. In consequence of this declaration, many delivered up what they had taken; but with me, the case was different. I kept what I had got, in defiance of *flamines infernorum* denounced by his Grace against the *renitentes* and *retinentes*.

"To those who visit Lima, it may perhaps be interesting to know, that the stake at which the unfortunate victims of inquisitorial tyranny were burnt, was near the ground on which the *plaça de toros* now stands; and that at the foot of the bridge, at the door of the church *de los desamparados* (of the abandoned), they were delivered to the ordinary ministers of justice for execution."*

Lima is indebted to the Viceroy Abascal for the erection of the general cemetery already referred to,

* Stevenson, vol. i. pp. 267—276. Since the erection of this tribunal in 1570, forty individuals had been sentenced to be burned, a hundred and twenty more having escaped by recantation. The last who suffered, was a woman of the name of Castro, a native of Toledo, in Spain, in 1761. During his residence at Lima, Mr. Stevenson saw two men publicly disgraced by the Inquisition, one for having celebrated mass without being ordained, and the other for soothsaying and witchcraft; but, after doing penance, they were only sentenced to serve in the hospitals during the pleasure of the Holy Office. "It is said, that when Castelforte was viceroy, he was summoned by the Inquisition, and attended accordingly. Taking with him to the door his body guard, a company of infantry, and two pieces of artillery, he entered, and, laying his watch upon the table, told the Inquisitors, that, if their business were not despatched in one hour, the house would be battered down about their ears, for such were the orders he had left with the commanding officer at the gate. This was quite sufficient: the Inquisitors rose, and accompanied him to the door, too happy when they beheld the backs of his Excellency and his escort."—*Ib.* vol. i. p. 274.

under the name of the Pantheon. "Situated on the outside of the walls, it is sufficiently large to contain all the dead bodies for six years, without removal: when this becomes necessary, the bones are taken out of the niches, and placed in the osariums. Many of the rich families have purchased allotments for family vaults, having their names inscribed above. The building is a square inclosure, divided into several sections; in the wall are niches, each sufficient to hold a corpse; and the divisions are also formed by double rows of niches, built one above another, some of them eight stories high, the fronts being open. The walks are planted with many aromatics and evergreens. In the centre is a small chapel, or rather altar with a roof: its form is octagonal, so that eight priests can celebrate mass at the same time. The corpse is put into the niche with the feet foremost: if in a coffin, which seldom happens, except among the richer classes, the lid is removed, and a quantity of unslaked lime being thrown on each body, its decay is very rapid. For the conveyance of the dead, several hearses, of different descriptions, are provided, belonging to the Pantheon: they are not permitted to traverse the streets after twelve o'clock in the day.

"Before the establishment of this cemetery, all the dead were buried in the churches, or rather, placed in vaults, many of which had wooden trap-doors, opening in the floors; and, notwithstanding the plentiful use of lime, the stench and other disgusting effects were sometimes almost insufferable. When the first nun was to be carried to the Pantheon, great opposition was made by the Sisterhood; but the Viceroy sent a file of soldiers, and enforced the interment of the corpse in the general cemetery." *

* Stevenson, vol. i. pp. 231, 2.

At the entrance of the burying-ground is a chapel, decorated with an image of our Saviour in the Sepulchre, large as life, and so painted, Mr. Mathison tells us, as to excite indescribable horror. English feelings cannot be easily reconciled to the mode of burial here adopted; and the loathsome effluvia is quite sufficient to deter from any lengthened "meditations among the tombs." *

Lima was an episcopal see from 1539 to 1541, being suffragan to the mitre of Seville. It was created an archbishopric by Paul IV., and its metropolitan has for suffragans, the bishops of Panama, Cuzco, Quito, Santiago de Chile, Concepcion, Truxillo, Guamanga, Arequipa, Cuenca, and Maynas.† The city of Lima is divided into four parishes, with two out-parishes; and there are two chapels of ease (*semi-parochias*). The conventual churches and chapels amount to forty-four; and, including the chapels attached to the hospitals, and the private oratories, Mr. Stevenson states, there are altogether upwards of a hundred places of worship, supporting more than 800 secular and regular priests, and about 300 nuns, with a great number of lay brothers and sisters.‡ But this estimate must be much below the truth. In 1790, exclusive of the secular

* Mathison, p. 247. "Another very offensive practice, which is very common, is that of bringing the bodies of poor people, whose friends cannot afford the expenses of a coffin and regular conveyance, and throwing them unceremoniously over the walls of the cemetery, where they lie until the persons in attendance are prepared to bury them. In the morning, a number of corpses may be often seen exposed to full view in this way, as if they were no better than dead dogs or cats."—*Ibid.*

† These sees are enumerated in the order of their erection. Panama was made a see in 1533, Cuzco in 1534, Cuenca as late as 1786, and Maynas in 1806.

‡ Stevenson, vol. i. pp. 217—219. A list is given of twenty-five monastic establishments of different kinds, including the *Convalencias* and *Recoletas*; besides fifteen nunneries and four *beaterios* (female asylums).

clergy, the religious votaries amounted to 1647, and those living in communities, without having made the vows, were 3184.

Wherever the numbers and wealth of the monastic orders indicate that superstition is at a high temperature, it is generally found, that the state of morals is proportionately low. Lima has been proverbially distinguished for the luxury and dissipation of its citizens, although, as to the degree of vice that prevailed, testimonies differ. Lieutenant Brand, who visited Lima in 1827, says: "The priests in Lima are disgusting. Many have I seen absolutely drunk in the streets; and I wish this was the worst thing I have to say of them. In their processions, I have witnessed scenes shocking to human nature. In carrying the Virgin Mary through the streets, twelve females, supposed to be virgins, are selected to carry frankincense before her. These women are now generally female slaves of the most abandoned description.* These women, as they proceed before the Virgin, are screaming and hallooing with all their might, at the same time throwing up the incense to her. The priests are singing psalms, and I have seen them, in many of these processions, absolutely drunk while singing their psalms, and, between every verse, laughing and talking with the women. On the arrival of the Virgin at the church, the scene becomes more like a riot than a religious procession. Being once in a church when a procession entered, I could not imagine what in the world was the matter, such screaming, hallooing, hooting, and roaring as I never heard in my life, were set up immediately the Virgin

* Formerly, it was deemed an honour for the daughters of the first families to carry the frankincense before the Virgin.

made her appearance. The boys outside were huzzaing and throwing fire-works within, which occasioned a scene of tumult impossible to be described. When this uproar had subsided a little, a beautiful deep-toned organ vibrated through the many aisles of the magnificent Santo Domingo, and the finest sacred music I ever heard, was chaunted by the choir of singers. Between each cadence, had a pin dropped, it might have been heard throughout the crowded church, which, but a minute before, was all uproar and confusion. Alas! as I came away, I could not but think, what a mixture of frenzy, bigotry, and mockery of religion was all this!" *

As regards the deference of the people for the clergy, and their reverence for the rites of the church, a considerable change has been produced by the Revolution. "From having formerly submitted to the most absurd bigotry and superstition, even so far as to kneel in the streets to a priest passing, some of the rising generation are inclined to scoff at religion, and ridicule the priesthood." † There is, probably, not more infidelity or irreligion than before, but it can now more openly discover itself.

"The general aspect of the houses in Lima," remarks Mr. Stevenson, "is novel to an Englishman on his first arrival. ‡ Those of the inferior classes have but one floor, and none exceed two. The low houses have a mean appearance, too, from their having no windows in front. If the front be on a line with the street, they have only a door; and if they

* Brand, pp. 189—191. † Maw, p. 14.

‡ That is, if he has never visited Spain. At Seville, the houses are mostly built in the same Moorish fashion, round the four sides of a *patio*, with a *zaguan* or porch, and are seldom above two stories high.—See Mod. Trav., Spain, vol. ii. p. 18.

have a small court-yard (*patio*), a large, heavy door opens into the street. Some of the houses of the richer classes have simply the ground floor; but there is a *patio* before the house, and the entrance from the street is through a heavy-arched doorway, with a coach-house on one side; over this is a small room with a balcony and trellis windows opening to the street. Part of these houses have neat green balconies in front, but very few of the windows are glazed. Having capacious *patios*, large doors, and ornamented windows, besides painted porticoes and walls, with neat corridors, their appearance from the street is exceedingly handsome. In some, there is a prospect of a garden through the small glazed folding doors of two or three apartments: this garden is either real or painted, and contributes very much to enliven the scenery. The *patios* in summer have large awnings drawn over them, which produce an agreeable shade; but the flat roofs, without any ornaments in front, present an appearance not at all pleasing. If to this we add the sameness of the many dead walls of the convents and nunneries, some of the streets must naturally look very gloomy.

"The outer walls of the houses are generally built of *adobes* as far as the first floor, and the division walls are always formed of canes, plastered over on each side: this is called *quincha*. The upper story is made first of a frame-work of wood; canes are afterwards nailed or lashed with leather thongs on each side the frame-work; they are then plastered over, and the walls are called *bajareque*. These additions so considerably increase their bulk, that they seem to be composed of very solid materials, both with respect to the thickness which they exhibit, and the cornices and other ornaments which adorn them. Porticoes,

arches, mouldings, &c. at the doorways, are generally formed of the same materials. Canes bound together and covered with clay, are substituted also for pillars, as well as for other architectural ornaments, some of which being well executed and coloured like stone, a stranger, at first sight, easily supposes them to be built of the materials they are intended to imitate. The roofs, being flat, are constructed of rafters laid across and covered with cane, or cane mats, with a layer of clay sufficient to intercept the rays of the sun, and to guard against the fogs. Many of the better sort of houses have the roofs covered with large, thin baked bricks, on which the inhabitants can walk. These *asoteas* (as they are called) are very useful, and are often overspread with flowers and plants in pots: they also serve for drying clothes and other similar purposes. Among the higher classes, the ceilings are generally of pannel-work, ornamented with a profusion of carving; but among the lower, they are often of a coarse cotton cloth, nailed to the rafters and white-washed, or painted in imitation of pannel-work. In several of the meaner, however, the canes or cane mats are visible.

"Some of the churches have their principal walls and pillars of stone; others of *adobes* and *bajareque*. The towers are generally of the latter work, bound together with large beams of Guayaquil wood; the spires are commonly of wood-work, cased over with planks, and painted in imitation of stone, with mouldings, cornices, and other ornaments, either of wood or stucco. In large buildings of every description, there is generally a great proportion of timber, keeping up a connexion from the foundation to the roof; thus, there is less danger from the shocks of earthquakes,

than if they were built of brick or more solid materials; for the whole building yields to the motion, and the foundation being combined with the roof and other parts, the whole moves at the same time, and is not so easily thrown down."*

The streets of Lima are paved, but badly lighted, and are patrolled by watchmen, who vociferate, "*Ave Maria purissima! Viva la Patria!*" and a serene, or cloudy sky. The shallow stream of water, two feet in width, which runs through the centre of the principal streets, contributes much to carry off impurities. In the less frequented parts of the city, however, the eye is offended by unsightly proofs of the total inattention of the police to general cleanliness. Lieutenant Brand describes Lima as the dirtiest city in South America. "The servants, who are principally slaves, will come to the stream of water that runs through the middle, and wash fish, leaving the entrails on the sides rotting in the sun, until they are devoured by immense birds called turkey-buzzards, that are constantly to be seen devouring the various nuisances with which the streets are infested."†

The Rimac, which supplies these canals, has its origin in the district of Huarochiri: it receives in its course several small torrents, formed by the melting

* Stevenson, vol. i. pp. 213—216. Many years ago, a municipal regulation was issued to prevent the towers of the churches being constructed of any other materials than wood and painted canvas; but latterly, they have been built of clay or sun-dried bricks.

† Brand, p. 178. Miller, vol. i. p. 384. Lieutenant Maw, on the other hand, says, the principal streets are clean, and appeared to be swept every morning. Maw, p. 9. Lieutenant Brand was sadly annoyed by the prevailing uncleanness. The men of Lima, he describes as dirty and indolent beyond all others in South America, smoking from morning till night; and the public offices, he always found filled with smoke and the floors disgustingly dirty.

of the snows or the rains that fall in the Interior, by which, at times, it is swelled very much, while at other seasons its channel is in many places almost dry.

Lima enjoys "one of the most delightful climates in the world." To persons, at least, who have been accustomed to the scorching sun and suffocating heat of Bahia, on the opposite side of the Continent, or to those of Cartagena, the mild and equable climate of Lima, Mr. Stevenson says, is as surprising as it is agreeable. "The heat of the sun in summer, is mitigated by a canopy of clouds which constantly hangs over Lima; and although not perceptible from the city, yet, when seen from an elevated situation in the mountains, they appear somewhat like the smoke floating in the atmosphere of large towns where coal is burned." * During the winter months, from April or May to November, damp fogs (called *garuas*) almost constantly prevail, which chill the air, and moisten the ground sufficiently to render the pavement slippery; and during the other part of the year, they take place at the changes of the moon. These mists arrive with the morning breeze, which blows from the westward; and in the middle of the day, during the summer, they are dissipated by the sun's power. In the evening, a south-easterly land-breeze brings them again forward. During the winter months, the sun is often obscured for several succeeding days. While the

* "Notwithstanding that Lima is situated in 12° S. latitude, Fahrenheit's thermometer seldom rises to 70° in the shade. This low temperature is probably caused by the rays of the sun being, for a great part of the year, intercepted by a fleecy or mottled veil of clouds, called by sailors a mackarel sky."—Miller, vol. i. p. 399. Mr. Stevenson states, that the *maximum* heat seldom exceeds 78°. of Fahrenheit, and the *minimum* is seldom below 62°. Mr. Caldcleugh says, that the thermometer varies from 61° to 84°, but this must be very unusual.—See Stevenson, vol. i. p. 150.

valley of the Rimac is thus kept in the most fertile state by these wet fogs, the rain falls with great violence in the neighbouring sierra, accompanied with much thunder.* This peculiarity of climate is confined to those parts of Lower Peru where the Cordillera approaches the Pacific. At Guayaquil, on the contrary, where the distance between the mountains and the sea is considerable, the rains are heavy, and the mists of rare occurrence.†

Although Lima is free from the terrific visitation of storms, it is subject to the still more dreadful phenomena of earthquakes. Shocks are felt every year, particularly after the mists disperse, and the summer sun begins to heat the earth. They are commonly felt two or three hours after sunset, or a little before sunrise; and their direction has generally been from S. to N. The most violent have taken place at intervals of about fifty years. Those which have produced the most disastrous consequences at Lima, occurred in the years 1586, 1630, 1687, 1746, and 1806.‡ "It has been remarked," says Mr. Stevenson, "that the vegetable world suffers very much by a great shock. The country about Lima, and all that range of coast, were particularly affected by that which happened in 1678. The crops of wheat, maize, and other grain were entirely destroyed; and for several years afterwards, the ground was totally unproductive. At that period, wheat was first brought from Chile, which

* This last phenomenon is so rare in the valley, that the dates of the thunder-storms are accurately preserved. Since the year 1582, it appears that only four have occurred.

† Caldcleugh, vol. ii. p. 77. Stevenson, vol. i. pp. 149—153. See also page 4 of this volume.

‡ Their violence seems to have been chiefly felt at Lima, as, at Arequipa and Quito, different years are recorded as the epochs of the most violent. A very severe and destructive earthquake occurred at Lima in March, 1828.

country has ever since been considered as the granary of Lima, Guayaquil, and Panama." Mr. Caldcleugh, adverting to this current statement, suggests as a probable explanation of the phenomenon, that the streams and springs may be affected by the motion of the earth, so that certain localities may be rendered sterile, which were previously fertile, while others may have gained in the same ratio. The climate of Lower Peru, he remarks, owing to the heat, could never have been very favourable to the growth of wheat. It is remarkable, that the great earthquakes of 1687 and 1746 were succeeded by rain; and after the violent shock of 1806, the streets of Lima were almost inundated for several days, a circumstance which must have completed the ruin and terror of the inhabitants.*

The vegetable productions of the country are numerous and of very dissimilar species and habits. While sugar, rice, tobacco, yams, sweet potatoes, and cocoa are raised in the warmest situations, the vine and *quinoa* (*chenipodium*) are planted in colder spots, and potatoes † in the most elevated. The grapes are highly flavoured, but the wine is of inferior

* Caldcleugh, vol. ii. p. 80. Stevenson, vol. i. p. 161.

† The *papa amarilla*, or yellow potato, is produced in the greatest abundance in the Sierra about thirty leagues N.E. of Lima. The *camotes*, or sweet potatoes, grow as large as in Rio de Janeiro (sometimes weighing ten pounds), and are held in great estimation, especially in Chile. Mr. Caldcleugh states, that the *arracacha*, another valuable esculent, is unknown in Peru; but Mr. Stevenson says, that the white arracacha is cultivated in the valley, though it is neither so large nor so well flavoured as what are produced in a cooler climate: they taste something like a boiled chestnut, and being of easy digestion, are given to the sick and convalescent. The starch made from the root, is used as arrow-root.—Stevenson, vol. i. p. 169.

quality.* Three sorts of maize are cultivated, and this grain appears to have been the principal one in use among the Indians. Great quantities of it have been found deposited in subterranean granaries, where, it is supposed, it must have lain upwards of four hundred years; yet, its nutritive qualities were not destroyed.† Lucern (*alfalfa*) is much cultivated for provender: it generally grows to the height of three feet, and is cut down five times in the year. Culinary vegetables are abundant: the most valuable are the *yuca*, or cassava, and beans (*frijoles*), which last is the principal food of the lower classes. The *tomate* (love-apple) and capsicum of various species are also much cultivated. Olives grow in abundance, and oil is made in considerable quantities, but it is inferior to the French and Italian oils.‡ Apples and pears thrive, but are little cultivated; of peaches, there are several varieties, of which the *aurimelos* and *priscoes* are the most delicate; apricots do well; nectarines, plums, and cherries are scarce. A wild currant is common in some parts both of Peru and Chile, but the fruit is small and bitter. Quinces grow very large; figs are most plentiful and well flavoured; and the pomegranates are very fine. Several kinds of melons are cultivated; and the water-melons (*sandias*) are large and good.

Among the tropical and equinoctial fruits, the plantain and banana ornament the orchards with their

* The colonial laws did not prohibit the vine in Peru and Chile, as they did in Mexico and New Granada; and wines and brandies have been articles of exportation from Mendoza, Valparaiso, and Callao.

† Stevenson, vol. i. p. 166.

‡ The first olive-tree was brought to Peru by D. Antonio de Ribera, a native of Lima, in 1560.

large green leaves, ministering to the luxuries of the rich, and satisfying the hunger of the poor. Four varieties of the *musa* are known in Lima; the platano-arton (*m. paradisiaca*), the camburi or largo (*m. sapientum*), the dominico (*m. regia*), and the *naiga de la isla*.* The sour and sweet orange, the lemon, the lime, the citron, and the shaddock grow in all the gardens. The *lucuma*, a large tree, bears a fruit about the size of an orange, containing within a green rind, three large kidney-shaped kernels covered with a hard shell: the edible part is of a deep yellow, not unlike, in substance and appearance, the yolk of a hard-boiled egg, and is esteemed by many. The *palta* (*laurus Persea*, alligator pear, or vegetable marrow) is a large and handsome tree, bearing a luscious stone-fruit which is eaten with salt and pepper. The *pacay*, a moderate-sized tree, bears a fruit contained in a large green pod, sometimes more than a yard long and three inches broad: the edible part is a soft, cotton-like substance, sweet and juicy, enveloping a black bean; there are several varieties. The *guayaba* or *guaba* grows in great abundance, and some of the species are very good. The *granadilla*, a species of the passion-flower, has a fruit about the size and shape of a duck's egg, with a hardish shell, inclosing a very delicate substance, full of small black seeds, not unlike a ripe gooseberry. The *tumbo* or *badea*, a variety of the granadilla, has fruit as large as a small melon, which it nearly resembles when cut,

* The first plants of this last species were brought from Otaheite in 1769. The banana (in Quichua, *vicuri*) is, however, indigenous, and is found in the interior of Maynas, on the banks of the Ucayale, and to the eastward of Cuzco. Mr. Stevenson states, that he has found beds of leaves of both the banana and the plantain in the *huacas* at Parramongo.

except that the seeds are of a brownish colour: it is prepared for the table, after being cut in slices, with sugar, wine and spice. The *pálillo* is the delicate custard-apple, which is very sweet and fragrant: the dried rind is often burned with other perfumes. The *capuli* or cape gooseberry, when ripe, has an agreeable acid taste. But the queen of tropical fruits is the *chirimoya*, (a Quichua term, derived from *chiri*, cold, and *muhie*, seed,) which the first Spaniards who arrived in Peru, described as a net filled with honey. The tree is described by Mr. Stevenson as low and bushy.* The flower, composed of three triangular fleshy petals, has a mean appearance, but its fragrance surpasses that of any other that can be mentioned: one flower will scent a large room, particularly if it be warmed in the hand, but it continues in perfection for only one evening. The fruit has somewhat the shape of a heart; is of a green colour, with a reticulated appearance produced by brownish lines; and contains several blackish seeds about the size of horse-beans: the larger the fruit, the fewer the seeds. The edible part resembles a custard in substance, and is generally eaten with a spoon: the flavour is peculiar and extremely delicate,—"a happy mixture of sweetness and acidity, with a delicious scent." Their

* Mr. Caldcleugh has given a singularly different description of this plant. "The tree is about twelve or fifteen feet high, with branches extending to the ground, and large, broad leaves; the flower is small, of a pink colour, and remarkably sweet scented; the fruit varies in size from an orange to a large melon, and is covered with a smooth green skin; the pulp is white, and either liquid or easily cut with a spoon; enveloping a number of shining black pips of the size of an almond-kernel, which, on exposure to the air, become of a light brown colour. It resembles the custard-apple more than any fruit I am acquainted with, but it is very far superior to it. It is considered to be a new species of *annona*."—Caldcleugh, vol. ii. p. 63.

weight, in Lima, is from one to three pounds each; but, in the woods of Huanuco and Loja, they are often found to weigh from fifteen to twenty pounds, and even more. The *guanabana*, or sour-sop, resembles the chirimoya in appearance; but the flower is different; and the fruit, which is generally larger, often grows on the main trunk of the tree, and on the larger branches; while that of the chirimoya grows on the branches when they are two years old: it has a grateful acid taste, and forms an agreeable beverage, dissolved in water, which is afterwards strained and sweetened; a transparent jelly is also obtained from it, which makes a fine preserve. The *pepino* is an egg-shaped fruit, with a smell like a cucumber, and a sweet but peculiar taste, "between a raw vegetable and fruit;" there are several varieties. It is deemed unwholesome, and has acquired the name of *mata-serranos* (kill-mountaineer), from its often proving fatal to the country people, when they come down to the coast, if eaten in large quantities. The pine-apple is not cultivated in Lima, but is brought from the neighbouring valleys, where the climate is hotter.

"The orchards here," Mr. Stevenson says, "unlike those of Europe, are always beautiful: excepting the foreign fruit-trees, which give a wintry appearance when their branches become naked by the falling of the leaves, all the others are evergreens, and appear in the pompous garb of spring during the whole year. The new leaves take possession of their inheritance before the death of their predecessors; and the inflorescence and fructification in many trees, follow the example of the leaf. The highly rich green of the banana and plantain, their enormous leaves rustling with every breeze, and discovering their pendent bunches of fruit; the orange-tree enamelled with

green and white and gold; the pomegranate with its crimson bell; the shady chirimoya breathing aromas to the evening breeze; the tripping granadilla stretching from tree to tree, and begging support for its laden slender branches; the luxuriant vine creeping over trellisses, and hiding under its cooling leaves the luscious grape; are beauties certainly not to be surpassed; but these, and all these, are found in every garden in the valley through which the Rimac meanders.

"The flower-gardens here contain most of the varieties seen in our gardens in England, excepting the family of ranunculuses and tulips, neither of which did I ever see in South America. Indeed, the climate is so favourable to all kinds of vegetation, where water can be procured for irrigation, that little care is required; but less than what is necessary, is usually bestowed. The ladies are passionately fond of flowers, and will give very high prices for them. I have known a white lily, a little out of season, sold for eight dollars; and good hyacinths for two or three dollars each; and I am certain that a clever gardener and florist, who would take to Lima a stock of seeds and roots, would very soon amass a considerable fortune. I have observed, that the generality of the flowers of the indigenous plants are yellow; and it is a common saying, *Oro en la costa, plata en la sierra*, (gold on the coast, silver in the mountains,) where the general colour of wild flowers is white. The *floripondio* is very much admired by many for its fragrance; it partakes of that of the lily. The tree is bushy, and grows about ten feet high; the flowers are white, each about eight inches long, bell-shaped, and hang in clusters. One tree will scent a large garden; but, if there are more, the smell is overpowering, and pro-

duces head-ache. The *suche* is a great spreading tree, and is filled with clusters of flowers, each about two inches in diameter, which are the largest kind, and others about an inch: they are bell-shaped, and of a fleshy substance; some are white, others yellow, and others of a pink colour; all are very fragant. The *aroma* bears a number of round, yellow, flosculous flowers, deserving their name, for they are most delicately fragrant."*

"The pastilles of Lima," says Mr. Caldcleugh, "are very celebrated, and much used to drive away insects; but, whether the latter have been accustomed to them, I know not. These insects may be considered as the only plagues in this part of the world. The mosquito is not so troublesome as in other warm countries; but fleas, of more than usual size and activity, try the tempers, not only of foreigners, but of the natives, who make war upon them in every way. I never saw such numbers of these disgusting and annoying insects in any other place; they swarmed like flies on the sea-beach. The 'other entomological production incident to beds,' is far too common."†

During March and April, and at the beginning of autumn, intermittent fevers are common, particularly the tertian; but, with this exception, Lima is not subject to epidemic disease; and, upon the whole, the climate is deemed salubrious. Those who outlive fifty years, generally attain the age of eighty and upwards, for which reason, Lima has been called "the paradise of the old." Asthmas, coughs, and other diseases of the lungs, which are generally confined to colder regions, are, however, common. The change of climate is severely felt by the inhabitants of the Sierra, who

* Stevenson, vol. i. pp. 338—340. † Caldcleugh, vol. ii. pp. 85, 6.

seldom remain long on the coast without suffering from fevers of an intermittent or an inflammatory description.*

"The majority of the men of Lima," says Mr. Miller, "have the appearance of being feeble and emaciated. These physical effects are certainly not attributable to climate alone, but may be ascribed also to the general dissoluteness which characterized the old regime: in proof of which, those who have latterly grown to maturity, shewed themselves, during the campaigns, to be hardy, enterprising, and infinitely superior to their predecessors, who had been taught to cringe to Spanish satraps, and to familiarize their minds with every species of meanness. Hence, the duplicity, dishonesty, shameful political inconsistency, and total want of public spirit evinced by some few who have attained office since the overthrow of the all-debasing European despotism. From the rising generation in Peru, higher expectations may be formed. The youth generally possess great natural vivacity as well as talent, and are impelled by an honest ambition to render themselves useful to their country. The climate of Lima seems to be favourable to the quickening of the intellectual faculties." †

The Traveller who has given the most favourable account of the people of Lima, (although he is not

* Caldcleugh, vol. ii. p. 81. Stevenson, vol. i. pp. 344—348. *Berrugas*, warts of a peculiar kind, are common in some of the valleys on the coast. In some of the valleys of Peru, a dreadful cutaneous disease prevails, called the *uta*. A hard red tumour, supposed to proceed from the sting of a small insect, is the first symptom. This bursts, leaving an incurable sore, which extends, and ultimately proves fatal. In 1803, a new disease made its appearance in the valley of Huaura, called by the natives *grano de la peste* (pest pimple), which appears to have been of a very anomalous and dreadful character.

† Miller, vol. i. p. 305.

very partial, and scarcely just, towards the old Spaniards,) is Mr. Stevenson. "A Creole of Lima," he says, "partakes in many respects of the character of an Andalusian: he is lively, generous, and careless of to-morrow; fond of dress and variety; slow to revenge injuries, and willing to forget them. Of all his vices, dissipation certainly is the greatest. His conversation is quick and pointed. That of the fair sex is extremely gay and witty, giving them an open frankness which some foreigners have been pleased to term levity, or something a little more dishonourable, attaching the epithet immoral to their general character." * This Traveller chivalrously defends the ladies of Lima against this imputation; asserting, that the female Creoles are generally kind mothers and faithful wives; that "conjugal and paternal affection, filial piety, beneficence, generosity, good-nature, and hospitality, are the inmates of almost every house." The testimonies and opinions of foreign visiters are to be received with caution, whether they incline to a favourable or an uncandid view of the state of society. But there is a well known proverbial description of the Peruvian capital, which will probably be thought to have some truth for its foundation. Lima has been styled "the heaven of women, the purgatory of husbands, and the hell of asses." The first expression is explained, as referring to the power the ladies exercise, and the consideration they enjoy: the second does not favour the representation, that conjugal happiness is very general.

With regard to the personal attractions of the Limeñas, our authorities equally differ. Lieutenant

* Stevenson, vol. i. p. 295.

Brand represents their walking dress as indelicate and disgusting;* and he would infer from their very costume the extreme laxity of morals. We shall give Mr. Stevenson's description of this singular costume.

"The walking dress of the females of all descriptions, is the *saya y manto*. The former is a petticoat of velvet, satin, or stuff, generally black or of a cinnamon colour, plaited in very small folds, and rather elastic; it sits close to the body, and shews its shape to the utmost possible advantage. At the bottom, it is too narrow to allow the wearer to step forward freely, but the short step rather adds to, than deprives her of a graceful air. This part of the dress is often tastefully ornamented round the bottom with lace, fringe, spangles, pearls, artificial flowers, or whatever may be considered fashionable. Among ladies of the higher order, the saya is of different colours,—purple, pale blue, lead colour, or striped. The manto is a hood of thin black silk, drawn round the waist, and then carried over the head; by closing it before, they can hide the whole of the face, one eye alone being visible; sometimes, they shew half the face, but this depends

* Brand, p. 183. "I call it disgusting," he says, "because it was the first impression I felt on seeing it, and that impression was not worn off when I left; although many of my countrymen were in raptures with it, and termed it elegant." Mr. Mathison remarks, that the manner in which the elastic *saya* exhibits the shape, "would be considered indelicate *elsewhere*." Lieutenant Maw says: "I do not consider that the *saya* and *manto*, worn by the ladies of Lima, of which much has been said in various descriptions of the city, set off a fine figure in the manner generally supposed. The *saya* fits tight round the hips, but the front and lower part of the person are not shewn to advantage. This costume seems to have originated in depraved taste and corrupt habits. Since the Revolution, it is getting into disuse."—Maw, p. 15.

on the choice of the wearer. A fine shawl or handkerchief, hanging down before, a rosary in the hand, silk stockings, and satin shoes, complete the costume.

"The hood is, undoubtedly, derived from the Moors; and, to a stranger, it has a very curious appearance; however, I confess that I became so reconciled to the sight, that I thought, and still think it, both handsome and genteel. This dress is peculiar to Lima; indeed, I never saw it worn anywhere else in South America. It is certainly very convenient, for, at a moment's notice, a lady can, without the necessity of changing her under dress, put on her *saya y manto*, and go out; and no female will walk in the street in any other in the day time. For the evening promenade, an English dress is often adopted: but in general, a large shawl is thrown over the head, and a hat is worn over all. Between the folds of the shawl, it is not uncommon to perceive a lighted cegar; for, although several of the fair sex are addicted to smoking, none of them choose to practise it openly.

"When the ladies appear on public occasions, at the theatre, bull circus, and *pascos* (promenades), they are dressed in the English or French costume; but they are always very anxious to exhibit a profusion of jewellery, to which they are particularly partial. A lady, in Lima, would much rather possess an extensive collection of precious gems, than a gay equipage. They are immoderately fond of perfumes, and spare no expense in procuring them. It is a well known fact, that many poor females attend at the archbishop's gate, and, after receiving a pittance, immediately purchase with the money *agua rica*, or some other scented water. Even the ladies, not content with the natural fragrance of flowers, often add to it and spoil it by sprinkling them with lavender water, spirit of musk,

or ambergris, and often by fumigating them with gum-benzoin, musk, and amber, particularly the *mistura*, which is a compound of jessamine, wall-flowers, orange-flowers, and others, picked from the stalks. Small apples and green limes are also filled with slices of cinnamon and cloves. The mixture is generally to be found on a salver at a lady's toilette. They will distribute it among their friends, by asking for a pocket handkerchief, tying up a small quantity in the corner, and sprinkling it with some perfume, expecting the compliment, 'that it is most delicately seasoned.'" *

The custom of wearing these veils, or going *tapada* (as it is called), which the Spaniards adopted from the Moors, has been interdicted in Spain, under heavy penalties, by repeated edicts, but always without effect; and in 1609, an attempt was made to enforce the prohibition at Lima, but the Viceroy discouraged it as impracticable. The ladies, Mr. Caldcleugh tells us, advance many substantial and unanswerable reasons for not changing this custom: "The sun scorches their faces, and they would be prevented from visiting the sick, and performing charitable actions without publicity." The freedom allowed by it, another Traveller assures us, is almost unbounded: "They live, in fact, when abroad, in a perpetual masquerade, nothing affording them more amusement than to deceive their acquaintance, by passing themselves off as strangers, or to watch their movements, and listen to their conversation, unobserved. At public places, and on occasions such as that above described, they permit any gentleman of genteel exterior to address them, and converse, without previous introduction. They even stop at the windows of rooms

* Stevenson, vol. i. pp. 300—302.

on the ground floor, and converse with or pay gentlemen visits in their own houses, two or three of them together; but, in that case, always without discovering themselves, and checking any attempt to remove the silken mask, which would, indeed, be immediately resented as an unpardonable insult."*

Within the house, the costume has nothing remarkable. The hair is ornamented with flowers, and a black veil is thrown back on the head.† "The manners of the ladies," says Mr. Caldcleugh, "are extremely agreeable, and they are as kind and attentive to foreigners as the Spanish women everywhere shew themselves. In their persons, they are extremely cleanly, taking the cold bath several times a day; although it must be stated, that they smoke a little, and occasionally take snuff. They get rid of the unpleasantness which attends the former operation, by chewing paper. It is not unusual for them to smoke a little at the theatre; but they always choose small cigars, and, placing their fan before them, retire to the back of the box. This custom may, therefore, be considered as on the wane.‡ It proceeds in a great measure from the almost constant fogs which prevail in Lima, and from an idea, not without foundation, that it prevents stomach-attacks."§

"Perhaps," says Mr. Miller, "the proportionable number of *very* handsome women, is smaller in Lima

* Mathison, p. 233.

† Lieutenant Brand represents the ladies as "very untidy in doors," slovenly and dirty, never wearing stays, a loose shawl thrown over their bare neck, their front hair in papers without cap, &c. It is not, however, every English lady who would wish to be caught and described in her morning undress.

‡ The inveterate custom of smoking in the theatre, was abolished by a public decree under the Protectorate.

§ Caldcleugh, vol. ii. p. 65.

than in Guayaquil,* and in some other South American towns; but there is, in the manner of the Limeña, a spell, which gives her an influence over the other sex, unknown elsewhere. The Limeñas are esteemed warm in their attachments, but somewhat inconstant." Black eyes, with delicately arched eye-brows, black ringlets, finely turned arms, prettily shaped hands, feet so bewitchingly small, that they might almost delight a Chinese, and a figure, small and slender, constitute the charms of a Lima belle. We have not enumerated among their attractions, a sallow complexion; but, to the credit of the ladies, Mr. Stevenson says, they are not in the habit of using cosmetics. The Guayaquilenas differ very remarkably from the Limeñas; they have complexions as *fair* and clear as any Europeans, with *blue eyes* and *light* hair, although Guayaquil lies within little more than 2° S. of the Equator, and the climate is excessively hot. "Some people," says Captain Basil Hall, "ascribe the fairness of the women there, and the wonderful permanence of their good looks, to the moisture of the air."† The true explanation, doubtless, is, that they are descended from settlers of a different race. The whole character of the people of Lima, physical and moral, as well as their manners and customs, is Andalusian. The mixed castes, however, especially the *Quarterons* and *Quinterons*, are often fair, with light eyes and hair.

Among other amusements introduced by the early Spaniards, the bull-fights were formerly conducted at Lima with an *éclat* that rivalled those of Seville;‡

* "Some of the most beautiful women in Lima," Mr. Caldcleugh says, "are natives of Guayaquil."

† Basil Hall, vol. ii. p. 109.

‡ See MOD. TRAV., Spain, vol. i. p. 362; vol. ii. p. 16.

and the death of the bull was an object of as much interest to the ladies of the Peruvian capital, as the death of the hare to the English huntress, or the winning horse to the titled dames at Newmarket or Doncaster. The amphitheatre (*Circo de Toro*) in which the bull-fights were held, Mr. Miller says, is the best constructed and most convenient place of public amusement in Lima. "The exterior wall is a circuit of about half a mile in circumference. Three tiers of boxes inclose an uncovered arena. The seats accommodate 10,000 spectators, and, whenever this favourite diversion takes place, are crowded as well with beauty and rank as with the motley and variously tinged population."* But this inhuman pastime was abolished by San Martin.† We know not whether "the royal cock-pit," formerly a daily resort, still exists.

Gambling was formerly carried on to a great extent in Lima, but much more in the higher circles than in the lower. No public gaming-houses were permitted under the viceroyalty, and the police were on the alert wherever a house was suspected; but private parties were very common, particularly at the country houses of the nobility, and at the bathing-places of Miraflores, Chorillos, and Lurin. The tables, although in the houses of noblemen, would be free to all, the master and slave, the marquis and the mechanic, mixing indiscriminately; and the priests were among the most regular and adventurous attendants. Buena-

* Miller, vol. i. p. 392. The bulls destined for the ring, were obtained chiefly from the woods in the valleys of Chincha, about sixty leagues from Lima, where they are bred in a wild state.

† Bull-fights were suppressed in the Peninsula by the Cortes and their example was followed by the Governments of Rio Janeiro, Buenos Ayres, and Chile, and finally by that of Lima, under the Protector, in 1822.

vista, a seat of the late Marquess of Montemira, six leagues from Lima, was the Sunday rendezvous of every fashionable of the capital, who had a few doubloons to risk on the turn of a card.* "So strong was this ruling passion," says Mr. Miller, "that when the patriot army has been closely pursued by the royalists, and pay has been issued to lighten the military chest, the officers, upon halting, would spread their *ponchos* on the ground, and play until it was time to resume the march; and this was frequently done even on the eve of a battle. Soldiers on piquet often gambled within sight of an enemy's advanced post. A Colombian officer intrusted with two or three months' pay belonging to Colonel Don Thomas Heras, lost the amount, and, being unable to replace it, attempted to pass over to the royalists, but, being taken at a patriot outpost, was shot by order of General Bolivar. Perhaps no other vice, singly, produced so many drawbacks to the patriot cause, as the unfortunate propensity to play, on the part of ministers, envoys, and officers of all ranks, who too frequently dissipated public property intrusted to their care. Insubordination, desertion, and occasional defeat, and a prolongation of the miseries of war, were some of the natural consequences of the unhappy propensity.....It speaks much in favour of the Revolution, that this vice is sensibly diminishing in Peru; and to the unfortunate Monteagudo belongs the honour of having been the first to attempt its eradication." † The houses of the great, which used

* "On one occasion, a fortunate player, the celebrated Baquijano, was under the necessity of sending for a bullock-car, to convey his winnings, amounting to above 30,000 dollars. A mule, thus laden with specie, was a common occurrence."

† Miller, vol. i. pp. 402—5.

to be converted into nocturnal gambling-houses, are now more innocently enlivened by music and dancing; and political and literary coteries, formerly unknown, have lessened the numbers of the votaries of fortune. A generation or two must pass away, however, before a habit so general and so inveterate can be altogether rooted out. Balls were not very frequent at Lima, previously to the entrance of the patriots. When San Martin established his head-quarters there, he gave an assembly once a week at the palace. "At first," we are told, "the ladies, who had been accustomed only to minuets, the *fandango*, *mariquita*, and *guachambai*, were not perfectly *au fait* at country dances; but they were apt scholars, and soon became graceful dancers, and passionately fond of that amusement." *

Of the mixed castes, who form a considerable proportion of the population of Lima, Mr. Stevenson gives the following description.

"The *Mestizo* (the offspring of a White and an Indian) is generally very strong, of a swarthy complexion, with but little beard. He is kind, affable, and generous, and particularly inclined to mix in the society of white people; very serviceable, and something like the *Gallegos* in Spain. In some parts of the Interior, there are great numbers of mestizoes: here, their colour is whiter, and they have blue eyes and fair hair during childhood, but both become darker as they advance in years.

"The Mulatto is seldom so robust as his parents; he appears of a delicate constitution.† Fond of dress

* Miller, vol. i. p. 402.

† Notwithstanding their mental vivacity, Mr. Miller says, the Mulattoes do not make as good soldiers as the Indians, in consequence of their inferiority in bodily strength and in the power of resisting the cold of the mountains.

and parade, of a fiery imagination and inclined to talk, he is often eloquent, and very partial to poetry. Many Mulattoes in Lima obtain a good education by accompanying their young masters to school while children, and afterwards attending them at college. It is very common, at a public disputation in the University, to hear a Mulatto in the gallery help out a wrangler with a syllogism. They are generally called *palanganos* (chatterers). Many of the surgeons here are Mulattoes, and frequently do great honour to themselves, and credit to their profession.* Some of the females have agreeable countenances and fine figures; they are witty, generous, and remarkably faithful in their connexions; they are often the confidential servants in rich families, and have the direction of all domestic concerns. Occasionally they are the duennas of the young ladies. They are very fond of dress, dancing, and public amusements, where they generally appear with their curly hair scarcely reaching to their shoulders, adorned with jessamine and other flowers: in the evening, they will sometimes fill their hair with jessamine buds, which, in the course of an hour, will open and present the appearance of a bushy powdered wig.

"The *Quarteron* † and *Quinteron* (the mixed castes

* From the church and the bar, they were excluded by the laws of the Indies; but many have acquired a knowledge of medicine, and some of those who have been regularly educated, have risen to eminence. Their nickname has been acquired by their extreme volubility. "Sermons and their preachers," Mr. Miller says, "are favourite objects of their criticisms. They remember, with provoking accuracy, sermons preached several years before; and when a friar repeats an old discourse, the *palangano* manifests his detection by violent gesticulation. Sometimes, a *palangano* not only remembers an entire sermon, but will versify it on the repetition."—Miller, vol. i. p. 406.

† The low and narrow forehead betrays the Mestizo. In the

between the White and the Mulatto or Mestizo) are often handsome, have good figures, a fair complexion, with blue eyes and light hair; they are mild and obliging, but have not the intrepidity or lively imagination of the Mulatto.

"The *Zamboes* (between the Negro and the Mulatto) are more robust than the Mulattoes; they are morose and stubborn, partaking very much of the character of the African Negro, but prone to more vices. A greater number of robberies and murders are committed by this caste, than by all the rest, except the *Chino* (Negro and Indian), the worst mixed breed in existence: he is cruel, revengeful, and unforgiving; very ugly, as if his soul were expressed in his features; lazy, stupid, and provoking; he is low in stature, and, like the Indian, has little or no beard, but very harsh black hair inclined to curl.

"The Negro Creole is generally more athletic than his African parents: he has no more virtues than they have, but he has commonly more vices; he seems to be more awake to revenge, and less timid of the consequences; he considers himself as better than the *Bozales*, (the name given to African slaves,) and will rarely intermarry with them."*

"The Indians who reside in Lima, have become

Mestizo-quarteron, the size and shape of the forehead are also distinguishing marks, together with a small rising about the middle of the nose, and some dark stains on different parts of the body: "particularly one below the region of the kidneys, which is always the last that disappears, though often not before the fourth or fifth generation, bespeaks a mixture of the Indian race. The mothers of Mestizoes generally begin very early to plait the hair of their children, dragging it back from the forehead and temples in very small plaits, for the purpose of enlarging that feature."—Stevenson, vol. ii. p. 301.

* Stevenson, vol. i. pp. 307—309.

such exact imitators of the Creoles in dress and manners, that, were it not for their copper-coloured faces, it would be difficult to distinguish them. Their principal occupation is the making of fringes, gold and silver lace, epaulettes and embroidery; some are tailors, others attend the markets, but very few are servants or mechanics." *

The scanty remnant of the aboriginal population in the neighbourhood of Lima, presents hardly a fair specimen of the Indian race. At Chorillo, "the Brighton of Lima," about eight miles from the capital, the permanent inhabitants are for the most part Indian fishermen. Mr. Mathison, who visited this place in 1822, gives the following description of them. "The Indians whom I saw, presented no very interesting appearance; yet, their condition is not worse than that of the lowest orders in most countries. They subsist on fish and maize, and the sugar-cane, of which there are some plantations in the neighbourhood. The men dress like the Spanish Creoles, in the *poncho*, and the women wear a loose petticoat and shawl of thick woollen stuff, manufactured from the wool of the llama. Their jet black hair is plaited with careful nicety, and falls down behind in a number of small ringlets, or, more correctly speaking, tails. They pay no attention to their persons, which are loathsome and dirty beyond description.† Perhaps, the *Coyas* and Virgins of the Sun,

* The trades are chiefly followed by the Mulattoes, who discover great aptitude for mechanical arts, becoming excellent shoemakers, tailors, barbers, carpenters, &c.

† "The lower classes seldom take off their clothes to sleep. They have a common saying, that water is unworthy of hands and face, and soap is a betrayer (*El agua es indigno, y el jabon traidor*). An appearance of comfort might invite extortion; or perhaps the extreme aridity of the climate in the interior, may be one of the

being of higher rank and lineage, were possessed of greater personal attractions in ancient times; but if we may judge of the then Indian race by what we see of their posterity in these days, the beauty which has been so long celebrated throughout Europe, must be altogether a poetic fiction. The Peruvian countenance is marked with nearly the same features which characterise all aboriginal Americans: small eyes, broad, flat nose, high cheek-bones, black, shaggy hair, and dark copper-coloured complexion. There seemed to me very little difference between these Indians and the Puris, whom I had seen at Aldea da Pedra in Brazil, except that the latter appear evidently to be more civilized." *

Mr. Stevenson gives a similar description of the physical characteristics of the Indians of the coast: "They are of a copper complexion, with a small forehead, the hair growing on each side from the extremities of the eye-brows; they have small black eyes, small nose, the nostrils not protruding like those of the African; a moderately-sized mouth with beautiful teeth; beardless chin, (except in old age,) and a round face. Their hair is black, coarse, and sleek, without any inclination to curl. The body is well proportioned, and the limbs are well turned; they have small feet. Their stature is rather diminutive, but they are inclined to corpulency, when they become inactive; and it is a common saying, that a jolly person is *tan gordo como un cacique*, as fat as a cacique. In the colder

causes of this antipathy to cleanliness. The skin of the face of a newly arrived European peels off, and the lips swell and become chapped to a painful degree. Ablution *is* supposed to increase it." —Miller, vol. ii. p. 227.

* Mathison, pp. 279, 280. For a description of the Puri Indians, see Mod. Trav., Brazil, vol. i. p. 213.

climates, although in the same latitude, the complexion of the Indians is lighter, owing perhaps to the cold; however, the Araucanians, who enjoy a much colder climate, are of a dark copper colour." *

In direct contradiction, however, to what has been asserted by other Travellers respecting their habits, this Writer represents the Indians as cleanly in their persons, and particularly so in their food; abstemious in general, although, at their feasts, addicted to excess, but not habitual drunkards. "They are industrious in the cultivation of their farms and gardens, attentive to their other occupations, and faithful to their engagements. They know the value of riches, strive to obtain them, and are fond of being considered rich. Infidelity between man and wife is rare; and they are kind parents, which generally makes their children grateful, as well as dutiful." Speaking of the Indians generally, this Traveller warmly repels the aspersions of the Spanish writers; remarking, that "the numbers of Indians who receive holy orders, natives of the coast as well as of the Interior, is a convincing proof that they are not destitute of understanding, nor incapable of at least becoming literary characters, if not learned men. Some have shone at the bar, in the audiences of Lima, Cuzco, Chuquisaca, and Quito.† Extreme cowardice has also been attributed to the Indians; but this imputation very ill accords with the character of the tribes of Araucania or Darien. During the present

* Stevenson, vol. i. p. 376.

† Manco Yupanqui of Lima, late Protector-general of the Indians, was a good Latin scholar, well versed in English and French, and was considered as the only good Greek scholar in the city. Don Jose Huapayo, vice-rector of the college of *Del Principe*, was another man of distinguished talents.

contest in South America, the Indians have sustained more than their share in fighting; and had the unfortunate Pumacagua of Cuzco *, or Pucatoro of Huamanga, been supplied with arms and ammunition, they would not have been subdued by Ramirez and Maroto." †

We shall have occasion to advert again to the character of the aborigines; and must now take leave of the Peruvian metropolis, and its various population, in order to transport our readers at once into the interior. In describing the principal city of the Spanish colonists, we describe all the inferior ones, the only difference consisting in the local situation and their comparative magnitude and wealth. The ancient capital of the Incas, however, is well deserving of distinct description.

CUZCO.

THE city of Cuzco is situated about 550 miles E.S.E. of Lima, in latitude 13° 42′ S., longitude 71° 4′ W. It is built upon very uneven ground, in the midst of a fertile and extensive valley, watered by the small river Guatanay, which is, however, nearly dry, except for three months in the year. According to the received tradition, it was founded in the year 1043, by Manco Capac, the first Inca, and was divided into *Hanam Cozco* and *Hurin Cozco*, the Upper and Lower Towns. The name of the city is said to signify the centre. ‡ It was indeed, we are told, the only place in the native dominions of the Incas, that had the appearance of a city. The grandeur and mag-

* See page 73 of this volume.

† Stevenson, vol. i. pp. 389—391.

‡ *Cozzcoo* (as Mr. Miller writes the original name) appears to answer in signification to the Ομφαλος or *Umbilicus terrarum* of the ancients.

nificence of the edifices; especially the fortress and the temple of the Sun, "the Capitol and Coliseum of the Peruvian Rome," struck the Spaniards with astonishment, when, in 1534, Pizarro took possession of the city. Of the Temple of the Sun, Mr. Miller says, there remain only some walls of singular construction, upon which is raised the Dominican convent, a most magnificent structure. The high altar stands in the very place where the golden image of the Peruvian Bel was formerly adored. The chambers of the Virgins of the Sun are now occupied by holy friars; and fields of corn and lucern have usurped the place of the royal gardens and menageries, once crowded with fantastic ornaments, many of them representing gigantic shrubs and flowers, in massive silver and gold.

"Not far from the temple is the spot where the first Spaniards formed their *quartel* or intrenched encampment, in which, whenever overpowered by numbers, they took refuge, and sustained a siege. According to monastic tradition, the Peruvians, on one occasion, set fire to the defences; but, at the moment the besieged were on the point of perishing, the Virgin Mary descended in a cloud to their succour, extinguished the flames, and gave a decisive victory to the exterminating propagators of the holy catholic faith. The cathedral erected near this spot, exists in pristine splendour, and contains a chapel, called *Nuestra Señora del Triunfo*, built to commemorate this miracle.

"Upon a lofty hill, a little to the north of the city, stand the ruins of a mighty fortress, many parts of the walls of which are still in perfect preservation. They are built of stones of extraordinary magnitude, of polyangular shapes, and of different dimensions,

placed one upon another without any sort of cement, but fitted with such nicety as not to admit the insertion of a needle between them. It is surprising, and still unexplained, how or by what machinery the Peruvians could have conveyed and raised these enormous masses to such heights; and it is equally extraordinary how the diversified angles of the blocks could have been fitted with such minute precision.*

"The cathedral, the convent of St. Augustine, and that of La Merced, are stupendous buildings, inferior in architecture and magnificence to few ecclesiastical structures in the Old World. The walls of many of the houses have remained unaltered for centuries. The great size of the stones, the variety of their shapes, and the inimitable workmanship they display, give to the city that interesting air of antiquity and romance, which fills the mind with pleasing though painful veneration; and excite feelings of abhorrence and regret that any portion of such admirable specimens of the arts, which, in days so far remote, flourished among the subjects of the children of the sun, should have been defaced or destroyed by the wanton barbarity of Europeans." †

* The stones of the walls of Cuzco have seldom fewer than from six to nine angles. Ulloa states, that the interstices formed by these enormous masses are filled with smaller ones, and so closely joined as not to be perceived without a very narrow inspection. "One of these large stones," he adds, "is still lying on the ground, and seems not to have been applied to the use intended. It is called *La Cansada* (the troublesome)."—Pinkerton, vol. xiv. p. 615.

† Miller, vol. ii. pp. 223—225. "The other notable things at Cuzco," Alcedo says, "are the baths, the one of warm, and the other of cold water; the ruins of a large stone-way, which was built by order of the Incas, and which reached as far as Lima; and the vestiges of some subterraneous passages which led to the fortress from the palaces of the Incas: the walls were cut very crooked, admitting, for a certain space, only one person to pass at a time; and the exit was by a rock worked in the same narrow manner.

Cuzco, which still ranks as the second city in Peru, is stated to contain, according to Alcedo, a population of 26,000 souls, having been much diminished by the plague of 1720. Mr. Miller, however, states, that in 1825, it contained above 40,000 inhabitants. When the patriot army entered Cuzco, the natives are represented to have testified their satisfaction "by the performance of solemn *fêtes*, most of which had been strictly forbidden by the Spaniards, as they all had some reference to their ancient Incas. They got up processions almost daily, in which their masks, their grotesque party-coloured dresses, and their lofty ostrich plumes, contrasting with the sadly plaintive style of their music, formed a most interesting and illustrative exhibition. Their musical instruments consist of something like bagpipes, tambourines, drums, cow-horns, and a kind of Pandean pipe. They sang their *yaravis*, or plaintive ditties, while their mild, dejected expression of countenance corresponded well to the mournful tune. Their very dances partook of the melancholy character which ages of misery have imparted to them. One of them is a sort of quadrille, in which eighteen or twenty persons gently glide through the figure with an air of innate placidity."*

"Twenty leagues to the eastward (of Cuzco) commence the territories inhabited by unsubdued tribes, who allow no stranger to penetrate into their country." The diocese of Cuzco extends southward as far as the northern shores of Lake Titicaca, comprising the provinces of Lampa † and Caravaya in the department of

* Miller, vol. ii. p. 227.

† Lampa, the jurisdiction of which begins thirty leagues south of Cuzco, is, according to Ulloa, the principal of the provinces included under the the name of *Collao*. The meaning of this word is not given, nor does it occur as the name of a region in Alcedo. But we have Paucarcolla as an adjoining province, and Collahuas as

Puno; which are rich in mines. Towards the south-west, it includes the province of Aymaraes; and up to the year 1609, it included the city of Arequipa. To the south of Cuzco, and to the east of Lake Titicaca, is the elevated plain of Tiahuanaco, where there still exist remains of ancient edifices, built in the same "Cyclopean" style as the walls of the fortress of Cuzco, and exciting astonishment by the immensity of the stones. "They seem never to have been finished, and at the arrival of the Spaniards, the natives attributed the construction of them to a race of white and bearded men who inhabited the ridge of the Cordilleras long before the foundation of the empire of the Incas." * The wish expressed by Humboldt many years ago, that some learned traveller could explore these provinces, the seat of an extinct civilization, still remains unfulfilled. Of Cuzco itself, we regret that we have no adequate description. The information furnished by Ulloa, Alcedo, and the other Spanish writers, is vague and uninteresting; and the interior of Peru may still be regarded as almost unknown country.

Of the department of Puno, of which General Miller was for a short time prefect, and which comprises the northern portion of the basin of Lake Titicaca, we have the following account.

"The department of Puno is composed of the five provinces of Guancani, Lampa, Asangaro, Caravaya, and Chucuito. It contains about 300,000 souls, five-sixths of whom are aborigines. Puno, the capital, has about 7,000 inhabitants. The surface of the

another; and "*y Colla*" is adjoined to the names of two other districts. Caravaya is sometimes written Callavaya; and the name seems to refer to the aboriginal tribe of Callavayas.—See Miller, vol. ii. p. 239.

* Humboldt's Researches, vol. ii. p. 9.

country is nearly all table-land, and, in few places, less than 10,000 feet above the level of the sea. The climate is cold, as compared with the coast, and very healthy. Its productions are cattle, in great abundance, barley, always cut green for horses, and potatoes. It has also some manufactories of woollens, and supplies Arequipa and Lima with those articles. The llama, the vicuña, the guanáco, and the alpáca,* are very numerous in this district. The llama is peculiar to the Peruvian Andes, and of great use, particularly on roads impassable for mules, or in places where forage is scarce. It is said to be a link in the animal kingdom between the camel and the sheep. It is woolly and of various colours. It is employed in carrying ores from the mines, charcoal, corn, &c. If the load exceed eighty pounds, or if the llama be made to perform more than three or four leagues a day, it becomes sulky and dejected, and lies down and dies. One of the great advantages of using the llama is, that two or three pounds of straw will suffice it for twenty-four hours. It will not travel at night. It is remarkable, that, if offended, it will spit at its keeper or driver, and the person who feeds it, as well as a stranger. The llama is subject to attacks of ague when driven to the sultry districts on the coast. Alpácas are kept in flocks for the sake of their wool. The vicuña, more elegant and more graceful, perhaps, than the antelope, runs wild upon the Andes. Some attempts have been made to bring them to Great Britain, for the purpose of naturalizing them in the coldest districts of Scotland; but the animals put on board ship have never weathered the heat of the

* There is a llama and an alpáca in the Zoological Gardens, in the Regent's Park. The former is not a handsome one. Mr. Barclay, of Bury Hill, has a much finer one.

tropics, and seldom lived to reach so far north as the line.

"Puno has many silver mines. The most noted is that of Laycacota or of Salcedo, as it is now called from the name of its first proprietor.* This rich mine lay neglected (from the time of an unsuccessful attempt to work it in 1740) until 1826, when it was granted to Colonel O'Brien; and the work of completing the adit by cutting through the porphyritic rock, has been resumed.....It appears (from the records of Chucuito) that the ore extracted in one year (1668) from the mines of Salcedo, produced upwards of a million and a half of dollars, as proved by the amount of duties paid to the king." †

LAKE TITICACA.

THE Lake of Chucuito or Titicaca is situated between the two Cordilleras, and is inclosed by the surrounding mountains. Its circumference is about 240 miles; and in many places, it is more than 480 feet in depth. It receives several rivers, but its only outlet is the Desaguadero, (or drain,) which flows from it into the Lake Paria, and is there apparently lost. There is, reason, however, to believe that the waters have a subterranean vent.‡ The storms that rush from the

* Ulloa states, that the silver extracted from this mine was so pure that it was commonly cut out of the lode with a chisel. This wealth proved fatal to its owner, who, on the charge of being implicated in some local disturbances in which he had taken no part, was taken up and executed; the envy of his riches being the real occasion of his death. The most extraordinary stories are still current of his generosity and munificence; and it is believed, that a considerable spring issued forth and overflowed the mine, on the day of his death.

† Miller, vol. ii. pp. 233, 4.

‡ The Lake of Paria is from three to four leagues in length, and two in width, and, like that of Titicaca, abounds in excellent fish;

Andes, render the navigation of the Great Lake dangerous for ships. Its waters are said to be "bitter," and impure; yet, they are drunk by the cattle, and even by the Indians, and they abound with trout and other fish, (*armantos*, *çuches*, and *boquillas*,) and flocks of wild fowl haunt its shores.

The lake takes its name of Titicaca (signifying the leaden mountain) from the principal island, on which the natives believe that Manco Capac had his first residence, and received his Divine commission. The island was consequently held in great veneration, and the succeeding Incas erected there a magnificent temple, the walls of which are said to have been covered with gold. As every Peruvian was annually obliged to visit this temple, and to bring an offering to its shrine, the riches accumulated here were immense; but when the country was conquered by the Spaniards, the natives, to hinder their taking possession of the temple, razed its walls, and threw all its wealth into the lake. Such, at least, is the tradition.* Throughout the island, Alcedo tells us, there are now found no vestiges of that grandeur which is exhibited in the edifices of

its waters, therefore, are doubtless fresh. Alcedo says, that it is found in fact to have a whirlpool, where some old rafts were sucked down, and that the water is thought to find a passage into the sea under the Cordillera and through the shore, close to the port of Iquique. "In 1748, its waters increased to an immense height, and it was concluded, that some raft had blocked up its subterranean passage; a circumstance most likely, since, after a time, they subsided to their ordinary state."—Thompson's Alcedo, vol. iv. p. 56. This seems a repetition of the phenomenon presented by the lakes of Metapa and Atitan in Guatemala.—See Mod. Trav., Mexico, &c. vol. ii. pp. 212, 259.

* "It is confidently and repeatedly asserted by the Indians, that the greater part of the riches of the country was thrown into this lake when the Spaniards entered it; and amongst other valuables, the great gold chain made by the order of the Inca Huayanacap, which was 233 yards in length, and within which 6000 men could dance"!!—Thompson's Alcedo, vol. i. 465.

Tiahuanaco; but the celebrated sanctuary of Our Lady of Copac-avana may probably occupy the site of the golden temple. The island is three leagues in length by one in width, five in circumference, and one mile from the shore of the lake. It is mountainous, and for the most part uncultivated, but very fertile, being naturally irrigated by thirteen streams, and abounding with flowers and fruit; its pastures feed much cattle, and in the woods are found wild rabbits and pigeons.*

Near the southern extremity of the lake, the banks approach each other, and form a bay, which terminates in the Rio Desaguadero. A bridge of rushes was thrown over it by Yupanqui Capac, the fifth Inca, and by this means, the Peruvian army advanced to the conquest of Charcas. The river is about 80 yards in width, and flows with an impetuous under-current. The bridge was five yards in breadth, and nearly two above the river. It was repaired every six months, in pursuance of a law made by the Incas, and, on account of its great utility, adopted by the Spanish Government.

How far the Quichua language prevails, we have no distinct information; but at La Paz, or Chuquiaco, in Bolivia, 288 miles S.S.E. of Cuzco, the vernacular language of the natives is the Aimara. A third language, called the Moxa, is spoken on the banks of the Mamore.† The most southern department of Upper

* Thompson's Alcedo, vol. i. p. 465; vol. iv. p. 568.—Malte Brun, vol. v. p. 430. The islands, Alcedo says, were formerly inhabited by a wretched tribe called the *Uros*, who, having been prevailed upon to leave them for the main land, now reside in miserable caves and holes, or huts covered with the *totora*, (or cats-tail, apparently a species of flag, which grows to the length of a yard and a half, of which also they make their rafts,) maintaining themselves by fishing.

† The Quichua or Inca language, with some variation, con-

Peru is that of Potosi, which comprises the provinces of Porco, Chayanta, Lipes, Chichas, and Atacama, containing a population of about 300,000 souls, two-thirds of whom are of the aboriginal race. Of the capital of this department, Mr. Miller gives the following description.

POTOSI.

"THE town of Potosi, the capital of the department, is situated about 15,000 feet above the level of the sea, in the province of Porco, in latitude 19° 51′, and longitude 60° 31′ W. from Cadiz. Upon the accidental discovery of its mineral riches in 1545,* it was named an *Asiento*, or mine-station; but, in process of time, it was raised to the rank of a town, and made the capital of an *intendencia*. In 1611, the town contained 150,000 inhabitants, according to a census taken by order of the *Intendente* Bejerano. This number must at that time have consisted principally of *mitayos* of every tribe existing between Potosi and Cuzco, a distance of nearly 300 leagues. Those unhappy beings were generally accompanied in their labours by their wives and families, who came rather

tinues to be spoken by about two-thirds of the inhabitants of Peru Proper. Into this language, the New Testament is in process of translation by a native of Cuzco, descended from one of the Incas, who has been engaged to undertake this important service for the British and Foreign Bible Society. Versions of the New Testament in the Aimara and the Arawack dialects, are also in progress. The Aimara and the Moxa are spoken, according to Mr. Thomson, by about 400,000 people.—Thomson, pp. 102, 3.

* The story told respecting their discovery, is, that an Indian who was pursuing some wild goats up the mountains, on coming to a very steep part, laid hold of a small shrub to assist him to climb up; the shrub gave way from its roots, and discovered a mass of fine silver among the clods.—Pinkerton, vol. xiv. p. 623.

to share in the hopeless sufferings of their husbands and fathers, than to settle in the arid hills of Potosi. It is not, therefore, surprising that its population should have been, by the abolition of the *mita*, and by the shocks which wealthy establishments received during the Revolution, reduced to only 8000, in the year 1825.

"The traveller, on approaching Potosi, from whatever side he may come, emerges from deep mountain ravines, and discovers the town at the foot of the celebrated argentiferous *Cerro*, which is a conical hill about three leagues in circumference at the base. Its summit is more than 2000 feet above the town, and consequently 17,000 feet above the level of the sea. It appears to be of volcanic origin, and its sides are marked with spots of various hues, such as dark green, orange, grey, and red. Above 5000 *boca-minas* (mine mouths or levels) have been opened on the mountain. Of these, only fifty or sixty are now worked. The rest are stopped up, are inundated, or have fallen in. The upper portion of the mountain is so completely honeycombed, that it may be considered as nearly worked out. The lower part, about one-third of the cone, has hardly been touched, in consequence of the number of springs which impede the workings.

"The surrounding country is also metalliferous. Silver of great fineness abounds in a hill called Guayna-Potosi (Young Potosi), close to the *Cerro*, but which cannot be worked, on account of numerous springs being met with at no great distance from the surface. The ore is pulverized in mills, worked with overshot wheels, turned by streamlets conducted from lakes or pools in the mountains, from one to ten miles distance from the city. The most considerable of these

lakes are formed by dams built across the *quebradas* or ravines. The water is sparingly let out by a sluice in the day-time, but never at night, and sometimes not oftener than twice a week, according to the supply. Some of the larger pools are fed by tributary ones, situated in higher recesses of the same mountains. People are constantly employed as lake-keepers, to attend to the sluices, and to repair damages. In very dry seasons, it has happened, that a scarcity of water has caused the mills to stand still. This inconvenience might be obviated, if the *azequias*, or channels, were paved, and the lakes properly cleaned out.

"The town of Potosi is built on uneven ground. It has a spacious square in the centre. The government-house, the town-house, and the *jail*, under the same roof, occupy one side; the treasury and government offices another; a convent and an unfinished church the third; and private residences the fourth. Extensive suburbs, once tenanted by Indians and miners, are now without an inhabitant, and the vestiges of the streets are all that remain.

"Among the most remarkable public edifices is the mint, substantially built of stone, upon a plan admirably adapted to the purposes for which it was designed. It cost 1,148,000 dollars, including the machinery. It contains spacious apartments for the superintendent and a few of the principal officers.*

* The first mint was built in 1572; the present edifice in 1751. Up to the latter date, the money coined at Potosi consisted of flat, angular pieces of silver or gold, bearing the Spanish arms, and a figure denoting their value. They are often called *Buccaneer* dollars, and are the "pieces of eight" frequently mentioned in the history of those marine freebooters. The annual coinage has, in the most productive years, amounted to five millions of dollars in silver, and to 36,800 doubloons in gold.

"The climate of Potosi is disagreeable. The rays of the sun are scorchingly hot at noon, while in the shade, and at night, the air is piercingly cold. The country for three leagues around is so completely barren, that a blade of vegetation is not to be seen, with the exception of a plant called *quinuali*, which is a remedy against the *puna* (difficulty of respiration).

"The market of Potosi is one of the best supplied in South America, though some articles of great consumption are furnished from very distant provinces. Wine, brandy, and oil are brought from the *Puertos Intermedios*, and flour from Cochabamba. Mules, asses, and llamas are the only means of transport. The necessaries, as well as the luxuries of life are exorbitantly dear. Formerly, many Indian families took up their abode in huts or caves near the mines on the Cerro, and descended to the town only on a Saturday night, to receive their wages, and to purchase a weekly supply of provisions. Many of these often remained to squander their earnings in dissipation, drunkenness, or gambling; and passed great part of the night playing the guitar, and singing at the doors of the tippling shops.

"A singular custom, which probably originated in the indulgence of early mine-owners, still prevails. Between Saturday night and Monday morning, the *Cerro* literally becomes the property of such persons as choose to work upon their own account. During that time, the boldest master would not venture to visit his own mines. They who thus take possession are called *cavchas*, and generally sell the produce of Sunday to their own masters. Independently of the ore thus abstracted, the *cavchas* did considerable mischief by neglecting the proper precautions as they excavated. If they met with a more than usually rich

vein in the course of the week, it was passed over and cunningly reserved for the following Sunday. Very strong measures were therefore taken to abolish the custom; but every effort proved unsuccessful. The *cachas* defended their privilege by force of arms, and by hurling down large stones upon their assailants. So watchful are they, that it once happened that fifteen or twenty llamas, richly laden with silver ore, were seized on the descent, because they had left the mine after the hour at which the *cacha* privilege commenced. Neither llamas nor drivers were ever heard of again.

"Although Potosi was the last town in Peru that became independent, it was the first to raise a monument to its liberators; for, previously to Bolivar's arrival in 1825, an obelisk, sixty feet high, was erected in the principal square."*

Chuquisaca, formerly called La Plata (the silver city), or Charcas, the present capital of the Republic of Bolivia, stands in a small plain surrounded with eminences, which defend it from the inclemency of the winds. The climate is mild, but, during the winter, dreadful tempests are not unusual, and the rains are of long continuance. The city is supplied with water from several public fountains by means of aqueducts. The best houses are only one story in height, but roomy, with delightful gardens. There is a large and handsome cathedral, adorned with fine furniture and some beautiful paintings; there are also, besides another parochial church, five monastic establishments, all spacious buildings with splendid churches, a conventual hospital, three nunneries, and a royal university. The city was founded by one of Pizarro's cap-

* Miller, vol. ii. pp. 272—281; 287.

tains, in 1539; it was erected into a bishopric in 1551; was made the seat of the royal *audiencia* of Los Charcas in 1559; and created an archiepiscopal see in 1608. The suffragans of the metropolitan are, the bishops of La Paz, Santa Cruz, Tucuman, and Ascencion (in Paraguay). According to Alcedo, it stands in latitude 19° 31′ S., 290 leagues from Cuzco; and the population is stated at 13,000, of whom 4000 were Spaniards, (including many of the most distinguished families in Peru,) 3000 Mestizoes, 4500 Indians, and 1500 negroes and mulattoes. Mr. Miller, however, states the number of its present inhabitants at 16,000 souls.

AREQUIPA.

THE commerce of La Paz, Oruro, Charcas, and Potosi, all formerly belonging to the viceroyalty of Buenos Ayres, found its vent by the port of Arica, in Arequipa. This is now a small, poor, and insignificant place, although several British merchants reside there. It was once a more considerable town, but was much injured by the earthquake of 1605; and in 1680, it was sacked by an English pirate, since which it has never recovered its prosperity. The more respectable inhabitants removed to Tacna, about fourteen leagues distant to the north, attracted by the superior salubrity of its climate.* The district of Arica, the most southerly in Peru, consists chiefly of sandy deserts, with a few cultivated spots near the courses of the rivulets. Captain Basil Hall, who touched at Arica in 1821, describes the surrounding country as a true

* Tacna, says Mr. Miller, "is not unhealthy, it being situated at some distance from the coast, at the foot of mountains; but few persons remain long in the other valleys, without being annoyed by the ague."

desert, covered with sand as far as the eye could reach, without the slightest trace or hope of vegetation. The ground is varied by high ridges, immense rounded knolls, and long, flat steppes; and far off, we get occasional glimpses of the lower ranges of the Andes; but, high and low, they are all alike,—one bleak, comfortless, miserable, sandy waste. The colour of the ground is sometimes black, generally of a dark brown; and here and there, a streak of white occurs; but nothing more barren, forlorn, or uninhabitable, was ever seen. In the middle of the valley ran a small stream, accompanied in its course through the desert by a strip of rich green, infinitely grateful to the eye, after looking over the surrounding country. The road up the valley was judiciously carried among the trees, near the margin of the stream; and so luxuriant was the vegetation, that we fairly lost sight of the neighbouring hills, among the green leaves of the banana and the thick bushy cotton-trees, the pods of which were in full blossom."* Such is the general character of the tract of coast stretching for more than 1600 miles along the shores of the Pacific, from the mouth of the Guayaquil to Coquimbo. The barren high country along the inner margin of this continued desert, is rich in mineral treasures; but, except where a stream occurs, neither trees nor any other vegetation relieve the dreariness of the scenery. There are no harbours along the coast, but only open roads; and a tremendous surf, caused by the prodigious swell which rolls in from the Pacific, dashes up and roars along the base of the lofty cliffs that guard this inhospitable coast.

Arequipa, the capital of this province, is a large and

* Basil Hall, vol. i. pp. 192, 3.

well-built city, containing about 30,000 inhabitants. It stands in a plain, watered by the river Chile, about twenty leagues from the coast, in lat. 16° 16′ S., and long. 72° W.* It is about 217 leagues S. E. of Lima; 60 S. W. of Cuzco; and 50 North of Arica. "The valley in which it stands is broad, and contains the large and populous villages of Paucarpata, Sabandia (famous for its baths), Chacarato, Mollevaya, Pocci, Quinqueña (or the Verdant), Yarabamba, Tiovaya, and others. Wheat is produced in great plenty, and strawberries and other fruits of the temperate zone are common. The surrounding desert is limited by the Cordillera. At the distance of six or eight miles east of the city, is a conical mountain, the base of which may be about five leagues in circumference; on the summit is a crater, which throws out smoke, unaccompanied by flame or cinders.† A column of thin vapour was issuing from the volcano during the whole time the patriots occupied Arequipa; this had continued for some time. The mountain, being part of the fore-ground of the Andes, does not appear very lofty to the eye; but some Englishmen who climbed it, spent two days in making an excursion to the summit; a task which has seldom been accomplished, owing to

* The town was founded by Pizarro in a different situation, but repeated earthquakes, and the inconvenience arising from its being so near the volcano of Guayna Patina, forced the inhabitants to remove to the present site. The name of the city signifies in the Quichua, to remain; and the explanation given is, that, in one of the conquests of the Incas, the victorious army were passing through these parts, when many of the captains, struck with the beauty of the country, asked permission to form a settlement there, and received for answer, *Arequipay*, remain.

† The whole country near Mollendo, "the port of Arequipa," is described by Captain Basil Hall, as covered with a snow-white powder, which, he was informed, was thrown out from the great volcano of Arequipa many years ago.

the difficulties of the ascent. The river Chile flows through the city, and is crossed by a handsome stone bridge. The walls of the cathedral, the convents, and churches, and even of the houses, are of stone, and of great thickness, in order to provide against great earthquakes, which are very frequent, and sometimes very destructive."* Four times, Ulloa states, by these dreadful convulsions, the city has been laid in ruins. The first occurred in 1582; the second, accompanied with an eruption of the volcano, in February 1600; the third, in 1604; and the fourth, in 1725.† Besides these, the earthquakes of 1687, 1732, 1738, 1785, and 1819, were scarcely less violent.

Guamanga, the residence of an intendant, the see of a bishop, and the seat of a university, demands a brief notice. It is situated about half way between Lima and Cuzco, (188 miles S. E. of the former, and 176 N. W. of the latter,) in lat. 12° 56′ S., long. 73° 57′ W. It was founded by Pizarro on the site of an Indian village of the same name, for the convenience of the trade between Cuzco and Lima, there being at that time no other town between them. Alcedo asserts, that no town in Peru can compare with it as to its buildings, and he represents its climate as a perpetual spring. It contains a splendid cathedral, two parochial churches, seven monasteries, three nunneries, and a population of about 26,000 souls.‡

* Miller, vol. ii. pp. 77. 8. The dwelling-houses, Alcedo states, "are built somewhat like vaults, and have no upper stories, so as to be prepared against the effect of earthquakes. Its temperature, notwithstanding its continual *rains*, is notoriously *dry*, and very benign and salutary."—Thompson's Alcedo, vol. i. p. 94.

† Pinkerton, vol. xiv. p. 619.

‡ Ulloa. Alcedo. Malte Brun, vol. v. p. 429. (The latter remarks, that its central situation might render Guamanga still more flourishing, were it not for the *insalubrity* of its climate.

TRUXILLO.

THE only other city which lays claim to the honours of an episcopal see, is Truxillo, the diocese of which extends beyond the boundaries of the viceroyalty of Lima, including the province of Jaen de Bracomoros, in the kingdom of Quito. The city of Truxillo is situated in latitude 8° 6' S., about half a league from the sea, in the valley of Chimu. It is surrounded with a wall of sun-dried bricks, about five feet thick, and ten in height, with a parapet above it, and fifteen bastions. There are five gates leading to as many roads. The circumference of the city is about a league and a half. The streets are broad, and cross at right angles, with a *plaza mayor* in the centre, according to the universal plan of Spanish towns. Few of the houses are more than one floor in height, owing to the frequency of earthquakes: the best are built, like those of Lima, with an interior *patio*, the principal rooms being spacious and lofty, with ceilings of red cedar richly carved. There is an *alameda* or promenade, forming part of the Huanchaco road. Besides the cathedral, there are three parochial churches, and eight or nine conventual churches, there being four monasteries, a college, formerly belonging to the Jesuits, a hospital of Our Lady of Bethlehem (Bethlemites), and two nunneries. "The women, in their dress and customs, follow very nearly those of Lima. Great numbers of chaises are seen here, there not being a family of any credit without one, as the sandy soil is very troublesome in walking."* The population is under 9000 souls. Several British merchants and some North Americans are among the residents.

* Pinkerton, vol. xiv. p. 561, Alcedo. Maw, p. 20.

Huanchaco, the port of Truxillo, consists merely of a number of huts belonging to Indians employed in the port, with rather better buildings for the commandant, captain of the port, and an English port-agent. About half way to Truxillo, the road passes through the ruins of a large Indian city, called the Grand Chimu, the chiefs of which are said to have long maintained their independence of the Incas. Several of the buildings are still in a considerable degree of preservation; and there are the remains of some large *huacas*, out of which the Spaniards are reported to have taken great quantities of gold. "The Indians of this vale," says Lieutenant Maw, "appear to be a distinct race from those generally met with in Peru. They were exempted by the Spaniards from paying tribute, in consequence of the information they gave relative to the riches buried in the *huchas* (*huacas*); and the present Government have not as yet levied any tax upon them. The Vale of Chimu is three or four leagues in length by about two in breadth: the level also extends eastward along the banks of the small river Mochi. The soil of this vale, being moistened by the waters of the river, possesses a moderate degree of verdure and vegetation, which forms an agreeable change from the dreary waste of rocks, sand, and saltpetre, which, with a few similar exceptions, extends along the coasts of Chile and Peru." *

The *huacas* (or *guacas*) above referred to, have been supposed by many persons to be mere burial-places; but Mr. Stevenson remarks, that, "as some of the tribes of wild Indians bury their dead in the house where they lived, and then abandon it, building for

* Maw, p. 19.

themselves another, this appears to be a sufficient reason for suspecting that such was the practice of the ancient Peruvians." * Near the village of Supe, in the valley of Huaura, there are remains of a large Indian town, built on the side of a rock; galleries being dug out of it, one above another, for the purpose of making room for their small houses. Many remains of these are still visible, and also of small parapets of stone raised before them; so that the hill has the appearance of a fortified place. At a short distance are the ruins of another town on an elevated plain. "I was fully convinced here," continues Mr. Stevenson, "that the Indians buried their dead in the houses where they had resided, as I dug up many of them. They appear to have been buried with whatever belonged to them at the time of their death. I have found women with their pots, pans, and jars of earthenware, some of which are very curious. One kind is composed of two hollow spheres, each about three inches in diameter; they are connected by a small tube placed in the centre, and a hollow arched handle to hold it by, having a hole on the upper side: if water be poured into this hole till the jar is about half full, and the jar be then inclined first to one side and then to the other, a whistling noise is produced.

* To this practice, Southey beautifully alludes in his "Tale of Paraguay."

"Who is there to make ready now the pit,
The house that will content from this day forth
Its easy tenant? Who in vestments fit
Shall swathe the sleeper for his bed of earth,
Now tractable as when a babe at birth?
Who now the ample funeral urn shall knead,
And *burying it beneath his proper earth*,
Depos't there with careful hands the dead,
And lightly then relay the floor above his head!"

Sometimes, a figure of a man stands on each jar, and the water is poured down an opening in his head, and by the same means the noise is occasioned. I saw one of these at the Carmelite nunnery at Quito, having upon it two Indians carrying a corpse on their shoulders, laid on a hollow bier resembling a butcher's tray: when the jar was inclined backwards and forwards, a plaintive cry was heard, resembling that made by the Indians at a funeral. The jars and other utensils were of good clay, and well baked; which, with the ingenious construction just alluded to, proves that the Indians were acquainted with the art of pottery. I have also found in these huacas, long pieces of cotton cloth, similar to that which is made by the Indians at the present time, called *tocuyo*; many calabashes, quantities of Indian corn or maize, quinua, beans, and the leaves of plantains; feathers of the ostrich from the plains of Buenos Ayres, and different dresses; some spades of palm wood, similar to the *chonta* of Guayaquil, and of which none grow near to Supe; lances and clubs of the same wood; jars filled with chicha, which was quite sweet when discovered, but became sour after being exposed to the air for a short time. I have also found small dolls made of cotton, their dress similar to that worn at present by the females of Cajatambo and Huarochiri; it consists of a white petticoat, *anaco*, a piece of coloured flannel, two corners of which are fastened on the left shoulder by a cactus thorn, the middle being passed under the right arm, girt round the waist with a coloured fillet, and open on the left side down to the bottom; this part of the dress was called the *chaupe-anaco*; a piece of flannel, of another colour, of about two feet square, was brought over the shoulders, and fastened on the breast with two large pins of silver or gold, called *topas*:

this part of the dress is called the *yigllá*. The hair is divided into two side tresses, and these are fastened behind, at the extremity, with a coloured fillet. The principal motive for digging the huacas is to search for treasure. I have found rings and small cups of gold; they are beat out very thin, and their size is that of half a hen's egg-shell; it is supposed that they were worn in the ears, for a small shank is attached to them, like the buttons worn by the Indian females at present. Slips of silver, about two inches broad and ten long, as thin as paper, are also frequently dug up. Any small piece of gold which was buried with them, is generally found in their mouths.

"Owing to the nitrous quality of the sand, and to its almost perfect dryness, the bodies are quite entire, and not the least defaced, although many of them have been buried at least three centuries: the clothes are also in the same state of preservation, but both soon decay after being exposed to the sun and air. I dug up one man whose hair grew from his eyebrows, covering his forehead, or rather he had no visible forehead; a great quantity of dried herbs had been buried with him, some small pots, and several dolls. The Indians who saw him, assured me, that he had been a *brujo*, a wizard or diviner; but I was inclined to believe him to have been a physician: however, the two sciences might be considered by them as somewhat similar."*

Near Guambacho, a port to the south of Huanchaco, (in the valley of Santa,) there are remains of an extensive line of fortification, constructed previously to the conquest. "The wall in many parts is still entire, and has salient angles somewhat resembling rude bastions. The wall runs along the side of a lofty

* Stevenson, vol. i. pp. 412—416.

mountain close to the sea. A great battle was gained here by the (tenth) Inca over Chimu, the last king of the province now called Truxillo. An immense quantity of human bones is scattered over the ground. Some of the skulls retain all the hair." *

Of the province of Truxillo, the volumes of Mr. Stevenson, together with the recent enterprising journey of Lieutenant Maw, have furnished us with some further topographical account. The latter officer, when about to return from Lima to England, in November 1827, was given to understand, that a route across Peru and down the river Maranon or Amazons, though little known, was practicable, and that information respecting the Interior would be very acceptable to the British merchants on the coast. Ambitious to obtain, or at least to merit distinction, he resolved to make the attempt; and having fortunately obtained at Truxillo a companion in the enterprise,—an English merchant, of the name of Hilde, —they started on the 10th of December.

FROM TRUXILLO TO TABATINGA.

After leaving Truxillo, the route lies up the valley of Chicama, northward and eastward, passing over

* Miller, vol. i. p. 220. The original town of Guambacho was destroyed by a Dutch pirate in 1685. Speaking of the *guacas*, Mr. Miller states, that phosphoric exhalations are seen sometimes issuing from them, "as large as the flame of a bonfire." This is considered by the country people as an indication that gold is to be found; and they fall to work to ransack the tumulus, which had probably been pillaged twenty times before." "In the year 1576, a Spaniard opened a *huaca*, supposed to have been that of one of the Chimus, in which he found so large a quantity of gold, that he paid into the royal treasury of Truxillo, 9362 oz. of gold as the royal fifth, the value of the whole being upwards of 150,000*l.* sterling."—*Stevenson*, vol. ii. p. 121.

several ridges, the roots of the Cordillera, till it at length ascends to the elevated table-land of Caxamarca. The valleys of Chimu, Chicama, and Viru, may be considered as one, being separated from each other only by the branches of the Chicama river. Their united extent is above twenty-eight leagues in length by eleven in breadth. The soil, irrigated by the waters of the river, is very fertile, and the valley of Chicama was formerly called the granary of Peru; but the earthquake of 1687 is believed to have affected its productive powers. Prior to that convulsion, the wheat is said to have produced two hundred fold. Here are many sugar-plantations, but, for want of hands, Mr. Stevenson says, they are not so well cultivated, and consequently not so productive, as those in the valleys in the neighbourhood of Lima and Pisco. Little doubt, however, he adds, can be entertained, that this beautiful and fruitful valley will, at some future period, become one of the most interesting settlements on the coast of Peru, on account of its extent, the quality of its soil, and the abundance of water.*

The *pueblo* (village) of Chicama is six leagues from Truxillo; it is inhabited chiefly by the tenants and slaves of the ex-marquis of Bracamonte, one of the greatest landed proprietors in this part. The next stage is to the *pueblo* of Cascas, from which the fruit-market of Truxillo is partly supplied. At Contumasa, which our Travellers reached on the third day, the temperature, soil, and vegetation assumed a new character. The ground was covered with grass and

* Stevenson, vol. ii. p. 124. "During the rains in the interior, part of the waters of this river," Lieutenant Maw says, "are discharged into the sea; but, at other times, they are all used for irrigation."

fern; numerous blackberry-bushes were passed, resembling those in England; partridges were seen, and, at a distance, several condors, the magnificent vulture of the Andes. The houses have sloping roofs thatched or tiled, indicating that this place is within reach of the rains. The inhabitants are remarkable for the fairness of their complexions, and the women for their beauty. The surrounding district consists chiefly of small plains between and on the summits of some of the lower ridges of the Andes: the cultivation is chiefly barley and wheat. The road now descends, for three hours, by a zig-zag path, into the deep and narrow valley of the Magdalena, a river which reaches the Pacific. Here, the sugar-cane, plantains, and other tropical fruits flourish, the climate being very hot and insalubrious. The ascent from this valley to the *jalca* * or summit of the Cordillera, is very steep. The ridge is the continuation of the Cerro of Gualgayoc, famous for its silver-mines, about fourteen leagues to the N.W. The table-land is covered with rank grass (*pajon*). After travelling for some leagues across the top, the valley and city of Caxamarca are seen from an eminence. The tiled and white-washed houses, with the spires and domes of several large churches, and the hedges and rows of trees by which the *pampa* is divided near the city, give to the view the effect of European scenery.

CAXAMARCA.

The name of the city is derived from the Peruvian, *Cassac-malca*, *i.e.*, place of frost. The climate, how-

* The declivity of a mountain is called *cuesta*; the highest point, *cumbre*; *jalca* seems to be applied to the top of a ridge.

ever, is not severe.* The valley is about five leagues long and three broad, forming an irregular oval. Many white country-houses present themselves, and numberless *ranchos* of the Indians. "The whole plain," Mr. Stevenson says, "is intersected with green hedges, which divide it into several hundreds of small plots of ground, all apparently in the highest state of cultivation,—at least, all bearing most luxuriant crops. The river winds along the valley from one extremity to the other, bursting as it were from the embraces of the hills at one end; after gambolling along the valley, distributing health and vigour to the vegetable tribes, it again sinks into the arms of the mountains at the other." The crops are subject, however, to be much injured by frosts. Lieutenant Maw states, that they are calculated not to escape oftener than once in five years, and that the *pampa* consequently does not more than supply the city.

Caxamarca stands, according to this Traveller's observations, in latitude 7° 3′ 26″ S.† "It is noted for having once possessed a palace of the Incas, for its hot springs, and for its smiths, who are considered as better workmen than those of any other place in Peru. The only remains of the palace are a few stones, that now form part of the wall of an inferior dwelling-house. They are smooth and fit closely together, but not square. They are supposed to have been hewn with instruments made of a mixture of tin and copper, as some such instruments have been found.‡ It is reported to have been from his baths at

* During Mr. Stevenson's stay at this place, the *maximum* of the thermometer was 72°; the *minimum* 40°; but the frosty winds from the East are very injurious to vegetation.

† According to double altitudes worked by Inman's Tables. In Alcedo, the latitude is given, 6° 54′.

‡ "Of this palace," Alcedo says, "which was for the most part

the hot springs, about a league to the eastward of the city, that the Inca Atahualpa was carried on a throne of solid gold to meet the Spaniards. It is also reported, that, when the Spaniards were making themselves masters of the country, the Peruvians, finding they were unable to oppose them, threw the golden throne into the crater of the boiling springs, to prevent its falling into the hands of the conquerors. Some years since, two rich Spaniards cut a canal to drain the crater, and get out the throne, with other treasures that were supposed to have been hove in. They did not consider that it was deeper than a canal could be cut, and the attempt failed. The churches of Caxamarca were celebrated for the quantity of gold and silver ornaments they possessed previously to the Revolution. They are further remarkable for being of stone richly cut; and still more as the four principal ones remain unfinished."* The population, amounting to about 7000, is chiefly composed of Indians and Mestizoes. Among the Creoles, the family of Bonifas claims a lineal descent from that of the illustrious Cardinal Ximenes, and are reported to be in possession of many interesting papers which belonged to that distinguished prelate and statesman. Among the Indian families, that of the cacique Astopilco is said to be descended from the unfortunate Atahualpa, and they inhabit part of the site of the palace of the Inca. "The generality of the inhabitants," con-

built of mud, but which was very large, and was afterwards converted into the prison, the chapel, and the house of the corregidor, nothing has been left, save a piece of wall about twelve yards long and eight wide. There is still to be seen, a stone, a yard and a half long, and two thirds wide, which serves as the foundation to the altar of the chapel where he met his fate."—Thompson's Alcedo, vol. i. p. 344.

* Maw, pp. 38, 39.

tinues Mr. Stevenson, "are industrious, and their workmanship in silver and iron is deserving of much praise. I have seen many very handsome sword-blades and daggers made here, pocket-steels and bridle-bits most curiously wrought, besides several well-finished pistol and gun-locks: on this account, the Caxamarquinos are often called the Biscayans of South America. The natives are fond of instruction; and many of the richer inhabitants send their children to Truxillo and Lima to be educated. Kindness and hospitality characterize the citizens of Caxamarca; and some of the most agreeable hours of my life have been spent in this town.....The city carries on a considerable trade with Lambayeque and other places on the coast, furnishing them with the different home manufactures, such as baizes, coarse cloth, blankets, and flannels, and receiving in return, European manufactures, soap, sugar, cocoa, brandy, wine, indigo, *hierba de Paraguay*, salted fish, iron, steel, &c. The inhabitants of the Interior resort to Caxamarca as to a mart for their own produce and manufactures.

"At the distance of a league from Caxamarca, are the baths of the Incas. Two comfortable dwelling-houses are built of stone on the two sides of a large patio, each having an extensive bath. That on the right hand is five yards square, and two deep. The sides and bottom are formed of roughly hewn stone, having steps at two of the corners, leading down from two doors, which open to different parts of the house; and others in the centre of the opposite side, communicating by a door with a large room. On the left is another bath, smaller than this; it is called *de los pobres*, and it has convenient rooms also attached to it. At the entrance to the patio is a corridor to the right and left, which serves as a stable; and in

the front there are two kitchens, and a passage that leads through the building. It was at these baths that the unfortunate Atahualpa resided when Pizarro arrived at Caxamarca.

"The spring of hot water, called *el tragadero*, is at the back of the building, and is at the distance of two hundred and thirty yards from it; it is circular, of five yards in diameter. I sounded it with fifty yards of rope, but found no bottom. The land all round it to the distance of more than a mile, is almost level, declining a very little towards the river, which runs at the distance of four hundred yards from the Tragadero. The water appears to boil; but, having only one thermometer with me, and being fearful of damaging it where its place could not easily be supplied with another, I did not measure its heat. The natives scald their pigs here when they kill them, and as I have observed that boiling water rather fastens the bristles on the skin, I concluded that the heat of the water is below the temperature at which it generally boils when heated in the ordinary way. I filled two tin coffee-pots, the one with water from the Tragadero, the other with water from a cold spring; I placed them together on the same fire, and observed that the cold and the hot water began to boil precisely at the same time. I placed an egg in the Tragadero, secured in a small net, and allowed it to remain eight minutes; it was then quite hard, and the yolk dry. I allowed another to remain three minutes, which when broken was soft. I placed another in the hot water, allowed it to remain three minutes, and put it immediately into boiling water on a fire with a cold raw egg; after boiling five minutes, they were both equally hard, and when cut, no difference could be observed, except in the taste: the

one which had been placed in the Tragadero had a slight clayey taste, somewhat similar to that of water which has passed over a bed of clay.

"The water of the Tragadero empties itself into a channel three feet wide, and on an average six inches deep, which, from several experiments, I observed to run at the rate of three feet in a second. By this experiment it appears, that about thirty hogsheads of water are discharged in a minute. Along the sides of the channel, the grass and other vegetables, particularly the ichu, grow to the very margin of the stream; and the fields of lucern which are irrigated with this water, at the distance of five hundred yards from the Tragadero, are the finest in the valley. The fruit-trees also that grow in the gardens belonging to the baths, apples, pears, and peaches, are never subject to the blight from the frosty air so common in the neighbourhood; being apparently protected by the steam which continually rises from the hot water. The principal stream contains many small fishes of a black colour, very much in shape like small shrimps: if these be put into cold water, they immediately die. They appear to be continually swimming up the stream, as if to avoid being carried by it to the confluence of the cold stream from the Santa Rosa springs with that of the Tragadero, where they would most certainly perish.

"The water which flows from the spring called de Santa Rosa, which is only seventy-two yards from the Tragadero, is always at 41° of Fahrenheit at the mouth of the spring, where it bursts from a rock. The baths are supplied with water of any temperature, by mixing the hot from the Tragadero with the cold from Santa Rosa; and, as there is an outlet

at the bottom as well as at the top of each bath, a constant supply of fresh water is maintained." *

"Near to the baths, at a farm-house, are many ruins of what appears to have been a granary or store belonging to the Inca; here are many excavations, in some of which there are marks on the stones of one thousand, two thousand, &c. This has induced some people to search for treasure, but none has ever yet been found. At the distance of two leagues from Caxamarca, is a stone called *Inga Rirpo*, resting-stone of the Inca; it is similar to the one described by M. Humboldt, which he saw at the *Paramo de Assuay*, which is called *Inga Chungana*, Inca's resting-place. The Inga Rirpo, near to Caxamarca, is a large block of freestone, eleven feet long, two feet eight inches high above the ground, and thirteen inches thick; it has two grooves cut across it near to the centre, four inches deep, and five inches wide. Here are also the remains of a circular inclosure surrounding it, eight yards in diameter; it stands on the *Camino del Inca*, the military road on which the Incas travelled from Cuzco to Quito. The sight of this resting-stone commands a most beautiful prospect of the valley of Caxamarca. The tradition of the Indians is, that the Inca used to be brought here to enjoy the prospect, and that the two grooves in the stone were made, that the cross ledges of the throne on which he was carried, might rest secure in them.

"At the farm called *La Lagunilla*, near the Indian village *De Jesus*, five leagues from Caxamarca, are the remains of an Indian town most curiously built. Many of the houses are yet entire; they are all built of stone, and surround a small rock or mountain,

* Stevenson, vol. ii. pp. 131, 2; 137—141.

which is situated in a valley. The bottom tier or range of rooms have walls of an amazing thickness, in which I have measured stones twelve feet long and seven feet high, forming the whole side of a room, with one or more large stones laid across, which serve as a roof. Above these houses, another tier was built in the same manner, on the back of which are the entrances or doorways, and a second row had their backs to the mountain. The roofs of the second tier in front had been covered with stone, and probably formed a promenade; a second tier of rooms thus rested on the roofs of the first tier, which were on a level with the second front tier. In this manner, one double tier of dwelling-rooms was built above another to the height of seven tiers. On the top are many ruins, apparently of a palace or fortress.

"When I first visited this place, I imagined that the rooms were excavations in the rock; but I was very soon convinced that the whole had been built, and I was astonished at contemplating such immense labour, the real purpose of which is now unknown. The rooms are seldom more than about twelve feet square and seven feet high, with a high door-way in front, narrower at the top than at the bottom: the stone has been wrought for the fronts into irregular sized squares, which are cemented together. Some of the thick walls are formed of two casings of stone, and the interstice is filled up with small stones and pebbles, held together with well tempered reddish clay, which at present forms so solid a mass, that it is almost equal to stone. The cement used to hold the stones together was, doubtless, tempered clay; but so little was used, that some have imagined that the stones were merely placed one upon another; in this surmise, however, they were evidently mistaken.

" The whole of this building would have contained at least five thousand families; but we are not certain that it was ever applied to that purpose. Some traditions call it one of the palaces or houses of reception for the Incas when they travelled; but this is by no means probable, for it does not stand within a league of the great road of the Incas, and being only five leagues from Caxamarca, it is not likely that such an edifice would have been built for such a purpose. Others state, that it was the general granary for this part of the country in the time of the Incas; but this is also subject to the same objections; for, as I have already mentioned, the remains of one exist on the farm belonging to Doña Mercedes Arce, near to Caxamarca; and the ruins of all those granaries which I have seen at different places, are a kind of cisterns, walled round either with adobes or rough hewn stones. It appears to me as far more probable, that this was the residence of the Chimu of Chicama, when he resided in the interior of his territory, before it became subject to the Inca Pachacutec. The top of the mountain appears to have been covered with buildings of a superior kind to the rest, for some of the foundations may be traced, inclosing rooms and courts more extensive than are to be found in any other part of this mass of buildings. There are four principal roads leading from the bottom to the top, corresponding to the four cardinal points; and from each of these roads or streets, the inhabitants could walk on the tops of their houses to the next, and probably round the whole by bridges laid across the intersecting roads; so that seven promenades were thus formed, besides the six circular streets. The proprietor of this estate, Don Tomas Bueno, fancied that it was the remains of an ancient temple,

and supposed that a great treasure was somewhere hidden; but I never could persuade him to cut an adit through it in search of the huaca. Here are no remains of delicate sculpture, although a few arabesques may be seen on some of the stones; nor is there any appearance of elegant architecture, for which the ancient Greeks and Romans were so famous. However, the immense ingenuity of the builders in conveying and placing such huge masses of stone in such a situation, as well as the extracting them from the quarries without machinery, and shaping them without iron tools, must astound the contemplative beholder of these ruins, and make him blush at hearing the builders called barbarians. Such epithets are equally applicable to the Egyptians, on viewing their rude ancient monuments; but we feel conscious that those people were in possession of the arts and sciences, when our forefathers in Europe were in a state of barbarity; we consider, too, that from their plantations, the first scions were brought to Greece and Italy, and that these exotics were afterwards transplanted into our own country.

"Near to these ruins is a small lake, *laguna*, from which the estate derives its name; it is of an oval figure, the transverse axis being nine hundred yards, and the conjugate six hundred and fifty. One side of the lake rests on the foot of the mountains which separate the farm from the valley of Caxamarca, on the opposite side of which mountains the river runs. An excavation or tunnel is cut through one of these mountains, through which the water of the lake is discharged into the river, when it rises nearly to a level with the surrounding land, and thus a flooding of it is prevented. This lake was probably the quarry whence the stone was taken for the build-

ing just described, and the passage was probably opened at the same time by the Indians, to prevent the water from deluging the low lands, which bespeaks that attention to economy so evident in the establishments of the ancient Peruvians. The farm-house here, with all the stables and other buildings, are of stone, brought from the *Tambo del Inca*, as the ruins are called; all the yards are paved with the same, and they have a very neat and clean appearance; however, I could not help wishing that the stones had remained undisturbed in their former interesting situation; but many have also been carried, for the same purposes, to different places." *

On leaving Caxamarca, Lieut. Maw and his companion, after crossing the plain in the direction of the hot springs, passed over a rugged ridge to a second, higher, and less fertile *pampa*, named Polloc (Pallaques). The next day, they ascended the second cordillera. Near the summit, they began to fall in with numerous springs on all sides of the mountain. A small circle of trees and brushwood marks the position of each spring; and their waters uniting, form mountain streams that rush along the valleys, ultimately flowing into the westernmost branch of the Amazons. Several hollows were noticed, which have the appearance of craters, and, below these, extensive marks of old Peruvian cultivation. From the top of a third rugged ridge, the first sight was obtained of the Marañon. Nothing on earth or water, says Lieut. Maw, could exceed the grandeur of the scenery. "The rain was clearing off, while a perfect and brilliant rainbow extended across the river, here about sixty yards in breadth, and rushing between mountains the summits of which were hidden in the clouds

* Stevenson, vol. ii. pp. 164, 5; 170—4.

on which the extremes of the bow rested." It is a steep descent to the *balsa* or ferry. The river is not navigable in this part. A little above the ferry, it descends over a sloping bed of large gravel; and at a short distance below, it is fordable on horseback. Further down, there are reported to be cataracts. The valley, in some parts, barely affords sufficient breadth for the river; but near the ferry, there are small banks, where pine-apples, *paltas*, *chirimoyas*, and plantains are raised in perfection for the Caxamarca market.

After crossing the river, the Travellers had to ascend a third very rugged pass, leading over the highest ridge of the Andes that is crossed in this route. "During the forenoon, the track led along the summits of high ridges, that were in some parts not more than three or four feet broad at the top, gradually widening towards their base, but still so steep and narrow, that they resembled immense walls rather than mountains; whilst, from their height, and the haziness of the weather, we could not see the valleys at the bottom.

"After getting beyond these, we came to a steep, narrow path, cut principally amongst the rocks of a rugged ridge. There was barely room for the mules to tread at the bottom; it widened where our feet should have come, but so sparingly, that the defence of wooden stirrups was not sufficient, and we placed our legs over the mules' necks to avoid being jammed. The rock on each side was much above our heads, and the pass nearly a mile in length. After getting out of it, we came to a small level covered with grass, amongst which were mushrooms. We stopped for a few minutes to rest the mules, and, again ascending, passed up and along the side of a ridge; then ascended and

descended amongst trees and various other plants, some of which were common to England. We observed the alder, lupin, blackberry, honeysuckle, yellow broom, fern, heather, and an abundance of what the country-people in England call buttercups. Plants common to tropical climates did not appear numerous. A few cattle in fine condition were feeding amongst the trees; and we passed some tambos, but saw no permanent human habitations.

"We were still in the clouds, and had occasionally light rain. Towards noon, we got beyond the clouds, and saw the jalca of the third Cordillera above us. It now appeared that the jalca was surrounded with a belt of woods, on which the clouds hung. The soil of the jalca is black or bog earth, covered with grass and an abundance of bushes, loaded with berries. A solitary horse was all we saw, feeding. Innumerable springs, with their streamlets, poured down the sides of the jalca, the waters of which were clear as crystal."*

The descent was by a staircase path, down which the mules jumped, rather than walked; at the foot of which was a rich valley clothed with fine grass, fern, and buttercups, and watered by a small, but not rapid stream; having much the aspect of English scenery, except that there were no signs of cultivation. The soil now began to contain whitish limestone; and after ascending from the valley to the *pueblo* of Leimabamba, this was found to form the principal part of the rock. The district is considered rich, and is better cultivated than most parts of Peru. The principal productions are wheat, maize, and potatoes. The appearance of the inhabitants was unhealthy. The route now followed, for several leagues,

* Maw, pp. 48, 9.

a river formed by the junction of some mountain streams, and named, from its stone bridge, the Rumichaca. Afterwards, turning more to the N. E., it ascended a wooded ridge leading to "the city of Chachapoyas." The remains of two round stone buildings were passed, "somewhat resembling Martello towers, reported to have been old Indian houses;" and the Travellers were told, that there is a village on a hill above the *pueblo* of Sootah, the houses of which are built in a similar manner.

Chachapoyas is a name common to the province, the river, and the town, which is the residence of an Intendant. It stands in latitude 6° 7′ 41″ S., and is built on the usual plan of the Spanish towns, with a *plaza* in the centre, having at one corner a handsome church. The streets are paved, but the houses are only one story high. The Intendant shewed Lieutenant Maw the last census and tax-papers of the province, according to which, the population amounted to 5093 males, and 5083 females. He stated, that it had at one time amounted to 20,000 souls,* and ascribed the decrease to the stagnation occasioned by the abolition of the royal monopoly of tobacco, and to the demands made for recruits: affirming, that 1800 men had gone from the province as soldiers since the commencement of the Revolution. Yet, the difference between the males and females in the census, was only ten. The chief produce of the district consisted formerly of tobacco. The cultivation of the vine has recently been introduced. Casks had not yet been obtained, but "they had made arrangements for being supplied with them." It was also intended to cultivate indigo,

* In Alcedo's Dictionary, however, the inhabitants of the province of Chachapoyas are rated at only 10,000.

which grows wild. Wheat, maize, barley, cocoa, sugar, potatoes, cochineal, Peruvian bark, cotton, castor oil, storax, dragons blood, Brazil wood, with "all kinds of vegetables," and "all kinds of cattle," are enumerated among the diversified productions of the province, which comprises almost every variety of climate.

On the 24th of December, our Travellers left Chachapoyas for Moyobamba. The road led over several very rugged ridges bearing north-easterly, and through ravines in which the scenery was romantically beautiful. "Wherever sufficient earth allowed trees to grow, they arched over the path, while the brilliant sparkling of numerous fire-flies, and the clear, pale light of the moon, gave additional effect to the rugged mountain landscape, and the torrent that foamed down the ravine." They reached, late in the evening, the *pueblo* of Toulea. On the morning of Christmas day, the thoughts of our Travellers naturally reverted to England, and to the different aspect of the season in this country, as they looked out upon a field of potatoes in flower, pastures covered with sheep and cattle,* and the woods that clothe the lower parts of the mountains, in full leaf, exhibiting a beautiful variety of tints in their foliage. The thermometer stood at 60° in the shade.

Toulea is the last inhabited station before entering the recesses of the *Montaña*, the name given to the region of woods extending eastward to the banks of

* The watch-dogs that attend the flocks, when young, are taught to suck a ewe of the flock of which they are destined to be the guardians; and when grown up, they continue with the sheep, going out with them in the morning, and driving them home to the fold at night, without the necessity of any herdsman.—Maw, p. 72. Stevenson, vol. i. p. 115.

the Amazons. On leaving the *pueblo*, the route lay for several leagues through a wooded tract, the soil of which is a white sand; then over a hill, where the road on both sides is formed by the trunks of small trees placed athwart and close together; and afterwards across one of the bleakest ridges of the Andes. On the 27th, after passing over some more bleak hills, entered the woods; and the day's journey must be described in our Traveller's own words.

"The wild luxuriance of the trees and flowers in the Montaña, was excessive; scarcely a niche in the abrupt rocks that occasionally shewed themselves, was left unoccupied. Streams became more numerous, and we heard the notes of what we understood to be the organ-bird....The *arrieros* gave us notice to prepare for worse road. This at the time appeared to us scarcely possible; but we had not gone much further, when we were convinced the *arrieros* were correct in their account. Sitting upright, even on the saddles of the country, was out of the question. Ascending, we were obliged to lay ourselves along the mules' backs, and hold on; descending, it was equally steep; and what made it worse, the top of an ascent was scarcely gained, when the next step was jumping down again; consequently, an instantaneous change of position was necessary. In getting up some of these places, while lying stretched along the mules' backs, we appeared to be nearly upright. Nor was steepness the only obstacle. Some of these staircases were cut through cliffs, but so narrow, that, in descending, we repeatedly got jammed; and the sides were so high, that a person when a few yards in advance, appeared to be going to the interior, rather than continuing along the surface of the earth. In other parts, branches of trees, particularly stout *sogas*

(creepers), caught our heads and necks; and it was necessary to keep a good look out, to avoid being hanged by these growing ropes. Going down one of the steepest descents, a *soga* stretching across the path, caught me directly in the mouth, which it forced open: fortunately, it was not a strong one, and my biting it hard, and the strength and weight of the mule, broke it. Between the ridges were bogs, in which the mules sank up to their bellies. Bridges over the mountain streams were made of one large tree, flanked by two smaller ones. If our mules had not understood their business, and been as active and sure-footed as goats, we certainly could not have ridden....At length, the trees of the forest became larger, and the underwood less thick, and we began to meet with more tropical plants, among which were several varieties of palms and ferns; some of the ferns nearly equalling the palms in circumference, but not in height. Towards sunset, we reached an open space about 100 yards long by 30 in breadth; and there being sufficient pasture for the mules, and a stream running past, we stopped and pitched our tent near a large tree."

Here, our Travellers were first greeted by mosquitoes. The next day, the road continued much the same, with the additional inconvenience, that, in some parts, the depth and continuance of the bogs rendered it necessary to "push into the wood to get round them." At length, they reached a place called the *veniana* (window), where the rock is "pretty nearly perpendicular, with only a few niches cut for the mules to step into." "We all dismounted, and scrambled down in the best manner we could. How the mules got down, I am at this moment at a loss to conceive. The only one that I saw, (for I got out of

the way as quickly as possible,) was my own. I had given her to one of the *arrieros* to hold until I was clear below, but he let her go rather too soon, and she tumbled past, still keeping her feet like a cat. I do not hesitate to say of this passage across the Montaña, that, had I not been a witness to the contrary, I could scarcely have believed it possible for any animal to have carried a human being over it alive. The road appeared to me to be badly made, worse kept, and absurdly chosen."

On reaching Moyobamba*, situated on an elevation in the plain watered by the Moyo, our Travellers found that they were not the first Europeans who had visited the place. A Mons. Du Bayle had arrived a few weeks before from the Brazilian territory; and a British sailor, called Miguel Ramos, (in plain English, Michael Ramsay,) had by some means found his way there from the coast, and, after surprising the natives by his eccentric conduct, had gone off, leaving his wife behind him. The population of this place is estimated at about 5000 persons. The Moyobambians are remarkable for the lightness of their complexion. They are also noted for their manufacture of a coarse cotton cloth called *tucaya*, which, from the scarcity of coin, serves, in the Lower Provinces, as the circulating medium. It is made principally by the women and children. Plantains are here the substitute for bread.

* According to Alcedo, Moyobamba, or Santiago de los Valles, which is in the province of Chachapoyas, is situated in lat. 7° S., and long. 75° 51′ W.; 192 miles E. by N. of Truxillo, and 310 miles N.N.E. of Lima. The climate is hot and unhealthy. Its tobacco was reckoned formerly the best grown in Peru. According to Lieut. Maw's observations, the latitude is 5° 30′ 30″; a difference of nearly a degree and a half; he expresses doubt as to the correctness of his calculation, but believes his latitude to be nearer the truth than that of the Missionaries.

On the 7th of January, having obtained from the intendant and vicar all the information they could furnish, our Travellers proceeded on foot, the road not being passable even for mules, to a place called Balsa Puerto, five days distant, where they were to embark in canoes. In one part, they had to ford a stream thirty or forty yards in breadth, just above where it forms a cascade, by rushing down a rock at an angle of about 45°. The current is so strong and rapid, that there is the greatest danger of falling and being dashed down the precipice. An Indian girl, in passing, had nearly fallen, but recovered herself; and Mr. Hinde, on coming to the same place, actually fell, but had the presence of mind to throw himself up the stream, and was saved by one of the Indians. One of the party had seen a deer killed in attempting to pass. The place is called *Puma Yaco* (Tiger Water). A little further, they came to a point from which they had a view, between some of the last ridges of the Andes, of the vast plain that lies beyond them. Its boundary was the horizon, and, though covered with wood, it looked like the sea. Almost immediately afterwards, they reached the brink of a descent, called by the natives, the Staircase (*Escalera*), or rather Ladder; and a terrible ladder it must be to descend. It is, in some parts, nearly perpendicular, having foot-holes cut in the side; and is of such height, that it takes an Indian carrier from five in the morning until noon to get up it.

"Accustomed as we had now become," says Lieut. Maw, "not only to the Andes, but to the Montaña, this place surprised us. After descending for two hours, we came to a ladder made of two tall palm-trees, with twenty-six cross-pieces as steps. Accustomed as I have been to going aloft, this staircase

descent made the joints of my knees crack, every bone in my skin ache, and the perspiration run from every pore. Immediately on reaching the bottom, was a broad stream, called *Escalera Yaco* (Staircase Water), which, descending rapidly among rocks, was so much swollen, that we were obliged to wait until it had a little subsided; when we waded it nine or ten times, in some parts up to our waists, and the *Cachi Yaco*, a broad, but, in this part, shallow river, once."

On the 15th of January, our Travellers embarked in two canoes, about twenty feet long and two and a half broad, fitted up with an awning thatched with palm-leaves. The Cachi Yaco, which they had forded three times before reaching Balsa Puerto, and which they now descended to its junction with the Guallaga, is a shallow and very winding stream, the current (in the rainy season) flowing at the rate of four miles an hour. The distance to the junction, following the windings, is about a hundred miles. The Guallaga is a much more considerable river. Its average depth, before it is joined by another river from the westward, is about four fathoms: below that junction, it deepens to five and six fathoms, and when clear of islands, it is from a third of a mile to half a mile in breadth. The trees on the banks are not generally large; but the words afford cover for numerous wild boars, tigers, tapirs, and other wild animals. The *pueblos* on this river are built at the head of little creeks, where the ground is higher than the banks of the main stream, and clearer of damp and insects. At the *pueblo* of Laguna, our Travellers had to hire fresh and larger canoes to prosecute their voyage.

Laguna* is the chief establishment of the Missions

* San Antonio de la Laguna is, according to the Missionaries, in latitude 5° 13′.

in the province of Maynas. The situation is peculiarly unhealthy, surrounded with steaming swamps, which breed mosquitoes of extraordinary size. The Indians here live chiefly on fish, plantains, and *yucas;* they also drink large quantities of *chicha*, of which they make four kinds, from maize, yucas, plantains, and a large, red, fleshy palm-nut called *chuntas*. The yuca makes the best. The traffic of Laguna consists in sending bees' wax, salt fish, and *tartaruga* to Moyobamba, for which *tucuya* (coarse calico) is received in return; and sarsaparilla and oil of the *vaca marina* to Tabitinga, whence they obtain knives, fish-hooks, hatchets, hoes, and beads, with a few English cottons and crockery-ware for their own use. The governor was dressed in a large checked blue cotton shirt and trowsers of English nankeen, for which he had paid four reals a yard at Tabitinga. Laguna, though the population has greatly declined, has still belonging to it, several hundred inhabitants, who collect at the festivals, when it is known that a *padre* is coming. At other times, the *pueblo* is almost deserted: only the Governor and a few families remain, and the streets and *plaça* are overgrown with grass.

On the 21st of January, our Travellers left Laguna about noon, and at sunset reached the mouth of the Guallaga.* It did not produce that impression which

* It was by the Guallaga, that Pedro de Orsua reached the Amazons. M. Condamine, who, in 1743, descended the Amazons, entered the river much higher up, by the Chuchunga stream, which falls into the Amazons where it first begins to be navigable. It is, however, much incumbered with cataracts and narrows as far as Borja, the capital of Maynas, (in latitude 4° 28′ S., longitude 76° 24′ W.) where that Traveller found himself "on a fresh-water sea, surrounded with a maze of lakes, rivers, and canals, penetrating in all directions the gloom of an immense forest, inaccessible except by means of those channels. Nothing was to be

the lavish descriptions of the Missionaries had taught them to expect. The Amazons may, at this junction, Lieutenant Maw says, be about a mile across. They now entered this mighty river, and on the night of the 25th, passed the mouth of the Ucayale. It was too dark to admit of their making any observations; but it was evident that a sudden and material effect had been produced upon the river. The current became more rapid; the depth of water increased; and the trees and pieces of wood floating down the stream were so numerous, that it was difficult to keep clear of them. At their confluence, M. Condamine tells us, the Ucayale is the broader stream of the two; and its sources are more distant and more copious than those of the western branch of the Marañon. On meeting the latter, moreover, the Ucayale "repulses its tide, and changes its course;" and he inclines to the opinion, that it has therefore the best claim to be considered as the main branch. Lieutenant Maw thinks it probable, that the western branch will be found the more considerable at the greater distance, although some of the head streams which form the Ucayale, may exceed it in extreme length. Moreover, he adds, the Ucayale appears to be formed rather by a collection of streams, while the Marañon flows throughout from between the Cordillera as a main channel. This representation is not altogether accurate, since the Ucayale, after receiving the Apurimac or Tambo,

seen but a wide circle of verdure and water." "Below Borja, and for four or five hundred leagues beyond, on falling down the river, a stone, nay, a pebble, is an object as rare as a diamond. The savages of these countries have no conception of stones." The river Pastaca, which discharges itself below Borja by three mouths, is described as nearly equalling, at the mouth of the principal branch, the breadth of the Marañon itself.—Pinkerton's Voy. vol. xiv. pp. 211—23.

in latitude 10° 31′, becomes a very considerable stream. Still, the depth of the Marañon is so much greater as to entitle it to be regarded as the main reservoir. At a distance from the sea of more than 2600 miles, its depth was found to be upwards of 175 feet, and its breadth, though inferior to that of several of its tributaries, nearly 900 feet. Besides, although the sources of the Ucayale are the most remote, this circumstance can with little propriety be allowed to determine the question so vehemently disputed respecting the true head of this mighty river. More stress ought to be laid, we think, upon the general configuration of the country, than upon the accidental length of particular head streams; and it is obvious, that the distinguishing feature in the geography of this part of South America, is the basin of the Marañon, extending from west to east nearly across the whole continent, in the same general direction, though gradually approaching the Line, and receiving on either bank into its vast channel, the waters which flow from all directions towards this central reservoir.

Below the mouth of the Ucayale, Lieut. Maw found the river "assume a very superior character:" its breadth increases, and it appeared to be navigable in the main channel by vessels of almost any class. At the *pueblo* of Pebas, he had an opportunity of seeing a number of Indians belonging to different tribes residing several days' journey in the woods. One of these tribes, called the Yaguas, struck him as bearing strong marks of being descended from the ancient Peruvians. "Not only do they differ from the other Indians, almost as much as they do from Europeans, but, what is extraordinary, they wear the hair cut straight across the forehead and cropped behind, in the manner that

is described as one of the distinguishing marks of the Incas, and which we never saw amongst any other of the Indians. They are tall and good figures; their complexion is a tawny yellow, scarcely darker than the Moyobambian's. Their hair is lighter than that of the common Indians, and the expression of their countenances far from stupid. They wear sashes made of thin white bark, which fall both before and behind; and have their heads and arms ornamented with the long feathers of the scarlet macaw or papagayo. Indeed, I think it is scarcely possible to give a better description of the Yaguas we saw at Pebas, than by referring to the prints usually published of the Peruvians at the time of the Spanish conquest."

These Yaguas are probably a tribe of the Omagua nation, who formerly inhabited the islands and banks of the Maranon throughout an extent of 200 leagues below the mouth of the Napo, but who are supposed by Condamine to have emigrated from New Granada at the time of the Spanish conquest. They have been repelled by the slaving expeditions from Para, and had fled into the woods. Their language, this Traveller says, is sweet and easy of enunciation, and has no affinity to that of either Peru or Brazil, which prevail, the one above, and the other below the country of the Omaguas along the banks of the river. The appellation Omagua is Peruvian, answering to the Brazilian *Cambevas*, and signifies flat-headed; and in fact, says Condamine, "this nation has adopted the whimsical practice of pressing between two boards the forehead of their new-born infants, in order to give it the singular form which originated the denomination, and, as they say, to make them more perfectly resemble the full moon." The Yaguas of Lieutenant Maw do not appear to have been thus craniologically marked, nor

did he notice this peculiarity in any of the Indian inhabitants of Omaguas or the other *pueblos*. The language of the Yaguas, at all events, merits examination, with a view to ascertain whether it bears any affinity either to the Quichua or Inca language, or to the Muysca of Cundinamarca.

Pebas (or Pevas) was, when M. Condamine descended the river, the last Mission belonging to the Spaniards, the Portuguese laying claim to the territory on both banks as high as the mouth of the Napo, in latitude 3° 24′. The last Peruvian *pueblo*, at present, is Loretto, 104 miles lower down the river. About 39 miles further is Tabitinga (or Tavatinga), the frontier post of Peru and Brazil, but garrisoned only by the Brazilians. Lieutenant Maw reached this place on the 31st of January, after a navigation of sixteen days. The garrison at that time consisted of a serjeant and fifteen soldiers. Few Indians reside there; and Lieutenant Maw was struck with a marked difference in the character and manners of the natives on entering the Brazilian territory.

"There was a gloominess and unwillingness about these people, widely different from the manner of the Peruvian Indians. The Peruvians, although, as one of their *padres* describes them, 'almost as uncivilized as their forefathers,' were a cheerful sort of savages; and when they became acquainted with us, finding we did not attempt to abuse them, if we went into the woods to shoot, they were delighted to go too; if to look for seeds, to fish, or to do any thing else, they were always ready. The Laguna Indians were fond of singing, although they knew less about it than even myself. Towards sunset, I used occasionally to sing them the Canadian boat-song, when they would give way, keeping time with their paddles; and Mr. Hinde

and his canoe would soon be out of sight, if I did not stop singing, to heave the lead. These people appeared infected with some sullen contagion, that it was not easy to overcome."

During his subsequent stay at the villa of Egas, on the river Teffe, Lieutenant Maw received information respecting the atrocious system of slave-hunting, still practised in these parts of the Brazilian territory, which sufficiently accounts for the barbarous, unsocial character of the unhappy natives.*

We have now reached the frontier of what was once Spanish America, and what at present, for want of a specific designation, we must call Peru; although that name can with little propriety be extended to any part of the vast basin of the Amazons. The civilization of which the table-lands of the Andes were the seat,—the language and empire of the Incas of Cuzco or of the Zaques of Cundinamarca,—never descended the rivers thus far eastward, or penetrated the vast interior wilderness which extends from the feet of the second Cordillera to the Atlantic. It is the remark of Baron Humboldt, that "European civilization, like all foreign and imported civilization, ascends the rivers, which native civilization descends; as is proved by the history of the people of Indus, the Ganges, the Euphrates, and perhaps the Nile." † The eastern coast of America, like the African continent, presents no such inlet to the civilizing commerce and science of Europe; and the jealous policy of the Bra-

* See Maw, pp. 266—272; 427—438. See also Mod. Trav., Brazil, vol. ii. p. 290. Tabatinga is reckoned by the boatmen 484 leagues from Para, which Lieutenant Maw reached on the 19th of April, and there embarked for England. Dr. Von Spix had previously reached the Brazilian frontier by ascending the river.

† Humboldt's Personal Narrative, vol. vi. p. 361.

zilian Government has hitherto shut up those immense rivers which seem destined by Providence to be the future channels of inter-communication. The mighty labyrinth of waters, however, which presents such extraordinary facilities for interior navigation, cannot have been made in vain; and the time is not, perhaps, very remote, when steam-boats shall ply, not only between the Rio Negro and Para, but along the central waters of the Amazons, and when the fast decaying missions of the Jesuits shall be replaced by thriving settlements of industrious traders.

The remainder of this volume must be devoted to a very brief geographical sketch of Chile, styled by some travellers, the Italy of America, while by other writers it has been represented, in disparaging terms, as "the most remote, the poorest, the weakest, and the least populous" of the transatlantic dominions that once belonged to the Spanish Crown.

END OF PERU.

CHILE.

CHILE.

[A country of South America, extending from latitude 24° to 45° S.; bounded, on the N., by the Desert of the Alacama; on the E. by the Cordillera; on the S. by the Deserts of Terra-Magellanica; and on the W. by the Pacific Ocean.]

CHILE, like Peru, appears to derive its appellation from a small river or point of that name,* which was applied by the Spaniards to the whole country. The region which it now designates, extends along the western shores of the South American continent from the 24th to the 44th parallel, in the form of a parallelogram, its length being nine times greater than its breadth. On the north, it is separated from Peru by the almost impassable desert of Atacama; on the west, its boundary is the Cordillera; on the south, it terminates at the Gulf of Guayteca and the archipelago of Chiloe. It is not formed, Mr. Miers says, as has been supposed, by a series of terraces or table-lands rising from the sea to the foot of the Cordillera; but is rather a broad expansion of the chain of the Andes, which spreads forth its ramifications from the central longitudinal ridge; these branches diminishing continually, though irregularly, till they reach the ocean. Their height is seldom less than 1000 feet, generally 2000 feet above the valleys which intersect them.

* In Alcedo's Dictionary, Chile is given as the name of a point of the coast of the province of Arequipa. The river Chile flows through the capital of that province.

Some of these valleys (for instance, that of Aconcagua) present a broad expanse of surface; but, in general, there is but little level country between the smaller branches of these chains. The more valuable portions of country are formed by the beds of rivers, now comparatively small, but which have evidently been the channels of more consderable streams. Being considerably inclined, the valleys admit of irrigation wherever water can be procured. The hilly parts, being dried and parched during the greater part of the year, cannot be cultivated. It is indeed probable, Mr. Miers says, that not a fiftieth part of the northern half of Chile can ever be brought under cultivation; but, southward of the river Maule, the proportion of arable land is greater.

Under the dominion of Spain, the captain-generalship of Chile extended southward to Cape Horn; but no settlements were actually formed beyond the 44th parallel;* and the territory actually in possession of the Spaniards, was bounded by the Bio-bio in latitude 37°. To the south of that river, the country is inhabited by the Araucanoes, who alone, of all the Indian nations, have been able to resist alike the arms and the blandishments of Europeans; and it has been contended, with some reason, that it should bear in geography a different name.† Chile Proper, lying between latitude 26° and 37° S., and the meridians of 69° and 71° 30′ W., contains a territorial surface of

* Fort Maullin, the most southern possession of the Spaniards, at the entrance of the Gulf of Chiloe, is in latitude 41° 43′ S.

† "It is not too much to assert," remarks Mr. Caldcleugh; "that this single nation has cost the Spaniards more blood and treasure than all the others which have fallen under their yoke on the continent."

only about 23,000 square leagues; from which calculation large deductions must be made, to allow for the mountainous and rugged nature of the country.

It appears that, prior to the discovery and invasion of Peru by the Spaniards, the Incas had extended their conquests into Chile, (by pursuing a track to the east of the Cordillera, and then crossing the mountains,) as far as the river Maule. Northern Chile had thus become an integral portion of the Peruvian empire. Nor does the maritime country differ widely from the coast of Peru. Lieutenant Maw, who coasted northwards from Valparaiso to Truxillo, describes the shores of the Pacific throughout that extent as presenting the same general aspect. Commencing with Valparaiso or "the Vale of Paradise," he visited Coquimbo, Arica, and Lima. "The immediate features of Valparaiso are," he says, "a low, sandy level, called the *Almendral* (Almond Grove), abrupt rocks, and hills that are not cultivated, and that would, in England, be termed sterile. There are, indeed, occasionally, peach-orchards, the blossoms of which are in themselves beautiful; there is also some wood in the distance; and the view is crowned by the snow-topped cordilleras. The mountainous scenery is magnificent; but I do not think that the combined effect of the features of Valparaiso, is such as would accord with European ideas of the Vale of Paradise. Coquimbo is also in itself pleasing, but, after crossing the vale to the levels described by Captain Hall, (which in a direct line may be about a league and a half,) and proceeding thence towards the hills, the most favourable account that can be given of the country, is by comparing it to the description of such

scenery in Mr. Moore's song of "Fly to the Desert.'" *

Southern Chile, however, exhibits a very different appearance; and Captain Basil Hall thus describes the gradual change which was observable in the aspect of the coast, in the cruize between Araucania and Peru. "Within the space of one month, we had now witnessed all the intermediate degrees of fertility and desolation. At Concepcion, the eye was delighted with the richest and most luxuriant foliage. At Valparaiso, the hills were poorly clad with a stunted brushwood and a faint attempt at grass, the ground looking starved and naked. At Coquimbo, the brushwood was gone, with nothing in its place but a vile sort of prickly pear bush and a scanty sprinkling of gray, and sometimes purple, wiry grass. At Guasco, there was not a trace of vegetation left, and the hills and plains were covered with bare sand; excepting where the stream of water caused by the melting of the snow among the Andes, gave animation to the channel which leads it into the sea." †

The great extent of sea-coast is the chief natural advantage of the country. "The riches of the whole line of the Andes are with ease carried down to the coast, where a number of excellent harbours are ready to shelter vessels for their reception. The trade wind constantly blows down the coast to the Equator, and, for one half of the voyage at least, renders the passage certain. Coquimbo, which abounds in copper of the best quality, has an excellent port, greatly superior to Valparaiso, which is open to the north, and much ex-

* Maw, p. 420. See Basil Hall, vol. ii. pp. 2—11.

† Basil Hall, vol. ii. p. 12. The respective latitudes of these places is 37°, 33°, 30°, and 28° 30′ S."

posed to the gales from the N.W., which are common in winter. * The rivers are of little importance. The shortness of their course and the rapidity of the torrents, during the season when the snow melts in the Cordillera, and, at the other period, the shallowness of the water, prevents their being of any utility to commerce." † "From the Maypo to Atacama, a distance of 1000 geographical miles," says M. Schmidtmeyer, "all the rivers and streams which flow westerly from those huge masses (the Andes), would not form so considerable a body of water as that with which the Rhone enters the lake of Geneva, or as that of the Thames at Staines." ‡

"The climate of Chile is unquestionably," Mr. Miers says, "one of the finest and healthiest in the world. The temperature near the coast, is even finer than that of the interior, being less subject to variations from heat to cold." Yet, in the months of January and February, the thermometer, in the interior, frequently rises to 90° and 95° Fahr. in the shade; and so insufferable is the heat in the day-time, that no individual is to be met with in the streets,—"nothing," say the natives, "except Englishmen and dogs." The temperature of the coast in summer, frequently rises to 85° during the day, and from 70° to 75° during the night. The months of August, September, October, and November are, however, of a most agreeable temperature, though with frequent haze and fog. "The climate of Santiago," says Capt. Head, "is similar to that of all the parts of Chile which

* "From Nov. to March, Valparaiso is a safe and pleasant anchorage; but, during winter, especially in June and July, is subject to occasional hard storms, blowing from the N., in which direction it is open to the sea."—Basil Hall, vol. i. p. 7

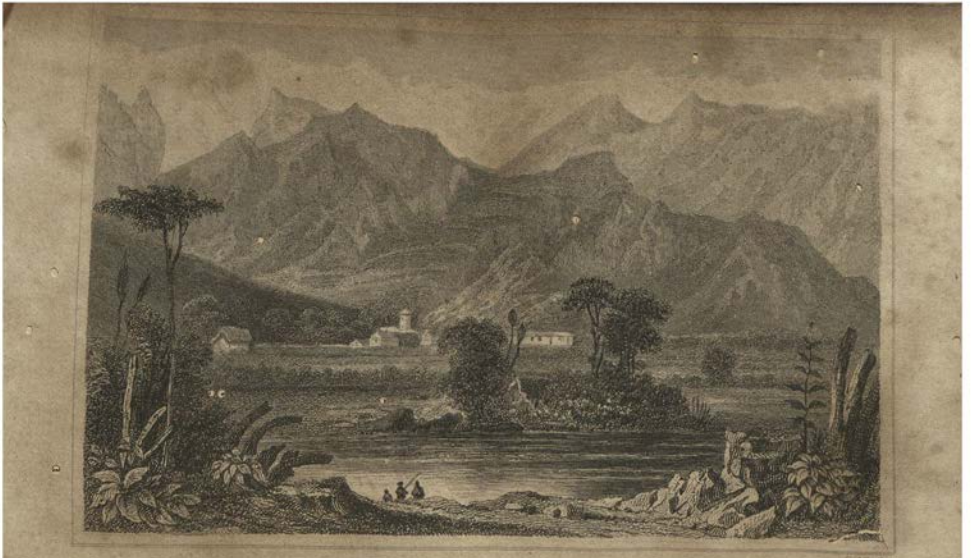
† Caldcleugh, vol. i. p. 344. ‡ Schmidtmeyer, p. 28.

I visited. The day, in summer, is burning hot; the nights delightfully cool. During the day, the sun, reflected from the mountains on every side, and which of course obstruct the breeze, has a greater heat than is natural to the latitude. At night, the cold air rolls down the snowy sides of the Andes, and fills the Chilian valleys with a cool atmosphere, which is unknown to the great plains on the other side of the Cordillera. The effect of this stream of cold air is very agreeable, and people whose occupations screen them from the sun in the day, enjoy their evening's ramble; and, as the sky is very clear, the climate of Chile is often described as being extremely healthy. Yet, certainly the people of Chile in general, and of Santiago in particular, have not a healthy appearance. The English there, also, look very pale and exhausted." *

Whatever advantages Chile may enjoy in the excellence and acknowledged salubrity of its climate, and the productiveness of so much of its soil as can be irrigated, these are more than counterbalanced by the earthquakes to which the whole country is continually subject, and which not unfrequently produce the most frightful catastrophes.

Throughout Chile, there are but six or seven places, besides the capital, which can claim the name of

* Head, pp. 201, 2. One circumstance, which may have obtained for Chile the reputation of salubrity, is, that no venomous reptile is to be found throughout the country; in which respect, it resembles the land that is said to inherit the blessing of St. Patrick. Its healthiness would, however, appear to be but comparative. "During my short stay at Chile," says Lieut. Brand, "I found the climate very oppressive; there is a peculiar dryness in the atmosphere, which prevents a free respiration, rendering the skin parched and dry, which occasions restless nights, loss of appetite, and depression of spirits."—Brand, p. 211. This Traveller draws a fearful picture of the fatal effects of free living or habits of inebriation in this climate.



VIEW FROM L'ANGOSTURA DE PAINE.

towns; and the total population, according to Humboldt, is in the proportion of only 70 persons to a square marine league. The capital demands a brief description.

SANTIAGO.

SANTIAGO DE CHILE (originally called New Estramadura) was founded in the year 1541, by the famous Pedro de Valdivia. It is situated in an extensive plain,* watered by the rivers Maypo and Maypocho, in lat. 33° 16′ S., long. 69° 48′ W.; and is distant from Valparaiso, 90 miles; 72 from Ramagua; 480 from Concepcion, and 450 from Coquimbo. "This city," says Mr. Miers, "is, upon the whole, one of the finest cities in South America, in point of structure, convenience, and healthiness, but not so with regard to its geographical situation: it is certainly inferior to Lima and Buenos Ayres in this respect, as well as in the elegance of its public and private buildings; but it surpasses them in cleanliness and regularity, and possesses, at first sight, a more imposing appearance than it is found to deserve on a closer examination. Like other Spanish towns, the city is divided into *quadras* (squares).

"The Plaza, or great square, stands nearly in the middle of the city; it occupies the space of a whole quadra. The buildings on the N.W. side are the directorial mansion, the palace of Government, the prison, and chamber of justice. On the south-west side stand the cathedral and the old palace of the bishop, now occupied by the Estado Mayor; on the south-east side are a number of little shops, under a heavy-looking piazza, while the story above is divided into private dwellings and gambling houses: the north-

* The plain on which the city is built is 2951 feet above the level of the Pacific.—Caldcleugh, vol. i. p. 321.

eastern side is wholly occupied by private residences, among which is the English hotel.

"The Palace is a handsome, capacious building of two stories, arranged round a large quadrangle; the lower range contains the armoury, treasury, and some other public offices; the upper story contains the great hall of audience, the offices of the ministers of state, war, and finance, and the tribunal of accounts. The Directorial residence is on the ground floor; it consists of a handsome suite of rooms, well furnished. The presidio is a building of two stories, the lower being occupied as a prison; the upper contains the offices and halls of the court of justice, and of the municipal corporation, or cabildo. These edifices are built in the ordinary bad style of Moorish architecture. The palace is by far the best specimen of architecture, and is the most imposing. All these buildings are of brick, plastered and whitewashed, the pedestals of the pilasters alone being of red porphyry.

"The Cathedral is the only stone building in the city. Its front was never half finished, but, judging from the wing that is completed, the design must have been of the better order of Moorish architecture; it is ornamental, but heavy. It is built of a kind of limestone quarried from the hill of San Domingo, in the Chimba suburb: notwithstanding the genial climate, the stone is fast shivering to decay, though it is quite a new structure. The bishop's palace is a heavy, decayed building; and the houses before alluded to, with the piazzas, are so dilapidated from age, that apprehensions are entertained that they will fall or be overthrown by the first earthquake that happens. In the centre of the square is an ornamental fountain of brass, furnished with water by a subterraneous aqueduct immediately from the river. The town is chiefly

supplied with water carried hence for sale, in barrels of ten gallons, two of which are a mule's load: it is sold at a medio, or three-pence the barrel.

"The Consulado is a spacious building: it stands in front of the Jesuits' church, and is built of brick, plastered and whitewashed. Here, the Consulado, or commercial tribunal, meets, and the senate and the national congress also hold their sittings. On one side of a small space in front of the Consulado, is the theatre, which is externally a miserable building: on the other side is the custom-house, a large and very capacious building, the lower story being occupied as custom-house warehouses, the upper story by the custom-house and other public offices. The Mint is the largest building in the city; it occupies a whole quadra, and is situated in the Canada, its front facing a shabby street. It consists of three quadrangular courts, round which the offices and salas are arranged. The façade in front consists of a series of heavy pilasters, surrounded with a rude cornice, having above it a long, ponderous balustrade of bad workmanship; in the centre is a large arched portico, or entrance gate, with massive pillars close to the wall on each side, supporting nothing; the whole is of plain brick, and presents a very paltry appearance. In the centre of each side of the front quadrangle, whence the principal entrance doors and passages lead to the other parts of the building, are two lofty massive pillars, projecting some distance from the doorways, and supported upon tall thin pediments; they have nothing above them but a piece of cornice, of no greater width than their diameters, which cornices form a projecting extension of the architrave of the doorway. It is a very ugly and heavy structure, yet, the Chilenos point out the Mint as the great ornament and boast of

their city, fancying there does not exist in the world any building equal to it. A foreigner who visits South America, if he wishes to keep on good terms with the natives, must forget all he has left behind him in Europe, and bring his taste to a level with that of the Creoles. Compared, therefore, with the present skill of the Chilenos, the Mint is a master-piece of bricklayer's work among a people accustomed to build with scarcely any other materials than irregularly shaped sun-dried bricks, cemented together with mud. The Mint, as well as the other public buildings, were constructed by bricklayers sent out from Spain for the express purpose. The brick-work of the house is good, but the design and arrangement are as bad as can be well conceived.

"The town and suburbs are divided into five parishes. The canadilla belonging to Saint Isidore, one division of the city and chuchunco forming the parish of St. Ann; another portion of the city belongs to St. Paul; the western chimba forms that of Estampa; the eastern chimba, St. Francis. All the parish churches are mean structures, but those of the convents present some of the best buildings in the city: that of San Domingo, in the street of that name; that of the Jesuits, which is remarkable for its curiously formed painted exterior; its tower is constructed altogether of timber, the better to resist the shocks of earthquakes, which have frequently overturned the steeples of the churches.*

"Nothing can be more irregular, yet picturesque," says Mr. Caldcleugh, "than the appearance of Santiago, when approached from the Mendoza road. Overlooked by the Great Cordillera, it rises a mass of vegetation in the centre of the barren plain. The

* The cathedral is said to have been planned and begun by two Englishmen. The Mint is the work of a Roman architect.

dark foliage of the olive-tree and the fig, with the lighter tints of the mimosas and algarobas, is so blended with steeples and houses, that the effect is novel and imposing. Dissimilar to Paris and other large cities, where each house has its separate garden, but in a manner hidden by the lofty tenements which surround it, here, from the little elevation, the town, seen in the distance, appeared overshadowed with foliage." * To be seen to advantage, the Traveller should have crossed the Andes; and to the striking effects of the transition may doubtless be ascribed the highly-coloured descriptions which have been given of Chile as the Italy of America.

The Vale of the Maypo is, however, confessedly a favoured and delightful spot. Bounded on both sides by the barren mountains of the Cordillera, although but partially cultivated, its natural orchards and rich vegetation give it the aspect of luxuriant fertility. Some of the adjacent *quintas* and farms present situations of romantic beauty. The two favourite excursions are to the Lake of Aculeo, and the Hot Baths of Colina. The latter, situated eleven leagues N. of the Capital, is a fashionable watering-place, and the scenery is characterized by Mr. Caldcleugh as most magnificent. The former is nearly 20 miles S. of Santiago. The road leads through the narrow ravine called Angostura de Painé, the bed of the little river of that name. The lake is described by Mrs. Graham as resembling, in its picturesque features, the Lago Maggiore, and "even the very climate seemed that of Northern Italy." †

As a contrast to these scenes of beauty, we ought now to transport our readers to the snowy recesses and volcanic peaks of the mighty Andes.

* Caldcleugh, vol. i. p. 319. † Graham's Chile, p. 247.

With regard to the perils and difficulties attending the passage of the Cordillera, the representations of travellers differ widely; and it is evident, that much of the comparative difficulty of the route depends upon the season and upon the precise track that is taken by the guides. Mr. Miers assures us, that the ascent of the Cumbre itself, the highest point in the route from Mendoza,* though long and tedious, is in general free from all danger. "All the accounts of dangerous ascents and of precipices, which almost every traveller has given of this part of the journey, are," he broadly affirms, "untrue, there being neither precipice nor danger!" He doubts too, whether the *puna* is ever violently felt, except by pedestrians, and as the consequence of violent exertion. "I have walked both up and down the Cumbre," he says, "without being affected. Neither did my wife nor my child, when an infant scarcely six months old, with the thermometer standing at 35°, and the barometer at 19⅓ inches, experience the least difficulty in breathing." Mr. Schmidtmeyer found the Cumbre so very slippery from frozen snow, that, had he attempted to walk or even to stand, he must have rolled down like a snow-ball the distance of *a mile*; and great was his surprise at finding the mules proceed securely. But this dangerous road, which continued for about half a mile, when without snow, he says, "is very easy." †

Mr. Caldcleugh, who crossed the Cordillera in June, gives a frightful account of the passage. Two of the peons were knocked up with *puna*: and several

* During six months in the year, the only pass by which the mountains can be crossed in safety, is that of Uspallata, in front of Mendoza.

† Schmidtmeyer's Travels, p. 223.

TRAVELLERS CROSSING THE CORDILLERAS.

of them had formidable falls, saving themselves only by adroitly forcing their staffs into the snow.* Equally terrific is the description given by Lieutenant Brand, of sliding down the almost perpendicular declivity of the Cuesta de Concual, — the practice adopted by the peons in winter time, but which can be accomplished at no other period. In summer, the torrents formed by the melted snow become a new source of danger; and the much-dreaded *Ladera de las Vacas*, is then for some time impassable.

This high road from Buenos Ayres to Chile, is turnpike, however, compared with some of the more private tracks; and Capt. Head's account of his journey to the Silver Mine of San Pedro Nolasco, about 75 miles S.W. of Santiago, in the heart of the Andes, may serve instead of a lengthened description of scenes to which no pen can do justice.† The route lay over the vale of the Maypo, and the Travellers halted for the night at a small establishment for reducing the ores formerly raised from this mine, near the entrance of the defile. The next morning, starting before sun-rise, they continued to follow for four or five hours the course of the river, till at length the valley grew narrower, and the trees and shrubs became smaller and more stunted, while on every side rose the Andes covered with snow.

"Our path, which had been long neglected, was in many places very dangerous, being infinitely more so than any of the passes we had crossed in coming from Mendoza over the Cordillera. The laderas

* See Caldcleugh, vol. ii. pp. 105—114.

† Captain Head describes this as the worst pass in the Chilian Cordillera. See his description, Head's Rough Notes, pp. 134—184. Brand's Voyage to Peru, pp. 96—161. Haigh's Chile, pp. 104—111.

were literally only a few inches wide, and were covered with stones, which were so loose that every instant they rolled from under the mules' feet, and fell with an accelerating violence into the torrent. As I rode almost the whole of the day by myself, I would willingly have got off; but the mules will never lead, and besides this, when once a person is on the ladera, on the back of his mule, it is impossible to dismount, for there is no room to get off, and the attempt to do so might throw the mule off his balance, and precipitate him into the torrent, which was at an extraordinary depth beneath. In some few places, the path was actually washed away, and the mule had only to hurry over the inclined surface the best way he could; but the manner in which these patient animals preserve their footing, is quite extraordinary, and to know their value, one must see them in the Cordillera. After passing two or three very violent torrents, which rushed from the mountains above into the river beneath us, we came to one which looked worse than those which we had with great difficulty crossed; however, we had no alternative but to cross it, or return to Santiago. We attempted to drive the loose mules, but one had scarcely put his feet into it, when he was carried away, and in less than twenty yards, the box which he had on his back, was dashed to pieces, and its contents were hurried down the surface of the stream. In order to get across, we put a lasso round our bodies, and then rode through; but the holes were so deep, that the water occasionally came over the neck of the mule, and we passed with great difficulty. These poor creatures are dreadfully afraid of crossing such torrents; it is only constant spurring that obliges them to attempt it; and sometimes, in the middle of the stream, they will tremble and refuse to advance,

for several seconds. When the water is very deep, the arrieros always tie the lasso round their bodies; but I never could feel it was any security, because, if the torrent will dash a wooden box to pieces, a man's skull would surely have a very bad chance. I was, therefore, always very glad when I found myself across them; and, as our lives were insured in London for a large sum of money, I used often to think, that if the insurers could have looked down upon us, the sight of the laderas and of these torrents would have given a quickness to their pulse, a flush to their cheek, and a singing in their ears, very unlike the symptoms of placid calculation.

"Shortly after passing this torrent, we turned towards the south, and began to climb the mountain of San Pedro Nolasco, which I can only describe by saying, that it is the steepest ascent which we ever made in all our expeditions among the Andes. For five hours, we were continually holding on by the ears or neck of our mule; and the path was in some places so steep, that for a considerable time it was quite impossible to stop. We soon passed the limits of vegetation. The path went in ziz-zags, although it was scarcely perceptible, and if the mules above us had fallen, they would certainly have rolled down upon us, and carried us with them.

"In mounting, we constantly inquired of the arriero, if the point above our heads was the summit, but as soon as we attained it, we found that we had still higher to go. On both sides of us, we now came to groupes of little wooden crosses, which were the spots where people formerly employed in the mine, had been overtaken by a storm, and had perished. However, we continued our course; and at last, gaining the summit, we found ourselves close to the silver

lode of San Pedro Nolasco, which is situated on one of the loftiest pinnacles of the Andes. A small solitary hut was before us, and we were accosted by two or three wretched-looking miners, whose pale countenances and exhausted frames seemed to assimilate with the scene around them. The view from the eminence on which we stood was magnificent, it was sublime; but it was, at the same time, so terrific, that one could hardly help shuddering.

"Although it was midsummer, the snow where we stood was, according to the statement made to me by the agent of the mine, from twenty to a hundred and twenty feet deep, but blown by the wind into the most irregular forms, while in some places the black rock was visible. Beneath was the river and valley of Maypo, fed by a number of tributary streams, which we could see descending like small silver threads down the different ravines. We appeared to have a bird's-eye view of the great chain of the Andes, and we looked down upon a series of pinnacles of indescribable shapes and forms, all covered with an eternal snow. The whole scene around us in every direction was devoid of vegetation, and was a picture of desolation, on a scale of magnificence which made it peculiarly awful; and the knowledge that this vast mass of snow, so cheerless in appearance, was created for the use, and comfort, and happiness, and even luxury of man; that it was the inexhaustible reservoir from which the plains were supplied with water,—made us feel that there is no spot in creation which man should term barren, though there are many which Nature never intended for his residence. A large cloud of smoke was issuing from one of the pinnacles, which is the great volcano of San Francisco; and the silver

lode which was before us, seemed to run into the centre of the crater.

"As it was in the middle of the summer, I could not help reflecting, what a dreadful abode this must be in winter!" *

This mine, for seven months in the year, is totally inaccessible; yet, the miners used to be kept there throughout the year! That system of oppression, however, is for ever broken up. The mode in which these mineral treasures were first obtained, forms, as Captain Head justly remarks, "one of the most guilty pages in the moral history of man;" and it is a mystery, how they were ever discovered in spots thus dreary and inaccessible. The Spaniards, it must be recollected, were not the first to discover these treasures; nor did they originate the system of compulsory labour, by means of which these mines were worked long before Pizarro or Almagro set foot on the eastern coast. But, with the emancipation of the people, the profitable cultivation of these mines must, to a great extent, cease; "for the evident reason, that poor mines, as well as poor land, may be made productive by a system of cruelty and tyranny, when, under a free government, they must be inactive and barren."

This lesson in political economy is a salutary one; but it has cost us something to acquire the knowledge, that the boasted wealth of Peru and Chile is an illusion. Mr. Miers scarcely exceeds the truth in remarking, that this *El Dorado* of our eager speculators has proved to be, "a country barren and unproductive beyond all belief; incapable of traffic; presenting an inhospitable climate; bare of population; and its

* Head, pp. 225–230.

few inhabitants effeminate, indolent, and wanting in enterprise; its shores forbidding; and its boasted mines placed out of the reach of all beings excepting Indians, who, to be made to work them, must be treated as beings inferior to dogs. By dissolving the charm," he adds, "which, under the grossest deception, has smothered the earliest embryo development of the aboriginal people, the Revolution, which has called forth the energies of the native Creoles, must gradually bring into action, and slowly expand into vigour, the natural resources of the soil."

How strange is the fatality by which the precious metals seem to entail poverty and degradation upon the countries in which they abound,—whether amid the snows of the barren Andes, or beneath the torrid skies of Senegambia and Guinea,—in Peru or in Bambook, in Mexico or in Ashantee!

THE END.

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